

THE  
LETTERS OF  
JAMES IV

1505-1513

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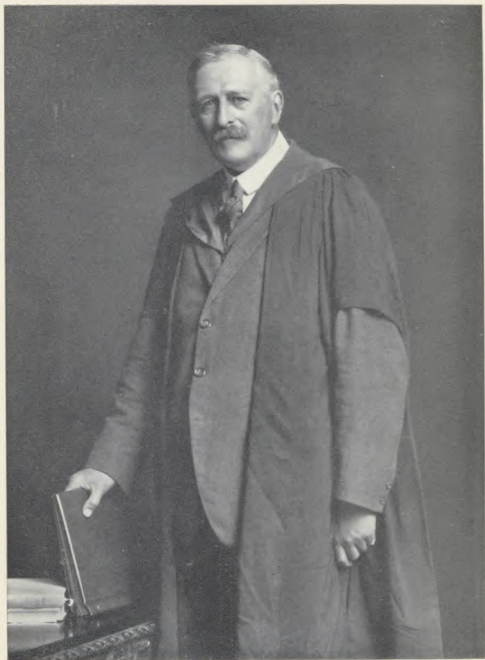


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1505-1513









ROBERT KERR HANNAY

THE LETTERS OF  
JAMES THE FOURTH  
1505-1513

Calendared by  
ROBERT KERR HANNAY, LL.D.  
H.M. Historiographer in Scotland

Edited  
with a Biographical Memoir and an Introduction

by  
R. L. MACKIE, M.A., B.Litt.  
assisted by  
ANNE SPILMAN, M.A.



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## ROBERT KERR HANNAY

### A MEMOIR

ROBERT KERR HANNAY was born in Glasgow, at 16 Woodside Terrace, on 31st December, 1867. He was the eldest of the six children of Thomas Hannay, ironmaster, and Elizabeth McDowall, the daughter of a minister of the United Presbyterian Church. His mother, 'though a woman of deeply pious and even puritanical and prudish leanings,' wrote one who knew them both, 'with more than a tinge of anxious melancholy, was yet blessed with a deeply innate sense of humour. It was from her that he inherited that genuine "eye" for the incongruous and ridiculous that was to delight so many of his friends.'

Much of his childhood and boyhood, however, was passed, not in the family home at Bridge of Allan, but in Glasgow, with his aunts, wealthy and pious old ladies. He always spoke of them with affection, even when he recalled the tract-distributing expeditions in which he was compelled to take part, but he felt that in these too quiet years he lost something which neither they nor Albany Academy—the private day-school which he attended—could supply. His mother was evidently of the same opinion: in the summer of 1883, after he had left Albany Academy for good, she invited a member of the Glasgow University rugby team to act as his purse-bearer and cub-leader on a lengthy walking tour. 'The most characteristic feature of the outer man then,' wrote the cub-leader, Mr. J. S. Hamilton, 'was his strikingly handsome face and figure. Already six feet three inches—he attained six feet five inches ere long—he was no willowy stripling, but well-proportioned, with an athlete's upright carriage, facing life boldly with that humorous challenge in his fine eyes and lofty bearing, which was more marked in the youth than in the hard-working scholar of later years. I was constantly amazed at the tireless outpouring of physical energy, of which, for a rapidly growing boy, he was capable.

He would play hard tennis from just after breakfast till twilight, with no break except for lunch, then after a bath and change and supper sit down at the piano and, playing his own accompaniments, sing over dozens of his favourite songs, interrupted only by family worship, till around midnight. Next day it might be a twenty-five or thirty-mile tramp over or round the Ochils, or a long day's cricket, or a hundred-mile bicycle ride, but always finishing with a similar evening at the piano. As a schoolmaster for over forty years I have encountered some youths with exceptional physical endowments, but none to match Hannay's zest in sheer activity.'

This first expedition, in the summer of 1883, was followed by others in succeeding years, to the Highlands, to the Outer Hebrides, to London, and elsewhere.

Of the years which he spent at Glasgow University, where he matriculated in Session 1884-5, Hannay has said little. He rowed and played cricket—cricket that was above the Scottish University standard, for while he was still in his teens he was chosen to keep wicket for the West of Scotland in a representative East *v.* West match. More is known about his career at Oxford. He entered University College, then a small college of about eighty undergraduates, in 1889. For a time it seemed as if he might be deflected from scholarship into athletics. He was an exceedingly active member of both the Rugby XV and the Association XI of his college, playing in as many as sixty matches in one term, often at the rate of two *per diem*. He soon found his way into the University XV, where his height, weight, and dash made him a formidable forward. The rowing men also had their eyes on him as a most promising recruit for the middle position in the University boat. But he could not forget that he was the eldest of a family of six, and that the expenditure of time and money involved in keeping up with the University XV's exacting programme of travelling to distant matches was incompatible with the claims of his young brothers and sisters. It was the sacrifice of time especially that would not square with his conscience. So

he resigned his place in the University XV and his chance of a place in the University boat, and applied himself steadily to the regular course of reading which, in a thoroughly businesslike way, he had sketched out for himself. He read hard, harder in the Long Vacation than in term time, but gained only a Second both in Mods. and in Greats. 'It struck me,' writes that same shrewd and sympathetic observer—and his remarks explain much that puzzled those who knew Hannay only in the later part of his career—'that as a candidate for Oxford Greats he was decidedly lacking in a taste for literature and philosophy, and only superficially familiar with the best of our fiction, poetry, and history. With the greatest of our poets, in particular, he seemed to have little but a mere school knowledge . . . I cannot recall, in all the years of my contact with him, any hint of any knowledge either of Scott's novels or of Burns's poems. . . . There was indeed in his family, though otherwise high-minded and refined, only a meagre interest in books, except in Hannay's case, and there it was limited to the works of Lewis Carroll, Mark Twain, Artemus Ward, *et hoc genus omne*. These he read with enormous gusto, and could recite any passage with huge delight.'

Hannay received his Oxford B.A. in 1894, his Glasgow M.A. in 1895 and his Oxford M.A. in 1897. After a short spell of teaching in the Royal High School, Edinburgh, he went in the autumn of 1895 to University College, Dundee, as Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History. He was also, between 1895 and 1898, Assistant to the Professor of English.

In 1899 he married Jane Ewing Wilson, the second daughter of the Rev. J. S. Wilson, D.D., for many years minister of New Abbey. 'She was a remarkably gifted woman' wrote one who knew her well, 'with abilities far beyond the common. She brought out Hannay's powers, and helped him in all manner of ways, and he had the most profound admiration and respect for her judgment and scholarship, and gifts as a speaker and administrator.'

In 1901 he went to St. Andrews as Lecturer in Ancient



History and Archaeology. His classes, for the first few years of his stay, at least, were composed almost entirely of students who took Ancient History for the sole reason that they could not get an Honours degree in Classics without it. If they did not catch fire from him, they at least tolerated his enthusiasms, one of them confessed, for the sake of 'the ready smile, the unconventional anecdote, and the whimsical greeting.' At the same time they recognised that there was more in him than came out in his lectures. 'The bejant who fails to acquire the genial friendship of his nod,' wrote the same student, 'the intimacy of his sprightly stories, the inspiration of his serious moments, has failed to realize what his Alma Mater can impart.' He kept open house for his students on Sunday afternoon, helped the struggling University cricket eleven in the early stages of its career, and sang at concerts in the Students' Union.

His voice, though not naturally rich, or even melodious, was well trained and controlled. As conductor of the University Musical Society, as Organist and Choirmaster in the University Chapel, he put his musical scholarship and sound musical taste at the disposition of the student community, taught its members to regard some of their favourite Victorian hymn tunes as 'immoral music, the sort of thing that would have landed its composer outside the walls of Plato's ideal city,' gave his choir Bach instead of Stainer and Bacchus Dykes, and made the mediaeval walls of Bishop Kennedy's Chapel echo for the first time since the Reformation to the sound of mediaeval plainsong.

R. L. Stevenson imagined St. Andrews to be 'an ineffectual seat of learning,' where 'teacher and taught are alike drowned in oblivion.' Had Hannay succumbed to its influence he would not have been the first to do so—there was a Professor of History who in 1826 confessed to the University Commission that he had not delivered a lecture for sixteen years. He was fortunate, however, in the guidance of his wife and in the friendship of John Herkless, later Principal of the University, at that time Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's College. It was they,

I fancy, who, at the time of the 1905-6 election, persuaded him to join the group of four University teachers—Professor John Burnet, W. R. Scott the economist, and Herkless himself were the other members—who went crusading on behalf of Free Trade among the fishermen and farmers of East Fife and the St. Andrews Burghs. Some of them, to the delight of their students, did not show to advantage in the rough and tumble of heckling and impromptu debate. Hannay was different. Requests for his services came from neighbouring constituencies, ‘The evening’s experience was memorable and exhilarating in the highest degree,’ wrote one who heard him when he presided at a Liberal rally in East Perthshire.<sup>1</sup> ‘He first gave a rattling party-speech with all the arguments for Free Trade—we thought then it had come to stay!—tellingly put, which the old Liberal stalwarts of that hard-headed and argumentative community, born hecklers every man of them, snuffed up with infinite relish. These points he illustrated and reinforced with one or two exceedingly funny and unhackneyed stories, which bowled everybody over, and were, no doubt, retailed next day at the factory to those who had not the good fortune to be present. Then he sang—accompanying himself, as he always did, with consummate artistry—one or two songs which his audience all knew by heart, but had never heard rendered in such a fashion before. Finally, in response to insistent demands for an encore, he gave that *tour de force* of his, “The Eeephant,” and then the meeting—nine-tenths Liberal and the minority Tory, dispersed in the gayest of humours, leaving a Committee overflowing with delight and gratitude to the “Purfessor,” as they insisted on dubbing him, long before he had won the title. . . . It is thirty-six years ago,<sup>2</sup> but that night of the Liberal meeting in the Williamson Hall at Abernethy remains not only as a vivid memory, but gave me an insight into Robert Hannay such as possibly few who had come across him in other capacities had an opportunity of forming of

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<sup>1</sup> The late Rev. W. T. Cairns, D.D.

<sup>2</sup> Written in 1941.

the man we knew and admired, and—I will say the word—loved.’

More important than this incursion into politics was the change of direction which Herkless effected in Hannay’s historical studies. So far he had shown little, if any interest in Scottish history, even in that province of it which he was later to make his own. Herkless, who had already written a *Life of Cardinal Beaton*, based more on the printed ‘literary’ histories than on the original records, secured Hannay’s assistance in the preparation of *The College of St. Leonard*, published in 1905. The first part, the historical introduction, was the work of Herkless ; for the second and more valuable part, the transcriptions and translations of the charters and statutes of the College, Hannay was alone responsible. It was the first of several notable contributions to the history of University education in Scotland. The second, the invaluable *St. Andrews University Publications, No. VII: The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology at the Period of the Reformation*, appeared in 1910. He drew on it largely for the chapter on the Scottish Universities which he contributed to the second edition of Rashdall’s *Medieval Universities* in 1936.

Already, however, in 1907, the first volume of *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, containing the lives of Patrick Graham, William Schevez, James Stewart, and Alexander Stewart, had appeared. The second (Andrew Forman), with its patient unravelling of the tangled web of negotiations that preceded Flodden, appeared in 1907, the third (James Beaton) in 1910, the fourth (David Beaton) in 1913, and the fifth (John Hamilton) in 1915. The work of investigation, it would seem, was done mainly by Hannay, the final writing up by Herkless, whose ‘twopence coloured’ sometimes contrasts oddly with the ‘penny plain’ of his collaborator. For the besetting sin of Herkless as a historian was eloquence ; he loved to mount the pulpit and arraign and censure his archiepiscopal careerists in rounded periods. The effect on Hannay, already suspicious of fine writing, was, in the opinion of at least one of his friends,

unfortunate. 'Herkless influenced him a good deal,' he wrote, 'and I daresay intensified the detachment with which he regarded the personalities, good or bad, of the men with whom he was dealing. I never could understand how one with such a "Herodotean relish for a racy anecdote" as he could write in so desiccated a style, but I think this was quite deliberate on his part.'

In the autumn of 1911 Hannay was appointed Curator of the Historical Department in H.M. Register House. 'There can be no doubt,' writes his successor, Dr William Angus, 'that his tenure of the post had a decisive and far-reaching effect on historical research in Scotland. Before he came to the Register House research work on the records was confined almost entirely to genealogical or topographical subjects, and the academic scholar rarely entered the building. He was struck immediately by the wealth of material, still largely unexplored, and the fresh light it threw on many historical questions, especially on institutional history, and the main interest for the rest of his life was to study this material and make it public. He endeavoured to interest scholars in the records, and every facility and encouragement was given to them to pursue their researches in the Register House. At the same time he strove hard to abolish the distinction between record scholar and academic historian, to which he referred in his inaugural lecture as Professor, and if the gap has narrowed in recent years it is mainly due to him. He worked incessantly to that end, and the measure of success he attained must have given him great pleasure.

'Although he did a good deal of calendaring and indexing, the drudgery and monotony of such work did not greatly appeal to him unless it threw light on a subject in which he was interested. He placed his knowledge freely at the disposal of all genuine students, and would grudge no labour and pains to help them. On the other hand, he did not suffer fools and triflers gladly, and did not trouble to conceal his contempt for those whose interest in Scottish history was merely sentimental: "greetin' patriots" was, I think, his usual epithet for them.

‘ There was a Victorian aloofness and reserve about his predecessors—all great scholars—which made a stranger somewhat diffident about approaching them at times, but such an attitude was wholly alien to Hannay’s genial nature. Newcomers frequently remarked on the pleasant and homely atmosphere of the Search Room as compared with other places where it was more formal and official, and he did not allow any out-of-date regulations or red tape to stand in the way of a necessary reform.

‘ His tenure of the Curatorship was a very happy one, and it was with reluctance that he left it for the Fraser Chair of Scottish History. Most of his spare time was spent in his old department, and I do not think he was ever so happy as when pursuing his researches there. His presence in the room had a tonic effect, and everyone brightened up immediately he entered, but he was never so busy that he could not spare the time to discuss a difficulty.

‘ I should like to emphasise that he was more an historian than an archivist, and could not be considered in the line of apostolic succession to his immediate predecessors, Dickson, Maitland Thomson, and Anderson. Hannay was an historian turned archivist for a period, his interest in history being always predominant. Perhaps the predecessor with whom he had most in common was Joseph Robertson, the first Curator and *facile princeps* of Scottish record scholars, and I imagine he would desire no higher praise than to be deemed a worthy successor to him. He had his flair for research, though not his gift of exposition. Probably he recognised his limitations in that respect, for he would frequently present the result of his researches and discoveries to other people, rather than exploit them himself.

‘ The provision of the Public Records (Scotland) Act, 1937, for the appointment of a Records Advisory Council must have given him great satisfaction, as he had pointed out in his inaugural lecture the desirability of such a body. He was appointed a member by the Secretary of State, and took a very keen interest in all its work. He did much to foster the technical education of the junior

members of his staff, and to raise the standard of efficiency in the department, and while he could be very severe on slovenly and careless work, he was always generous in his praise of a job well done.'

In 1919 he was appointed Fraser Professor of Ancient (Scottish) History and Palaeography in the University of Edinburgh. In his inaugural lecture he enunciated the policy which he pursued in his twenty-one years' tenure of the chair—to lead his students to master the fact that History was an enquiry, an endless quest finding its justification in the disinterested spirit which it engendered, a great enterprise in which his part, he declared, was no more than that of a *γωνιοβούβαξ*—'one buzzing in a corner, with niggling propensities.'

Of his popularity outside the lecture-room there was no question. He was the most human and approachable of professors. His old students still remember the friendly greeting in Princes Street and the inevitable story that followed it, or the Sunday afternoons at 5 Royal Terrace, for he resumed in Edinburgh the pleasant custom that he had established in St. Andrews. One of them confesses that her sharpest recollection of him is not in his class-room, but on the platform of the Women's Union, singing 'The Banks of Allan Water.' It was inevitable that one of his kindly disposition should take an interest in the Edinburgh University Graduates Association, and that the readers of its Journal should benefit by his valuable support.

But he never attracted large numbers of students to his lectures; the connoisseur of the well-made lecture in the great Scottish tradition, along with the seeker after soft options, soon learned to avoid his class-room. He did not want either of them: he often protested vigorously against the predominance of lectures and note-taking in the Scottish University system, and expressed approval of the English tutorial method. The methods which he employed are described by one who was a student of his in Sessions 1933-5.

'The Scottish History classes were small—fifteen to

twenty in the Ordinary Class, two or three in the Honours Class—and the method of teaching was tutorial. Hannay spent a portion of each hour in dictating a summary of his argument, and the remainder in giving an expanded review of his topic, with (a) illustrative matter, and (b) reference to sources. His illustrations, told in colloquial language, were always human and often humorous: they made the past real and alive and were a healthy change from the “abstract noun” method of teaching history. Reference to sources began in the Ordinary Class; when discussing, for instance, the foundation of the abbeys by David I, Hannay distributed facsimiles of the foundation charter of Kelso. In the Honours Class copies of Knox’s *History*, the *Acts of Parliament*, and other printed sources were constantly at hand, and frequent reference was made to them. For every fact stated in the summaries dictated to the Honours Class he gave a reference to an authority.

‘The respect paid to original authorities was in marked contrast to his rather contemptuous manner of referring to “the books,” a term which covered all secondary writings. “Of course the books say so-and-so, but. . .” By familiarising students with the use of sources, Hannay brought them into close touch with the realities of the subject, and gave them an insight into historical method; the foundation for a career of original historical work was thus laid.

‘He distrusted the usual type of examination, and used to express his ideal test as “Give a man a document and see what he can make of it.” From his Ordinary Class he expected a number of short papers on subjects carefully framed to encourage reasoning. The only written work in the Honours Class was one essay, to be, as he said, “a straightforward, fully documented narrative,” compiled from original printed sources. In discussing a student’s work he was most generous towards shortcomings; corrections were made without fuss and without reproach, while criticism was often prefaced by a kindly “It’s very good. . . .” This, instead of producing complacency, encouraged the student to make a better show next time.’

‘In teaching palaeography,’ another student reports, ‘he did not profess to give instruction in the types of script and the dating of manuscripts by the character of the script. He was, in fact, sceptical of the reliability of such tests. But he did set before himself the practical and useful aim of giving his Honours students a chance to acquire some facility in the reading of Scottish documents. In my day this was done by the class as a body. The facsimiles were supposed to have been studied at home before being read in class, but in practice they were read at sight round the table in his retiring room.’

The topics which he selected for study with his Honours Class indicated clearly the range and direction of his own interests. ‘He was particularly interested in the development of Parliament and the General Council,’ wrote one of his students. ‘The beginnings of the College of Justice were also sketched. Medieval Church History and the relationship between Church and State, the Papacy and the King, formed the second part of the 1921-2 lectures.’

The province which he made his own was the Scotland of the first five Jameses, especially the Scotland of James IV and James V. His exploration of its institutions, begun with Herkless in *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, was continued in the Introductions to two volumes which he edited for the Scottish History Society, the *Rentale Sancti Andree, 1538-46*, published in 1913, and the *Rentale Dunkeldense*, published in 1915. The second volume contained, in addition to the accounts of the bishopric from 1505 to 1517, a translation of the later biographies in Myln’s *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*.

He showed no desire to rush into print, warding off the approaches of publishers with the half-serious excuse ‘If I printed all this I should be left with nothing to talk about to my students.’ But articles from his pen appeared regularly in *The Scottish Historical Review* and after its suspension in 1928, in *The Juridical Review*. To these articles, which range from the twelfth century to the eve of the 1688 Revolution, must be added his introductions to *The Register of the Privy Council in Scotland, 1684-89*,



published in 1924-33, and *The Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554*, published in 1932. *The College of Justice, Essays on the Institution and Development of the Court of Session*, followed in 1933. In the authoritative account of the foundation of the original college which he contributed to *The History of the University of Edinburgh* (1933), and in his valuable introductions to the *Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the University*, published in 1937, he did for Edinburgh what, at the outset of his career, he had done for St. Andrews. The student of constitutional history cannot neglect the *Essay on the Early History of the Scottish Signet*, which he contributed to the privately printed *History of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet*, issued in 1936, nor the student of Ecclesiastical history his pamphlet on *The Scottish Crown and the Papacy 1424-1560*, issued by the Historical Association of Scotland in 1931.

It is an impressive record of sound and enduring work, which received appropriate recognition when, in 1930, he was appointed His Majesty's Historiographer in Scotland in succession to Sir Robert S. Rait. He had already, in 1923, received the degree of LL.D. from St. Andrews University. But he claimed that he had done no more than survey the site and lay the foundations for the structure that others would complete. *The College of Justice*, for example, he declared to be nothing more than a set of short essays, covering ground, inviting further survey, which 'the erudite will supplement or correct,' and dealing with topics on which, when all the evidence was released, 'much will remain to be written.' Really it is a remarkable achievement, which no serious student of Scottish History can dare to disregard. James the Fifth's reputation as an enlightened and unselfish sovereign has been shattered beyond repair by Hannay's pitiless exposure of his real motives for founding the College of Justice, and the patient exploration of the devious courses by which the monarch wiled £60,000 out of the coffers of the Scottish prelates into his own.

Unlike his predecessor in the chair, Professor Hume

Brown, he had no widely read *oeuvre de vulgarisation* to his credit, though he wrote for the B.B.C. Schools Programme a series of broadcasts from Scottish History, afterwards reprinted in 1934 as *Saint Andrew of Scotland*. His failure to appeal to the general reader 'in search of Scotland' was due only in part to his complete neglect of Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie. He had none of the arts of the popular historian; he disdained to brighten his pages with excerpts from Pitscottie or any of his picturesque and mendacious contemporaries. But he was fully aware that he who draws the material for a description of medieval Scotland exclusively from authentic and trustworthy contemporary records—charters, treaties, writs, official letters, and the like—cannot give a complete picture of that turbulent and colourful little world. He saw, behind the document, though he could not always make its reader see, the clerk who held the pen or affixed the seal, the counsellor, working by half-remembered precedents, improvising to meet the emergence of 'the contingent and the unforeseen.' In his Introduction to the *Rentale Dunkeldense* he welcomed the one royal official who raised the curtain and revealed himself and his colleagues in their habit as they lived. 'Not the least valuable feature of Myln's "Lives",' he wrote, 'is that they transport us out of the atmosphere of controversy into a more placid region, and give us a picture of everyday ecclesiastical life in a diocese comparatively remote, which was not the scene of political strife, and is not too closely associated with the events which led to the Reformation.'

Hannay had no gift for picturesque writing: we go to him not for a vividly imagined picture of the past, but for a plain tale, unadorned by any literary graces, uncoloured by prejudice or passion, based unassailably upon evidence painfully accumulated.

His activities extended far beyond the University and the Register House, to the Old Edinburgh Club, to the Workers' Educational Association, and to the Kirk Session of St. Giles'. The Historical Association of Scotland found

in him a most genial President, who on a rainy afternoon in St. Andrews transformed a moribund conference into a lively music-hall entertainment, with himself as compère and principal vocalist. Though he did not make a practice of attending historical conferences furth of Scotland, he was in touch with many continental scholars, with some of whom, faithful to medieval practice, he corresponded in Latin.

The Scottish History Society owes much to him. He joined it in 1912 and was elected a member of Council in the following year. After seven years as assistant to Dr. Maitland Thomson he became Honorary Secretary in 1920. During his eight years' service in that capacity the membership of the Society was increased, the number and quality of its publications were maintained, and pressure was brought successfully to bear upon public authorities for the publication of national and local records. He was elected Chairman of the Council in 1938, and threw himself wholeheartedly into the task of preparing for it the *Calendar of the Letters of James IV* which forms this volume.

In the same year, however, he suffered an irreparable loss in the death of his wife. The whimsical stories became, if possible, more frequent and more whimsical, but, said one of his oldest friends, 'he broke quite visibly though he tried—very pathetically to those who knew them both—to go on just as though things were as they had been. When his own last illness came, he had not the strength nor any wish to recover.' He died in Edinburgh on 19th March 1940, and was buried beside his wife at New Abbey, 'under the shadow of Criffel, and almost within hearing of the tide of Solway.'

## INTRODUCTION

### THE LETTERS OF JAMES IV

HIS friends may regret that in this Calendar Hannay attempted something less ambitious than the enterprise to which Scottish scholars must one day address themselves—the preparation of a complete text and translation of the correspondence of James IV with foreign states and princes, already printed in part on the collections of Ruddiman, Wegener, Gairdner, and Dr. Marguerite Wood, and calendared in part by Brewer and J. H. Brodie. His more modest endeavour was to prepare, for the guidance of future students of the period, full and accurate abstracts, precisely dated, of all the letters, whether already printed or not, written by or to James IV and his ministers between 1505 and 1513. There is nothing in his notes to suggest that he meant to include letters written before 1505, when, with the appointment of Patrick Paniter as Principal Secretary to the King, the material for a calendar suddenly becomes plentiful.

The most substantial part of his material Hannay drew from the collection of some hundreds of letters, most of them written by Paniter on behalf of James IV and other Scottish dignitaries, preserved in five manuscript copies, four of them almost contemporary, and one made in the second half of the sixteenth century. Three, MSS. 35, 5, 9, A, B, and D, are in the National Library of Scotland, one MS. Royal, 13. b.ii, is in the British Museum, and one (referred to hereafter as R.H.) is in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh. In only three—N.L. MS. 35, 5, 9, B (referred to hereafter as N.L.), B.M. MS. Royal 13. b.ii (referred to hereafter as B.M.) and R.H. are the pages and letters numbered, and only for one—R.H.—is there a table of contents, prepared, it should be said, by Hannay himself. The National Library of Scotland possesses, in addition, microfilms of both N.L. and B.M.

A comparison, made recently by Mr. H. M. Paton, of the

four Edinburgh manuscripts with the microfilm of B.M. would seem to confirm Gairdner's surmise that N.L. MS. 35, 5, 9, A (referred to hereafter as N.L. A) may be a copy of B.M. In no respect is there any difference between the two: corrections, insertions, marginal notes, and blanks in the one are exactly duplicated in the other. Either both are copies of the same original, or one, it is impossible to say which one, is a copy of the other. Gairdner and the compiler of the *Catalogue of Royal MSS. in the British Museum* elect for B.M.; it is just as likely that the National Library MS., clearly written, rubricated, and spaced with some eye to artistic effect, is the original and B.M. the copy. N.L. MS. 35, 5, 9, D (referred to hereafter as N.L. D) which Ruddiman, on the strength of its clumsier handwriting and more frequent errors, considered to be an earlier version of N.L. A, was recognised by Mr. Paton as a careless and hasty copy of it, while R.M. was revealed as another copy of N.L. A, in a late sixteenth-century hand, from which a few letters, for no apparent reason, had been omitted.

The 326 letters in MSS. B.M., N.L. A, and N.L. D, range in date from April 1505 to December 3, 1524. Though many are undated, they are arranged more or less in chronological order, No. 1 bearing the date October 1, 1505. Marginal notes inserted by the scribe warn the reader that he has copied certain of the letters from rough notes—*'a minutulis non tornatis exscripti, nihil mutare ausus.'*

N.L. contains a much larger number of letters than the other manuscripts—440 as compared with 326—though it omits a few which appear in them. Along with the 217 complete leaves have been bound up seven torn or detached leaves containing undecipherable fragments of letters. The original first leaf has disappeared; at the foot of folio 2, in a later hand, is the inscription 'This book pertains to Johne Blakater of Tilli Allan lent be him the . . . day of Januar & zeir of God lxvi [?zeris].' At the top is the second part of a letter (N.L. 2) sent from Edinburgh to Pope Leo X on January 4, 1518-9. The next letter also belongs to the reign of James V; it is followed

by one—No. 150 in the Calendar—dated January 1, 1508. Though Gairdner exaggerates when he declares that the letters are ‘absolutely in no order whatsoever,’ though most of them are arranged roughly in chronological order, there are exasperating exceptions, and the mere position of an undated letter in the collection is no reliable indication of its date. Many letters, however, that have been left undated in the other MSS., are in N.L. supplied with both date and place of origin. A comparison of the copies in N.L. and B.M. of the Danish correspondence with the original letters, preserved in the Danish Archives and printed in Wegener, shows of N.L. comes closer than B.M. to the text of the letters that were actually sent to Denmark.

These MS. collections were first utilised by Thomas Ruddiman, who got the whole of the material for the first volume of his *Epistolae Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariae, Regum Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1722) from N.L. A and N.L. D. One manuscript, apparently N.L. D, he described in his preface as seeming to be almost contemporary with the original; the other, with its frequent corrections and marginal notes, he judged to be a little later. Of the 326 letters contained in these two copies he printed 206, of which 115 belonged to the last eight years of the reign of James IV, and the remainder to the period between the accession of James V and the departure of the Regent Albany for France in 1521.

Of the 67 letters which James Gairdner printed in full in his *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII*, Volume II, pp. 185-279 (London, 1863) he took 44 from B.M., which he considered to be the original of the two National Library MSS. used by Ruddiman. He was the first to discover the value of N.L., for the neglect of which he found it difficult to excuse Ruddiman, and to recognise that it contained a large number of letters, especially for the period 1505-9, that were not in the other MSS. Unfortunately for the student of Scottish History, Gairdner decided to print only those which he considered the most important, including all that had any reference to England, but excluding ‘the large number that relate only to Scotch

benefices and other matters of little concern to England or to the world at large.'

The letters for the period from April 1509 to December 1914 contained in N.L. and B.M., including many that are not printed in Ruddiman's *Epistolae*, are calendared in R. H. Brodie's revision (3 Vols., London, 1920) of J. S. Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*. Hannay admired, but did not completely approve of, the fashion in which Brodie had carried out his enormously difficult task. It seemed to him that in some cases the abstracts were so brief as to be almost useless, if not misleading, that matters relating to Scotland got too little attention, and that Brodie had occasionally gone astray in his attempts to date the numerous undated letters.

The task, in brief, to which Hannay addressed himself was the preparation, not of verbatim translations, but of very full abstracts, retaining the substance and something of the character of the originals, of all the letters written between April 1505 and September 1513 contained in N.L., and in Ruddiman and Gairdner. Those that were undated he essayed to date, at least approximately, from the record of the movements of ambassadors and heralds in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* and the *Register of the Privy Seal*.

He made little use, it would appear, of B.M., preferring instead the more accessible Register House MS. For the correspondence with the Danish court he preferred to the copies in N.L. the original letters as printed in Wegener. From his notes it is clear that he meant to include in the Calendar the very important letters in another British Museum MS.—Caligula, B. vi—as well as the letters relating to Andrew Forman's ambassadorial activities printed in Godefroy's *Lettres du Roy Louis XII* (Brussels, 1704).

When ill-health forced Hannay to abandon his task, he had all but completed the calendaring of the letters written between 1505 and 1510. After 1510 the gaps in his manuscript become more frequent, and the ten fateful months before Flodden he left a complete blank.

The Editor has printed Hannay's own work with the minimum of alteration, only rectifying discrepancies in the spelling of place and personal names, adding references to sources which Hannay had overlooked, and inserting a distinguishing 'H.' at the end of each of Hannay's summaries and footnotes. He has completed the Calendar from transcripts of the uncalendared material in the two letter-books from the *Lettres du Roy Louis XII*, and from certain letters from James IV and Andrew Forman to Louis XII in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the existence of which Hannay does not seem to have suspected. He has not thought it necessary, however, to include more than the briefest references to the very important confidential documents brought to Scotland by the agents of Louis XII and now preserved in the Register House, indispensable though they are for an understanding of the tangled Franco-Scottish negotiations in 1512 and 1513, as they have already been printed in full and summarised in *Flodden Papers*, edited by Dr. Marguerite Wood, and published by the Scottish History Society in 1933. These documents were overlooked by Brodie, who overlooked little, and whose great collection has been an indispensable aid to the present Editor.

The Editor is under a very heavy debt to Miss Anne Spilman, who made the transcripts of most of the many letters in N.L. and B.M. left uncalendared by Hannay. Her task was facilitated by the generous action of the Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, who provided microfilms of both manuscripts and by the co-operation of the Librarian and Staff of St. Andrews University Library, where a microfilm reader was put at her disposition.

The Editor's deep indebtedness to two friends of Hannay's youth, the late J. S. Hamilton and the late Rev. W. T. Cairns, D.D., and to Dr. William Angus, he has noted in the Biographical Memoir. For the description of Hannay as a University teacher he has drawn upon material supplied by members of his Scottish History classes—Mrs. E. W. Dobbie, Mrs. Annie I. Dunlop, Miss E. J. Boog-Watson, Mr. John Buchanan, and Dr. Gordon Donaldson. He also



wishes to thank the Editorial Committee of the *University of Edinburgh Journal* for permission to print the very fine portrait of Hannay which forms the frontispiece of this volume.

Finally, the Editor wishes to thank Mr. H. M. Paton for his valuable help in solving the problem of the relationship of the five different sixteenth-century manuscripts of the Letters.

### SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

One or two questions remain which Hannay would have answered, but which perplex the present Editor. MSS. N.L., B.M., and the rest are not collections of original documents, of preliminary drafts or duplicates of the letters actually sent to foreign courts, neither are they official registers, into which these letters were regularly and methodically copied out before their despatch. The appearance of a letter dated 1518 on the second leaf of N.L. followed closely by letters dated 1505 is significant: some of the copies must have been made from letters written at least fifteen years earlier. Some of the letters in B.M. and the three associated MSS. were, as we have seen, made from unrevised drafts, and a great many are undated. While many of the dates omitted in the other four MSS. are supplied in N.L., even in N.L. one has often to be satisfied with the day and the month only, or with an *ut supra* which is definitely misleading. In a few cases the gaps can be filled in from the original letters, preserved in foreign archives, which, in addition, often show slight variations from the text of the copies.

What, then, was the precise nature and purpose of these letter-books? The frequent omission of any indication of the date, the place from which the letter was sent, or the identity of the correspondent to whom it was addressed, the exclusion of all letters written in French or Scots suggest that the copyists were more interested in the form than in the substance of the letters, and that the collection was meant to serve as a book of styles, displaying the

proper formulae to be used in addressing popes and cardinals, kings and senates, displaying, too, models of correct and elegant Latin to be imitated by future secretaries and their clerks and deputies.

But the argument from the absence of dates may be pushed too far; an undated copy may, after all, mean an undated original, a preliminary draft in which the date had not been inserted.<sup>1</sup> We may hazard the guess that Paniter's successor, Laurence Telfer, about the time of Albany's final departure from Scotland in 1524, ordered his assistant clerks to collect, arrange, and copy out the great mass of memoranda, preliminary drafts, and final drafts of letters sent to foreign courts that had accumulated since Paniter's appointment as Secretary in 1505, and that the clerks, '*nihil mutare ausi*,' copied them out as they found them, complete or incomplete, rough draft or final draft. Telfer may have been moved simply by the collector's instinct, or by a disinterested interest in recent diplomatic history, to make permanent what otherwise would be dispersed and destroyed; he may have thought that the collection would be of immediate practical value, that by making it he was equipping himself with the tools of a King's Secretary's trade.

This hypothesis leaves unexplained the wide divergence between N.L. and the four other manuscripts. How did it come about that the transcriber of N.L. copied out a hundred letters which the transcriber of B.M. either did not see or deliberately excluded? Where did the transcriber of B.M. find those letters that the transcriber of N.L. omitted? Why should the transcriber of N.L. often produce a dated, and the transcriber of B.M. an undated version of the same letter? These are problems that cannot be solved by the simple assumption that the existing manuscripts are copies of other manuscript collections that have now disappeared. One thing is certain—whatever

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<sup>1</sup> An examination of the two Franco-Scottish Treaties of 1512 (Nos. 450 and 482) preserved in the Register House, shows that each had been written out in full except for the date, for which a space was left, into which it was inserted in another hand.

the motives of Paniter's successor may have been in ordering the compilation to be made, the existence of five manuscripts of the Letters, only one of them later than the middle of the sixteenth century shows that other high officials must have been quick to recognise its value, and to procure copies for themselves. Perhaps, as Mr. Paton suggests, N.L.A., the carefully written and rubricated *édition de luxe*, was meant to serve as a text-book of foreign policy for the youthful James V.

### PATRICK PANITER

N.L. and B.M. contain, in addition to copies of the numerous letters sent by King James to popes, cardinals, and secular princes, and of a few letters received by him in return, copies of letters written by his Queen, by his illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, by his Treasurer, James Betoun, and by his principal Secretary, Patrick Paniter, writing in his own name. All the letters in these letter-books are, without exception, written in Latin.

J. S. Brewer credited King James with the actual composition of the letters which were written in his name, and, while he found their style in some respects not unworthy of Erasmus, he considered that their 'feeble eloquence,' their lack of 'force, perspicuity, and directness,' mirrored only too truly the King's own character. But James was, according to Buchanan, '*ingenio quidem acri, sed vitio temporis ab litteris inculto*'; though he may be solely responsible for the very vigorous epistles in the vernacular like Nos. 546 and 560, which were not copied into the letter-books, the letters in Latin and in French which went out with his sign manual were really composed by Patrick Paniter, the scholar whom he called from his books to the service of the State—'*a litterarum studio ad Rempublicam.*'

Patrick Paniter—or Painter, as Hannay preferred to call him—was born about 1470 at Newmanswells, where his forebears had lived, not unknown to fame, since the days of Robert III. His early education he received in Scotland ;

then, like many another ambitious young Scottish scholar, he made his way to the Latin Quarter of Paris. Here, in the College of Montaigu, 'a frugal but not ignoble house,' he found himself one of a brilliant company which included Erasmus, John Major, George Dundas, who outstripped him in Latin and Greek, as he was later to outstrip him in the race for preferment, and Hector Boece, who described him many years later as '*non tam ob doctrinam quam prudentiam laudatus.*'

He returned to Scotland, as Ruddiman surmises, a little before 1500, and became, without taking priest's orders, Rector of Fetteresso in the Mearns and, apparently, perpetual Vicar of Kilmany in Fife. He was entrusted by the King with the education of one of his illegitimate children, Alexander Stewart, made in 1504, when he was not more than thirteen years of age, Archbishop of St. Andrews. In 1505 James made him his Secretary—*secretorum omnium primus nobis et unicus Secretarius*—and in 1507, on the departure of the boy archbishop to continue his studies in Italy, appointed him as tutor to his younger brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray.

Preferment followed. In 1508 he became first, Archdeacon, and then Chancellor of Dunkeld, and in 1509 Archdeacon of Moray. The Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, in the same year made him, along with the Bishop of Whithorn and the Abbot of Holyrood, sub-conservator of their privileges during the absence abroad of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. In 1510, after somewhat obscure negotiations, he resigned both the archdeaconry of Moray and the rectory of Fetteresso, and became rector of Tannadice in Angus. He cherished hopes of a greater prize, the Preceptory of Torphichen, left vacant by the death of Sir William Knollys, and for a time it seemed within his grasp: on January 30, 1511 (No. 346), the Pope informed the King of Scots that, in consideration of the merits and virtues of his Secretary, he had commended him to the Preceptory. But the award was contested by two other claimants; Paniter had to reckon, too, with the unrelenting hostility of Cardinal Bainbridge, the English ambassador at the

Papal Court, and at the beginning of 1513 he learned that Torphichen had been granted to Sir George Dundas, who, according to Hector Boece, had 'sweated' to get it—'*multo sudore superatis aemulis adeptus.*' In the summer of 1513, however, the King succeeded in obtaining for Paniter the Abbey of Cambuskenneth which, he assured the Pope, was dearer to him than any other religious house in his dominions, because his father and mother were buried there.

The monks at Cambuskenneth, it goes without saying, saw as little of their abbot as the parishioners of Fetteresso or Tannadice had seen of their rector. The holding of incompatible benefices by a non-resident incumbent would not surprise or shock them; it would be accepted by them as a customary and legitimate device for securing an adequate salary for a useful royal official. A dispensation from taking orders for two years, granted when he became Secretary, and renewed in 1507 for two years more, was extended by the Pope on October 8, 1509, for an additional year. On January 1, 1510 (No. 295), he was granted a second dispensation, allowing him non-residence from any benefices that he might have or obtain for two years from the end of the year in which he obtained them. On learning that he had been granted Cambuskenneth with a dispensation permitting him to defer for one year his taking of the monastic vows and assumption of the monastic habit, he protested that the concession was inadequate, whereupon Leo X, on August 10, 1513, allowed him another year, and also permitted him to defer for a period of three years in all his taking of the orders of sub-deacon and priest. There is no evidence, indeed, that he was ever in priest's orders at all.

The only distinctively ecclesiastical activity with which he is credited is the restoration of the derelict Hospital of St. Mary in Montrose. According to a royal charter of August 18, 1512, he had rescued the hospital from the grasp of powerful laymen, recovered its alienated lands, and rebuilt from the foundations its chapel, hall,<sup>1</sup> and other

<sup>1</sup> A set of eighteen carved oak panels, one of them decorated with the arms of Paniter, is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities. It

buildings. For this reason he was granted, as Preceptor of the Hospital, the power to recast its constitution, and the sole right of electing poor bedesmen, scholars, and chaplains.

His successor in Cambuskenneth, Alexander Myln, writing in 1522, complained that he found the monks there utterly sunk in sloth and ignorance, though he added that Paniter had contemplated a thorough reformation of the community, but had died before he could do anything to effect his purpose.

In 1510 Paniter was appointed Customar General for Scotland, and in and after that year he appears frequently as a witness to royal charters. He witnessed, for example, the Franco-Scottish Treaty of July 10, 1512 (No. 459) along with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Moray, the Earl of Angus, and the Clerk of Rolls and Register. The extraordinary letter which King James sent to Julius II (No. 360) on February 12, 1511, in which he warns the Pope to give no credence to any letter of his requesting ecclesiastical promotions, that did not bear Paniter's signature as well as his own, testifies to the growing importance of the Secretary's office.

On August 12, 1513, he secured letters of legitimation for his natural son, David Paniter, who many years later became Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots and Bishop of Ross. He followed the King to Flodden, where *in habitu armigeri*, he directed the fire of the Scottish guns, and worked one with his own hands. A rumour that he had been killed in the battle reached England, but he escaped the carnage and returned to Edinburgh, where, on October 2, he witnessed a charter in favour of the widow of Thomas Otterburn, '*occisus cum patre regis in campo bellico.*'

In the troubled times which followed he seems to have gained a reputation for double dealing. Though he was present at the General Council, which in Perth, on November 26, 1513, voted unanimously for the confirmation of the alliance with France, he associated himself for a time

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is probably part of the dais panelling from the hall of the Hospital. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. lxxiii, p. 325, and plate xcvi.

with the party of the Douglasses and the Queen Mother, who, on August 7, 1514, attempted to secure for him the Abbey of Holyrood. Albany, in consequence, regarded him with suspicion, and soon after his arrival in Scotland in May 1515, warded him in Inchgarvie. He was released by Albany's orders in the following year, and though, on October 28, 1516, Albany announced to the Pope his intention of resigning Cambuskenneth, and asked that when the resignation took effect the Abbey should be bestowed on Alexander Myln, on March 7, 1517, in the Register of the Great Seal, he was again styled Patrick, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, *Secretarius Regis*. Albany not only restored him to office; he took him into his confidence, and in May 1517 sent him, along with Gavin Douglas, to France, to co-operate with the Bishop of Ross, the Scottish ambassador at the court of Francis I, in the negotiations which led up to the signing of the Treaty of Rouen.

Albany himself followed the Scottish ambassadors to France in July, and kept Paniter with him in Paris after the conclusion of the Treaty on August 26. It seems that Paniter never returned to Scotland: from September 1517 the letters which went out from Edinburgh in the name of the young king were signed 'Tallefer pro Paniter.'

In the spring of 1519 someone, probably Albany, wrote from Paris to inform the Pope that Patrick Paniter, principal Secretary of the King of Scots and ambassador to the King of France, had dwelt in that city for two years, oppressed by ill-health and requiring constant medical attention. He had in consequence been unable to keep the vow which he had made two years earlier, to go on pilgrimage to Rome. The writer therefore implored the Pope, in the King's name, and in consideration of Paniter's bodily weakness, to allow him to choose a confessor to liberate him from this vow and grant him absolution from all his sins and excesses, however great.

His death, according to Ruddiman, took place in 1519. It was certainly before March 6, 1520, on which date a letter written from Edinburgh in the name of the King and his counsellors is subscribed by Telfer alone. The

copyist has added a note—' letters were signed thus after the death of the Principal Secretary and most noble lord, Paniter, at the court of Francis where he was ambassador.'<sup>1</sup>

Hannay's abstracts, though they reproduce faithfully the substance of Paniter's letters, rather dull down the Corinthian glitter of his style. The King's Secretary was a master of his craft: with equal facility, with an equal air of conviction, he would turn a graceful compliment to a foreign princess, put off the demands of an importunate ally with expressions of deep affection which, seeming to promise everything, promised nothing, throw the cloak of piety over some peculiarly twisted simoniacal transaction, or recite the grievances of merchant or mariner, unaccountably thrust into prison in some foreign port. Sometimes, as when he pleads with the Pope to establish peace and concord in Christendom, he reaches real eloquence; sometimes he writes with his tongue in his cheek, as in the well-known letter commending the King of the Gipsies to his brother-monarch, John of Denmark. The most attractive, however, because the most human and unofficial of these carefully calculated epistles, are the letters addressed to his old pupil, Alexander Stewart—'*mi Alexander, animo meo carissime, dimidium animae*'—in which he mingles affectionate badinage with tactful admonition.

It is evident that Paniter, like the 'ghosts' who wrote President Roosevelt's speeches, played some part in shaping the policies which he expounded with such vigour and elegance. He could not, as the merchants of Middelburg discovered to their chagrin, always get what he wanted out of his imperious and headstrong sovereign, but he certainly propelled him farther and faster along the broad path, down which he had already decided to travel. Spinelly, King Henry's agent in Flanders, repeating at second hand the common talk of the French court, reported on January 12, 1513,<sup>2</sup> that Paniter was furious because he had lost Torphichen through the intervention of Cardinal Bainbridge,

<sup>1</sup> Ruddiman, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Brodie, 1566.



the English ambassador in Rome, and that Forman and he were all-powerful with the King of Scots; and the shrewd and patient Nicholas West, in the course of his long drawn-out negotiations with King James, declared unequivocally that 'the said Secretorye . . . doothe all with his maister' (No. 545).

## THE DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND

### THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION

In 1505 the King of Scots could count himself one of the most fortunate of European monarchs. He had established law and order in the Lowlands—at least, as much law and order as the Lowlands had known for centuries; he had harried the rebels on the western fringes of his kingdom by land and sea, and reduced the islands to a reluctant peace, though it was not till the end of the following year that the last rebel stronghold, the Castle of Stornoway, was captured. By the Treaties of 1502 he had not only insured his kingdom—for all time, it would seem—against any danger of war with England, he had made it possible that he himself, as the husband of the elder daughter of Henry VII, would one day rule over England. The possibility was admitted by Henry himself. When it was pointed out to him by his counsellors 'that if God should take the King's two sons without issue that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England,' he replied that 'if that should be Scotland would be but an accession to England, for that the greater would draw the less, and that would be a safer union for England than that of France.'<sup>1</sup> James's vigorous denunciation of his cousin, Charles, Duke of Gueldres, for harbouring Edmund de la Pole, was made partly to please his father-in-law, partly to secure the elimination of a pretender to the English crown and of a possible rival to himself.<sup>2</sup>

He could congratulate himself on forging a new alliance

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, *History of Henry VII.*

<sup>2</sup> No. 14.

with England without repudiating the old alliance with France. To Henry's appeal that he should 'supersede or cess the confirmacioun of the auld lyig,' he repeated, on July 12, [1503?], that though he was bound to confirm it in the event of the death of the present King of France, he would postpone confirmation till he had a personal interview with Henry, or 'quhil we be ferthir avisit in that behalve.'<sup>1</sup> He never had the interview, nor was he ever 'ferthir avisit.'

#### CROWN AND PAPACY

James was fortified, in addition, by Papal favour. In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII, at the prayer of James III, issued an indult by which he consented to delay, for a period of at least eight months, provision to all Scottish archbishoprics and bishoprics, and to all other Scottish benefices of an annual value of 200 florins of gold of the Camera—all benefices, in short, provided by Pope and Cardinals assembled in Consistory. This was to give the King an opportunity of supplicating for the provision of persons whom he believed to be capable and trustworthy, and incidentally, of diverting into his coffers for the period of the vacancy the revenues that otherwise would have accrued to bishop or abbot.

Neither Alexander VI, who succeeded Innocent VIII, nor Julius II, who became Pope in 1503 (after the brief pontificate of Pius III), actually confirmed the indult, or engaged himself to accept the nominations contained in the royal supplications. They acquiesced, however, in the assumption by King and Parliament that it was still valid, and in practice they always—or almost always—accepted the King's nominees. It is true that there were sometimes unexpected and, to the King, incomprehensible delays and refusals, for the Act of Parliament of 1493, threatening with outlawry and banishment all clerks who made impetration at the Papal court without the King's consent, and with death and forfeiture all merchants who supplied them,

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<sup>1</sup> Bain IV, App. I, No. 37.

failed to deter the seekers after either consistorial or lesser benefices. The King himself sometimes failed to let his right hand know what his left hand was doing, and through policy or forgetfulness promised to secure the same benefice for two different candidates. As a precaution against his supplications being impeded or misinterpreted, James had recently appointed Domenigo Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia and Cardinal of St. Mark, protector of his interests—*imperii nostri Protector*—at the Papal court.

Neither piety nor wit, as both William Elphinstone and William Dunbar had discovered, was a recommendation to James in the dispensation of ecclesiastical preferment.

‘ How suld I leif, and am not landit,  
Nor yet with benefice am blandit ?  
I say not sir, you to reprieff,  
Bot doutles I go rycht neir hand it,’

complained the poet. The great and good Elphinstone might with more justice have complained of royal ingratitude when James secured the archbishopric of St. Andrews first for his younger brother, James, Duke of Ross, and then, in 1504, for his illegitimate son, the eleven-year-old Alexander Stewart—a feat, the King admitted, really difficult, and scarcely to be hoped for, *rem sane difficilem vix sperandam*.

The King consolidated his own authority and augmented his own revenues still further by securing for the boy a year or two later the Abbey of Dunfermline and the Priory of Coldingham. Other consistorial benefices he used to recompense assiduous servants of the crown, like Paniter, or the two Betouns. His eloquently expressed anxiety to purge his father's soul and right ancient wrongs in the tangled matter of Melrose, was really anxiety to promote Robert Betoun, Abbot of Glenluce, lately postulated for the Abbey of Coupar Angus, to the larger and wealthier Abbey of Melrose. So, his concern for the health of the Bishop of Dunkeld, disabled by age, he averred, from attendance at court, was really concern for the advancement of his Treasurer, James Betoun, already Abbot

of Dunfermline, in whose favour he wished the elderly bishop to resign his bishopric. He failed to secure Dunkeld for James Betoun, but he did succeed in advancing him to be Bishop of Whithorn and Dean of the Chapel Royal, now enriched by the annexation of the Priors of Inchmahome and Restennet and the Provostry of Lincluden, and, on the death of Archbishop Blacader in 1508, secured his election and provision as Archbishop of Glasgow. But now, for reasons that we can only guess, Betoun's spectacular rise to power was followed by a marked diminution of the royal favour; the King's influence at the Court of Rome, hitherto used to secure his advancement, was now used to check his progress and curb his authority. He was compelled to surrender Dunfermline to Alexander Stewart; when he received Glasgow, he was informed that, unlike his predecessor, he was not exempt from the primatial and legatine authority exercised by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and he had to submit to the removal of Whithorn from his province, now restricted to his own diocese of Glasgow and the poverty-stricken bishopric of the Isles.

Yet it had been from the hands of James Betoun that on Easter Sunday (April 4), 1507, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, the King received a special token of Papal favour, 'ane pourpur diademe wrocht with flouris of gold, with ane swerd, having the hiltis and skabert of gold, sett with precious stains,'<sup>1</sup> brought from Rome by Antony de Initiatis, knight of Alessandria. The envoy also brought the Pope's confirmation of the treaty for a perpetual peace between England and Scotland, concluded five years previously, and his proclamation of the King of Scots as Protector of the Faith (*Christianae fidei protector*).<sup>2</sup> After James had been honoured by this title and those gifts, says Lesley, he was possessed by such a zeal for religion, that he, already conspicuously Catholic, was now completely afire with Apostolic fervour.

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<sup>1</sup> Lesley, Scots version, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Lesley, Scots version, p. 75; Latin version, 1085 edition, pp. 330, 331; for relevant letters see Nos. 90, 96-98, 102.

Lesley is clearly in error when he makes this zeal find expression in a ruthless campaign against heresy ; it is not impossible, however, that the honour conferred upon him decided James to proceed with his long-contemplated plan of going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Already, on March 13, 1507, the Irish chieftain O'Donnel had expressed his regret at the news that James proposed to leave Scotland for a season,<sup>1</sup> and James a few weeks later<sup>2</sup> declared that while he would do nothing rash, once he was assured that Scotland would be safe in his absence, no clamour or dissuasion would hold him back from 'such a holy and pious pilgrimage' (*tam sanctum et pium iter*). The news was taken at the same time to the Danish court by Robert Forman, where it caused deep distress to King John, who sent a vigorous protest.<sup>3</sup>

A maritime state could not be defended, a pilgrim king could not be conveyed *in partes infidelium*, without a fleet. But the woods of Scotland could not supply him with all the timber he required ; it must be brought from France and the Baltic. Already, on August 13, 1506,<sup>4</sup> we find him thanking Louis XII for allowing him to import timber for his ships from the forests of France, expressing his relief that Louis should still remember the old alliance (*placet te foederis et amicitiae memoria*), and assuring Louis that his fleet, his subjects, and his own person were at his disposition, to be sent wherever he pleased.

His plan for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it is evident, soon developed into a grandiose scheme for a Crusade, by the united forces of Christendom, against the encroaching Turk. For this high enterprise he would build up his fleet; with it in view he would refrain from dissipating the strength of his kingdom by armed intervention on behalf of distressed kinsmen, like his cousin of Gueldres, threatened by the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon, or his uncle of Denmark, involved in an interminable struggle with the rebellious Swedes and their allies, the citizens of Lübeck. So, on July 8, 1506, he refused to act as arbiter

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<sup>1</sup> No. 89.

<sup>2</sup> No. 104.

<sup>3</sup> No. 103.

<sup>4</sup> No. 42.

in a dispute between Duke Charles and Ferdinand about the frontiers of Gueldres.<sup>1</sup> Six months later, however, on hearing from the Duke that the King of England proposed to aid Maximilian and Ferdinand in the dismemberment of his Duchy,<sup>2</sup> he reminded his father-in-law that an attack on the Duke would be an attack on his kinsman and ally, and that, if he made it, James would be compelled, to his sorrow, to regard him as an enemy.<sup>3</sup> At the same time he sent more tactful remonstrances to Maximilian, and to the Chancellor and Council of Burgundy.<sup>4</sup>

The Duke found a more effective ally in the King of France, whose policy it was to maintain an outpost of French influence on the Lower Rhine. The Duke was therefore able to announce to James on March 9, 1509,<sup>5</sup> that he had been comprehended in the Treaty of Cambrai, though he had been compelled to surrender part of his heritage. He asked James therefore, in his forthcoming interview with Henry, to press for the restoration of the whole of the Duchy. The interview with Henry, as we have seen, never took place. When at the end of the year the Duke complained that Gueldres had again been invaded, and appealed to James to come to his rescue,<sup>6</sup> James replied briefly that he would help him to the best of his ability, but did nothing more.<sup>7</sup>

#### SCOTLAND AND DENMARK

James displayed the same caution in his dealings with his uncle, John of Denmark, King *de jure*, of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, united under one monarch since the Peace of Calmar (1397), and Duke of Holstein. But Holstein he held only conjointly, and as a fief of the Empire, with his younger brother Frederick, afterwards (1523-33) King Frederick I of Denmark. And the King *de jure* was not King *de facto*: two of his three kingdoms had revolted against him, and though in Norway

<sup>1</sup> No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> No. 73.

<sup>3</sup> No. 226.

<sup>7</sup> No. 297.

<sup>2</sup> No. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 71 and 72.

<sup>6</sup> No. 283.

the rebellion had been suppressed, and his son Christiern, or Christian, afterwards (1513-23) King Christian II, established as Viceroy, in Sweden the rebels had so far come off best in a long and obstinate struggle. In addition, Lübeck, rejoicing at the opportunity of humbling a formidable commercial rival, joined the rebel Swedes in their war against Denmark.

To King John's request, sent on November 25, 1504, for two ships well armed and equipped to be sent to Calmar in Sweden,<sup>1</sup> James, in April 1505, returned a polite refusal, with a caution to his uncle not to be too hard on the Swedes.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he advised the Swedes to make peace, and warned them that he would intervene should he find that his uncle was imperilled unjustly. Later in the year he seems to have sent some ships to Copenhagen, where Queen Christina was besieged for six months by the Swedes.<sup>3</sup>

Another appeal was sent by King John in the autumn of 1506. Lübeck and other Hansa towns threatened to deprive him of the command of the Baltic. Scotland and France must send him such help at the beginning of the summer of 1507 as would enable him to regain it.<sup>4</sup> James responded early in 1507 by sending Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, with Lyon King-of-Arms, to investigate, and to preach caution and restraint in both Lübeck and Denmark. On March 8, 1507, however, before the envoys had arrived in Denmark, James was able to congratulate his uncle on a satisfactory agreement with Lübeck, and to assure him that if the negotiations had broken down, the Scottish fleet would have sailed for Denmark.<sup>5</sup>

The Scottish envoys returned to Copenhagen from Lübeck on April 17, and were joined a few weeks later by Montjoye, the French King-at-Arms. According to John, they were completely successful: on July 20 he sent to James a copy of the agreement which, with their help, he had concluded with the representatives of Lübeck

<sup>1</sup> No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> No. 37.

<sup>3</sup> No. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 46, 47.

on June 24. At the same time he urged Archbishop Blacader, the uncle of Forman, to dissuade James from his contemplated pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The envoys arrived back in Scotland about September 18, bringing the astonishing news that the Emperor of Russia sought an alliance with the King of Denmark, news which James interpreted as pointing to the speedy reunion of the two severed halves of Christendom.<sup>2</sup> But on March 25, 1508, a Danish envoy brought the dismal tidings that the men of Lübeck and of the other Hansa towns associated with them had broken the agreement arrived at in the previous June, by failing to maintain the embargo on trade with the Swedes. King John therefore asked James to send two warships to Copenhagen before Easter.<sup>3</sup> James refused to send the ships till he had fuller information; he did, however, send letters by the same envoy to Henry VII and Louis XII, recommending his uncle's case to these monarchs,<sup>4</sup> and on April 9, 1508, he bluntly informed the people of Lübeck that a breach of their agreement with Denmark would involve them in a war, not only with Scotland, but with her allies.<sup>5</sup> John was not satisfied; on July 28, 1508, he declared to James that he had been disappointed in his hopes of support by Louis, and that he had decided to abandon the project of a French marriage for his son,<sup>6</sup> and on December 21, 1508, he repeated his request for ships and men. As the Swedes persisted in their rebellion and the Lübeckers persisted in their support of the Swedes, he had no choice but to go to war with both: he therefore asked James to specify, before March 16, 1509, the number of ships and men that he could send, and to have them at Copenhagen before May 15.<sup>7</sup> But on March 23 King John was able to tell his nephew that he had entered into a truce with the Swedes, and that the Scottish ships need not sail.

On July 20<sup>8</sup> John repeated his demand for ships and

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<sup>1</sup> No. 122.

<sup>2</sup> No. 151.

<sup>3</sup> No. 170.

<sup>4</sup> No. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 131-133, 135.

<sup>6</sup> No. 169.

<sup>7</sup> No. 185.

<sup>8</sup> No. 259.



men : the men of Lübeck were imprisoning his merchants and sending large numbers of their ships to support the rebel Swedes ; he must therefore have without fail, early in the following summer, a fleet and 2000 armed men from Scotland. Four months later he asked James to seize the ships and goods of any Lübeckers who might put into Scottish ports, and licensed his subjects to attack and plunder any ship of Lübeck that they might encounter.<sup>1</sup> On December 28 he again appealed to James, this time to send his new ship, the *Margaret*, and three others to Norway by Easter (March 31, 1510), and to allow Andrew and Robert Barton to operate during summer with their own ships.<sup>2</sup> Again James refrained from risking any vessel of the fleet that he was building up for his great adventure, though he allowed the Bartons to engage, in the summer of 1510, in some very profitable privateering at the expense of Lübeck, and on August 1 sent a spirited reply to Maximilian, who had asked James to restrain John of Denmark from molesting an Imperial City.<sup>3</sup>

On September 4 came a more urgent appeal from John, threatened not only by Lübeck and by other Hansa towns that the Lübeckers had stirred up against him, but also by Maximilian, who had directed the German princes to deny all help to Denmark.<sup>4</sup> John begged his nephew to intercede for him with Maximilian, and also sent to Copenhagen before Easter the largest number of ships and troops that he could assemble. The appeal was repeated on October 12, and again some months later,<sup>5</sup> when John asked that Andrew Barton should be sent to Copenhagen with all the ships that he could collect, and begged James to abandon his contemplated expedition. Barton arrived in Copenhagen, but he disappointed John by sailing off again without permission as soon as he had drawn his pay, taking with him a small vessel, presumably the *Jenny Pirwyn*, presented to the King by his nephew.<sup>6</sup>

The customary appeal for troops and ships went out on

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 278, 279.

<sup>3</sup> No. 318.

<sup>6</sup> No. 387.

<sup>2</sup> No. 286.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 321, 322.

<sup>6</sup> No. 412.

February 12, 1512.<sup>1</sup> It was the last of its kind, for it was speedily followed by a letter, acknowledged by James on May 28, announcing that the King of Denmark had entered into a truce with the Swedes, and, by the Treaty of Malmö, had made a satisfactory peace with Lübeck.<sup>2</sup> The positions of uncle and nephew were reversed: soon James would play the suppliant poor relation, and John assume James's rôle of the affable but unhelpful kinsman.

#### SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, AND FRANCE

The fundamental problem which confronted James and his advisers between 1505 and 1513 was that of the position of Scotland with regard to England and France. James was now the sworn ally of both the King of England and the King of France: already he had held out to Henry the hope that he might refuse to renew the Franco-Scottish Alliance; already he had assured Louis that he could still count upon their old friendship.

His professions were speedily put to the test by Louis, who on July 10, 1507, instructed Robert Cockburn, postulate of Ross, to ask James to send a force of 4000 well-trained foot-soldiers to Genoa or the neighbouring port of Savona, to assist in the defence of his Duchy of Milan, threatened by Maximilian. Louis desired the troops to be sent even if the threat failed to materialise, as a token that the old alliance was still in force. Cockburn was in addition to tell James of the great pleasure with which Louis had received the news that Scottish ambassadors were on their way to him to confirm the alliance.<sup>3</sup>

The threat to Milan disappeared; the interview which Louis had with Maximilian at Savona was a friendly one; on August 30 Louis was able to inform James that he need not send the stipulated number of troops to Italy, though he wished James to keep them together, so that they might be transported quickly to France.<sup>4</sup> James, On October 10, instructed Cockburn to assure Louis that, in case of need,

<sup>1</sup> No. 411.

<sup>2</sup> No. 452.

<sup>3</sup> No. 115; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> No. 138.

he would send him every available man in his kingdom, and go to his help himself. It was essential, however, that he should have timely notice and full particulars of the help required.<sup>1</sup> The other matters mentioned in James's instructions to Cockburn, not put down in writing, but to be delivered by word of mouth, may have been connected with the proposal for some great enterprise, made by Philip de Pratis, Consul of the Catalans in Alexandria, and communicated to James by the Sieur de la Mothe on his way back to France from Jerusalem, to which, according to his story (*ut ait*) he had gone on pilgrimage. From the terms in which James refers to it in his letters to Louis,<sup>2</sup> to the Cardinal d'Amboise<sup>3</sup> and to de Pratis,<sup>4</sup> it was evidently an appeal to the King of France to head a Crusade against the Infidel, a Crusade in which James ardently desired to take part.

In the meantime the new alliance between Scotland and England was wearing thin. It seemed to James that Henry had shown both culpable slackness in suffering to go unpunished 'the Bastard Heron,' who on a day of truce had murdered Sir Robert Ker of Ferniehurst, the Scottish Warden of the Marches, and culpable officiousness in arresting and detaining the Earl of Arran on his return from France, to which he had gone, along with the young Archbishop of St. Andrews, in the late autumn of 1507. Disturbed, it would appear, by the news that Louis proposed to send shortly to Scotland as his ambassador no less a person than the great commander, Bernard Stewart, Sieur d'Aubigny, Henry in the early spring of 1508 despatched his almoner, Thomas Wolsey, to the Scottish Court. Wolsey reported, on or soon after April 10, 1508, that though the whole body of James's subjects, with the solitary exception of Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, were urging James to renew the alliance with France, and though James, before his arrival, had made up his mind to do so, yet he now declared that as long as Henry treated him as a good father should, he would never break with

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<sup>1</sup> No. 140.<sup>2</sup> No. 142.<sup>3</sup> No. 143.<sup>4</sup> No. 144.

him nor renew the French alliance, but be 'at all times ready to live and die with him, against . . . the French, or any other.' James professed to be ignorant of the purpose of d'Aubigny's mission, but promised that as soon as he knew, he would send Forman to Henry with a report containing 'secrets that no man shall know, but he and your grace.' The release of the Earl of Arran, Wolsey thought, would be the best way of ensuring that James would keep his promise.

D'Aubigny arrived in Scotland on May 8, 1508; his ostensible purpose was to consult James about a matter that had already been settled, the marriage of Claude, the elder daughter of Louis XII, to François, duc d'Angoulême, later François I of France<sup>1</sup>; he had really come to sound James about a renewal of the old alliance. D'Aubigny died on June 8, without, it appears, getting any definite assurance out of James; the letters announcing his death<sup>2</sup> and the departure for France of the Archdeacon of Moray with answers to the requests which he had submitted to James, contain only vague expressions of goodwill.

At the time Louis did not insist on more; the Franco-Scottish alliance, after all, was meant to be an insurance against English aggression, and he was soon to become the ally of the King of England, for, on December 10, 1508, he became a partner in the League of Cambrai, along with Henry, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Maximilian. The eyes of the princes of Christendom were turned, not to Jerusalem, as the King of Scots fondly believed, but to Italy. The League had for its object the humiliation of the over-mighty republic of Venice, which was to be compelled to restore to the Pope the towns that it had seized in the Romagna, to Ferdinand the ports in Apulia, to Maximilian Verona, Padua, and Friuli, and to Louis XII the portion of the territories of Milan which it had annexed. Louis XII was to keep Milan, the Duke of Gueldres was guaranteed undisturbed possession of a part of his Duchy, and an invitation to join the League was sent to the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> Lesley, Scots version, p. 77; Latin version, pp. 333-334.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 178 [189] and 181.

Pope Julius hesitated for four months before he accepted the invitation, then on April 27, 1509, he launched a bull of excommunication against the proud Republic.

On April 21, 1509, Henry VII died. James, on June 11, sent an affectionate greeting to his successor,<sup>1</sup> and on November 28, in presence of his assembled nobles and prelates, solemnly swore on the Gospels and Canon of the Mass to observe every article in the treaty of perpetual peace with England.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime much had happened in Italy. Even before Julius had put Venice under the ban, French troops were moving down the Alpine passes into the plain of Lombardy, and on May 10, 1509, they surprised and routed the Venetian army at Agnadello, then, pushing far into the territories of the Republic, they occupied Bergamo, Cremona, and Brescia, and compelled the evacuation of the cities of the Romagna, which were speedily occupied by the Papal troops. Farther north, at Trent, a second army of invasion, under Maximilian, was slowly assembling; without waiting for it to advance, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua opened their gates to his envoys. The towns in distant Apulia were abandoned, and the Venetian forces concentrated for the defence of the city of Venice itself against the combined armies of Louis and the Emperor.

But the armies found co-operation difficult. Not till the late summer of 1509 did Maximilian lead his enormous army slowly southward to join the French before the walls of Padua, which the Venetians had reoccupied and fortified. The siege began in the middle of August, but violent quarrels broke out among the allies, the siege guns did not arrive till another month had passed, and finally, on October 2, the siege was abandoned.

Louis withdrew his forces to the Milanese; Maximilian returned reluctantly to Trent, still eager to humiliate the insolent Republic which had barred his passage to Rome and prevented his coronation there as Emperor.

But Julius II had no intention of destroying the Republic

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<sup>1</sup> No. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 280 and 281.

now that its subjects had learned their lesson : on February 28, 1510, he announced to James<sup>1</sup> that the cities in the Romagna formerly held by Venice had been restored to him, and that he had now lifted the ban of excommunication and taken the Republic into his favour, being confident that its maritime strength would enable it to render most valuable service to the cause of Christendom. James must have received shortly afterwards the news of the death of the Count of Pitigliano, Captain-General of the Venetian forces, and, if the reports of Badoer, the Venetian agent in London, are to be believed,<sup>2</sup> was fired with the ambition to succeed him, and lead the combined forces of Scotland and Venice against the Turk. Nothing came of the proposal ; on September 9, 1510, Badoer was informed by the Doge and Senate of Venice that, at the request of the Pope, they had released the Marquis of Mantua, Gonfalonier of the Church, and made him their Captain-General.<sup>3</sup>

Another and more serious blow to his hopes of leading, or taking a prominent part in, a Crusade against the Infidel was dealt by the news which Louis sent him in August 1510,<sup>4</sup> that Pope Julius, not content to make peace with the Venetians, had instigated them to join with the Papal troops in attacking the French base at Genoa and in invading the territories of the friendly Duke of Ferrara. He had also succeeded in wrecking the alliance between Louis and the Swiss, and he might have added, had diverted 10,000 Swiss mercenaries, the most formidable infantry in Europe, from the French service into his own. It was clear to Louis that the Pope meant to undermine both his temporal and his spiritual authority ; Louis therefore proposed to convoke an assembly of the notables of his kingdom—to which James would be invited—to take the necessary measures against this unwarranted aggression.

Louis did not exaggerate : he had roused an implacable antagonist, determined by fair means or foul, by open

<sup>1</sup> No. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Brodie, 570 ; Cal. Ven. II, No. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 306-308.

<sup>4</sup> No. 320.

warfare or by intrigue, to drive 'the Barbarian' back over the Alps, and to establish himself as the sole arbiter of the destinies of Italy. In September Louis convoked a synod of the French clergy at Tours, which declared that he was justified in taking up arms against the Pope, and urged that a General Council should be summoned. Maximilian, enraged at the encouragement given by Julius to the contumacious Venetians, approved, and shortly afterwards the summons went out for a General Council to be held in Pisa in September 1511.

#### THE MISSION OF ANDREW FORMAN

James was alarmed, both for his own position as a dutiful son of the Church, invited to attend what the Pope would inevitably regard as a schismatical assembly, and for the prospects of the great Crusade, certain to be wrecked before ever it was launched if the Pope and his Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, went to war. On October 22, 1510, he wrote to the Marquis of Mantua,<sup>1</sup> announcing that he had sent Andrew Forman to effect the reconciliation of Louis XII and the Pope, begging the Marquis to support his envoy, and asking him what hope there was of a Crusade.

Forman was in Blois in December, with instructions, it would appear,<sup>2</sup> to remind Louis of his promise to help James to effect '*son saint voyage de Hierusalem,*' and to find out definitely what that promise amounted to. He was to ask how many ships, guns, and troops Louis would furnish, and when and for how long they would be placed under James's command, also how much money Louis meant to give him. He was also to ask Louis whether Alexandria or Constantinople should be their first objective. Fortified with a detailed and definite promise, he would be able to point out to the princes of Christendom that the sole obstacle to the Crusade was the hostility of the Pope

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<sup>1</sup> No. 332.

<sup>2</sup> No. 337; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 6-10; the instructions are unsigned and undated.

and Ferdinand to Louis,<sup>1</sup> and to declare to the Pope with justice that if Louis attacked those who had prevented the Crusade, he was attacking, not the Church, but enemies of the Faith who should be treated like Infidels.

Forman left Blois on or before December 29, 1510.<sup>2</sup> On January 15 Badoer reported that he was coming to Italy and would visit Venice.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime the indomitable Julius, after shaking off what had seemed to be a deadly sickness, advanced through the winter snows from Bologna to the borders of the Duchy of Ferrara, and, in January 1511, captured Concordia and Mirandola. But in February Concordia and Mirandola were recaptured by the French under Trivulzio, and Julius was forced to return to Bologna. In May, Bologna itself had to be abandoned to the French; Julius took refuge in Ravenna, whence he returned to Rome. From Rome, on July 18, he issued a bull summoning a General Council to meet in the Lateran on April 19, 1512, and so ensured that when the Council organised by Louis did meet at Pisa on September 1, the day appointed, it would of necessity become a schismatic assembly.

The King of Scots worked hard to make Forman's mission a success. Between February 5 and February 12, 1511, he directed letters to the Pope,<sup>4</sup> the Cardinal of St Mark,<sup>5</sup> the Marquis of Mantua,<sup>6</sup> the Duke of Savoy,<sup>7</sup> the Emperor,<sup>8</sup> the King of Hungary,<sup>9</sup> and the College of Cardinals,<sup>10</sup> urging them to favour Forman, whom he had sent to heal the strife between the Pope and the King of France, and so make possible the long-desired Crusade. In addition, he desired the Pope to accept his uncle, the French-born Duke of Albany, as Forman's fellow-ambassador. This request, however, the Pope disregarded;

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<sup>1</sup> Julius, overriding the claims of Louis, had invested Ferdinand with the kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand, however, had not as yet withdrawn from the League of Cambrai.

<sup>2</sup> No. 386, n.

<sup>3</sup> Brodie, 675.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 340-351.

<sup>5</sup> No. 352.

<sup>6</sup> No. 353.

<sup>7</sup> No. 354.

<sup>8</sup> No. 355.

<sup>9</sup> No. 356.

<sup>10</sup> No. 359.



though before March 19 Albany made several attempts to speak with him, Julius refused to grant an audience to him or to any other Frenchman. Now that there was no other intermediary between Louis and the Pope, the Scots ambassador soon found himself cast for the part of French ambassador as well. Louis, before the end of February, instructed him to get in touch with his own ambassador, Etienne Poncher, Bishop of Paris, whom he was sending to Modena, and to work along with the Bishop of Gurce, the astute Matthew Lang, whom Maximilian had sent to negotiate the sure and certain peace which it had amused the Pope to promise.<sup>1</sup>

Forman evidently had an audience with the Pope in Bologna about the end of April. He reported to Louis that Julius would insist on his abandoning the Duke of Ferrara and restoring any Papal territory that he or the Duke might have acquired,<sup>2</sup> and he seems to have added <sup>3</sup> that Julius was willing to grant an audience to the French ambassador. The Bishop of Gurce considered that the negotiations had broken down, and moved to Parma at the beginning of May, leaving the more optimistic Forman in Bologna. On May 5 Forman wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Bishop of Paris, who was waiting in Piacenza, informing him that two days earlier he had a long interview with the Pope, in which he made it plain that Louis was resolved not to abandon the Duke of Ferrara. The Pope listened to him attentively, declared his anxiety to arrive at any settlement with Louis consistent with the honour of the Papacy, and expressed his readiness to see the Bishop of Paris, to whom he would communicate his final decision.<sup>4</sup> Julius, as Louis surmised, had no real intention of receiving his ambassador; he flattered only to deceive the simple Scot and his master, to whom, on May 6, he sent a letter expressing his high admiration of Forman's diligence and nimble wit (*ingenii dextérité*), and declaring that he intended to make him a cardinal at the next creation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> No. 361.

<sup>2</sup> No. 362.

<sup>3</sup> No. 366 and 367

<sup>4</sup> No. 365.

<sup>5</sup> No. 368.

Louis, in spite of Forman's advice, refused to send the Bishop of Paris to the Pope.<sup>1</sup> On June 20 Forman delivered to Louis in Grenoble the Pope's answers to his questions, which left matters exactly as they had been; the Pope's attitude to the Duke of Ferrara was unchanged; he refused to be bound by the Treaty of Cambrai or to join with Maximilian in an attack on Venice.<sup>2</sup> Three days later Louis sent him back to the Pope with 'good sharp answers': if Julius did not accept peace now, he would not get it when he really did want it. Julius made Forman wait in Rome till he had heard the result of a plot to recover Bologna from the French.<sup>3</sup> Not till August 3 was Forman able to send to Louis, now in Valence, by his servant, the Pope's disingenuous reply.<sup>4</sup> He would invest the Duke of Ferrara with his dukedom, but would hold his salt-works at Commachio till the Duke repaid the full cost of the Papal campaign against him; though he was bound by the Treaty of Cambrai to give no help to the Venetians he considered himself free to lend them 50,000 ducats.

James was evidently deeply disturbed by the reports which Forman sent him of the progress of his mission. In August he sent an eloquent and moving appeal to the Pope, deploring the imminent war between His Holiness and His Most Christian Majesty, and offering his services as mediator between them.<sup>5</sup> But Julius held to his course: on September 25 he commissioned Forman and the Archbishop of Torre as his ambassadors, with full powers to conclude a peace with Louis. But the offer of peace was, in effect, an ultimatum—Louis was required to surrender Bologna unconditionally; the Cardinals who had attended the Council of Pisa must sue for pardon and return to Rome.<sup>6</sup>

The reason for this display of firmness was soon apparent. Already, on August 10, Julius had succeeded in negotiating with the ambassadors of England, Spain, and Venice, the preliminary agreement for an alliance<sup>7</sup>—the Holy League

<sup>1</sup> No. 369.

<sup>2</sup> No. 379.

<sup>3</sup> No. 386.

<sup>7</sup> Brodie, 844.

<sup>2</sup> No. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 383 and 384.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 388-390.

—which was finally concluded on October 4,<sup>1</sup> though the English ambassador, because his papers had not arrived from London, did not sign till November 13.<sup>2</sup>

Louis saw clearly the perilous position in which he was placed by the Pope's policy of encirclement, and on November 8 he despatched by Dr. Pierre Cordier, an appeal to James to remain faithful to France,<sup>3</sup> while avoiding a break with England, and to refuse to join the Holy League. Maximilian, on November 15, wrote to James from Innsbrück, denouncing the policy of Julius and appealing to James to join with the King of France and himself in taking measures to avert the general war which now seemed inevitable, and so make possible the Crusade that would bring them eternal fame.<sup>4</sup> But James had already sailed into troubled waters.

#### THE AFFAIR OF ANDREW BARTON

James's ambition to make Scotland a formidable maritime power caused him to regard with a too indulgent eye—when he did not actively encourage—some of the more doubtful activities of adventurous sea-captains like the three brothers Barton—Robert, John, and Andrew. Twice at least he had been a guest in Robert Barton's house in Leith; to Andrew he granted, in 1510, lands valued at 222 merks.<sup>5</sup> He had already bestowed on the brothers a more dangerous gift: in July 1507 he renewed in their favour letters of marque against the Portuguese, granted by James III to their father more than thirty years earlier.

Trouble soon followed. In 1508 Robert Barton, having captured a Portuguese ship, was arrested in the Staple port of Veere, and released only after James had protested vigorously to Maximilian, to the Duchess of Savoy, and to Henry de Borselen, Bailiff of Veere.<sup>6</sup> A similar exploit by John Barton resulted in his being sued before the Lords

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 889.

<sup>2</sup> No. 392; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 10-17.  
R.M.S., ii, No. 3511.

<sup>3</sup> Brodie, 939.

<sup>4</sup> No. 393.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 206-8.

of Council by an English, a French, and a Flemish merchant, whose goods were on board another captured Portuguese ship.

A vigorous protest by King Emanuel of Portugal, delivered in June 1510 by his ambassador, Edward Ferdinandi, made James suspend the letters of marque for a season.<sup>1</sup> But the Bartons continued their depredations: in March 1511 Aloysius Bonciannus, an envoy from Margaret of Savoy, complained to the Council that Andrew Barton had plundered a ship belonging to certain merchants of Antwerp. The Lords of Council, understanding that Andrew was due 'to depart hastily furth of the realme,' ordered him to appear before them on March 16, Andrew, instead of obeying the summons, sailed for Denmark. When Bonciannus again appeared before the Council, on April 1, he was informed that 'if he or ony uthir wald gar tak the said party, . . . justice suld be ministrat.'<sup>2</sup>

Barton did not stay long in Danish waters; he sailed southward into the Narrow Seas, and there, under the pretext that the Scots and the Portuguese were at war, 'he stopped the Kyngis stremes that no merchauntes almost could passe, and when he took thenglishmens goodes he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at every Haven's mouthe.' The aggrieved English merchants complained to King Henry; he, instead of adopting the procedure laid down in the Treaty of 1502, and lodging a demand for redress, to be followed, if he did not get satisfaction within six months, by the issue of letters of marque,<sup>3</sup> ordered Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral, and his brother, Lord Thomas Howard, to deal with the Bartons at once. At the end of June 1511, they overtook two Scottish ships in the Downs and captured them after a stubborn contest in which Andrew Barton was mortally wounded and many of his men slain outright. The survivors, after a few weeks' confinement, during which they were induced to admit that they deserved to

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<sup>1</sup> No. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Acts of Council, xxii, fols. 67, 78, and 112a.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, xii, 796.

be hanged at the low-water mark as thieves and pirates, were pardoned and released.<sup>1</sup>

James, 'wonderfull wrothe' at the news of the slaying of Barton and the capture of his ships, wrote to Henry to demand redress in accordance with the 1502 Treaty; Henry retorted that it did not become a prince to accuse another prince of breaking a treaty when he had done justice on a pirate.<sup>2</sup> The Howards urged Henry to make war at once; Wolsey counselled moderation, and on November 3 Dr. Nicholas West was commissioned to go to Scotland with full powers to negotiate a settlement of all disputes.<sup>3</sup> Some months passed, however, before West presented himself at the Scottish court, and on December 5, 1511, James informed the Pope that in view of Henry's attacks on his subjects, he now assumed that His Holiness no longer regarded the 1502 Treaty as binding on either Henry or himself.<sup>4</sup>

Cordier spent Christmas at the Scottish court,<sup>5</sup> and left for Denmark at the end of February, armed with letters of commendation from the King of Scots.

#### RENEWAL OF THE FRANCO-SCOTTISH ALLIANCE

Early in January 1512, Forman, braving the Alpine cold (*frigora et Alpes supervit*),<sup>6</sup> went to Rome in a final attempt to reconcile Louis and the Pope. If only the Pope would abandon the Holy League, he maintained, Louis would consent to give up both Bologna and Ferrara. Julius was obdurate: on January 7, 1512, he wrote to James acknowledging Forman's labours for peace, declaring that the mind of Louis was set, not on peace, but the ruin of the Church, and urging James to join the Holy League, framed expressly for its protection. Forman was back in Blois before January 17,<sup>7</sup> with a reply from the Pope which con-

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 909.7; Hall, p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> No. 394.

<sup>4</sup> No. 429.

<sup>5</sup> No. 391.

<sup>6</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> No. 403.

vinced Louis that further negotiations would be hopeless. Whatever suspicions Louis might have entertained, he as yet knew nothing definite about Henry's adhesion to the League, or about the agreement, concluded by Henry and Ferdinand, on November 17, 1511, for a joint invasion of South-western France in April 1512.<sup>1</sup>

When Forman left Blois on January 18, 1512, Louis instructed him to urge upon both Henry and James the preservation of peace between their kingdoms, as without it a Crusade would be impossible.<sup>2</sup> Forman, after spending some days in London, arrived back in Scotland about the middle of February 1512, with the very important instructions committed to him by Louis on January 18.<sup>3</sup> He was to represent that Louis could not at this time help James with his Crusade, because of the implacable hostility of the Pope, who was determined that there should be no peace. Louis would, however, a year after peace had been established, grant James a tithe, to be levied on all his territories on either side of the Alps—which would amount to an incalculable sum—and would in addition lend him ample supplies of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and munitions, and as many ships as James would require for transport. James, on his side, must refuse to join the League, and must insist on the Pope holding his General Council in a neutral place.

So far Forman had played the part of an honest broker : there is no reason to suspect that he went on his travels determined to swing Scotland away from the new alliance with England, back to the old alliance with France. But his attempts to reconcile the two irreconcilables had failed ; and it would be little wonder if the image of the cardinal's hat, which Julius had dangled before him only to withdraw, was now replaced by the image of a great French cathedral, lovelier than his own lovely and seldom visited cathedral of Elgin, which might be his prize if he persuaded his master to renew the alliance with France.

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<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 945.

<sup>2</sup> No. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 404 and 405; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 17-26.

On February 28, 1512, James summoned his Council.<sup>1</sup> Four days later the Papal envoy, Octavian Olarius, delivered the letters which the Pope had written on January 7<sup>2</sup> than which, James declared, he had never read anything more depressing<sup>3</sup>; on March 6 he renewed the old alliance with France<sup>4</sup>; on March 16 he wrote to the Pope deploring his attitude to Louis<sup>5</sup>; and on March [19] he countered Ferdinand's proposal, delivered by his envoy, Leonard Lopez, that he should join the League, by urging Ferdinand to work for the reconciliation of Louis and the Pope.<sup>6</sup>

With every week the French King's need of allies increased: Swiss, Venetians, and Spaniards were now arrayed against him, and in April the Pope announced that Maximilian would soon come over to the League. The crushing defeat of the Spaniards and Venetians at Ravenna on April 16 availed him nothing: the death of Gaston de Foix in the moment of victory left the French forces in Italy without a capable leader, and before the end of June they abandoned the Duchy of Milan and retired north of the Alps. The fear of invasion hung over France itself: at the beginning of June Sir Edward Howard escorted an army commanded by the Marquis of Dorset to Fontarabbia, then, doubling back, plundered the coasts of Brittany.

The first draft of the 1512 Treaty was taken to France by de la Mothe and Unicorn Pursuivant, who left Scotland towards the end of March 1512.<sup>7</sup> Before it was delivered, Louis had become aware that an English invasion of France was imminent. On April 4, 1512, he sent Cockburn, now Bishop of Ross, to Scotland, with two sets of instructions, to be used as circumstances dictated.<sup>8</sup> According to the first, he was to ask James to send an ambassador to Henry with the declaration that if he made war on Louis on the pretext of going to the help of King Ferdinand, James would make war on him on behalf of his friend, the King

<sup>1</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 333.

<sup>2</sup> No. 399.

<sup>3</sup> No. 429.

<sup>4</sup> No. 427.

<sup>5</sup> No. 429.

<sup>6</sup> No. 430.

<sup>7</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 336-338.

<sup>8</sup> No. 437; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 27-38.

of France. According to the second, the Bishop was to thank the King of Scots, on behalf of Louis, for '*la declaration vertueuse et ouverte*' which he had made against the King of England in the event of his attacking France, and to assure him that Louis would make a similar declaration against all who might levy war against him, and in addition, give him all the help that he could for the conquest of England.

Though James had decided to renew the French alliance, he hesitated to plunge into a war with England at the behest of Louis unless he had some prospect of success. He represented to Louis some time in April that it was to please him that he had hitherto kept the peace with Henry, and that if he broke with Henry he would lose his right to succeed to the English crown, should Henry die childless. He must therefore, before he committed himself to a war with England, be assured that Louis would support his claim to the English crown. He would prefer to confine his operations against England to a war at sea, and he would require from the King of France money, provisions, and troops of all arms. To this Louis replied before the end of the month, giving him the assurances that he required, urging him to fight on land as well as on sea, and regretting that his heavy commitments in Italy prevented his giving James the supplies and reinforcements which he demanded.<sup>1</sup>

So far the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between Scotland and England remained—technically—inviolated. James, willing to wound, was afraid to strike till he had an ally to strike with him; Henry, maturing schemes of French conquests, did not want to be distracted by an unprofitable war with Scotland. On April 15 he commissioned West and Lord Dacre to go to the Scottish court<sup>2</sup> to secure the neutrality, if not the active support, of Scotland in the coming war. The ambassadors arrived in Scotland about the middle of April, and left on June 12,<sup>3</sup> very ill-content,

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<sup>1</sup> No. 447; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 38-43.

<sup>2</sup> No. 442.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 348.



having received from James only some pieces of silver plate instead of the unequivocal declaration that they had been sent to obtain.

On June 20 de la Mothe appeared at the Scottish court with a copy of the Treaty of Alliance,<sup>1</sup> signed by Louis on May 22, 1512, from which certain deletions had been made, intended to bind fast one who Louis feared might be a slippery ally.<sup>2</sup> James could not now evade his treaty obligations to France by pleading that he must wait for the expiry of a truce with England. De la Mothe left for France before the middle of July,<sup>3</sup> taking with him a copy of the Treaty, signed by James on July 10, from which the redundant sixth clause had been removed, and the fifth clause reduced to a simple declaration that neither ally would enter into a truce with Henry without his partner's consent.<sup>4</sup> He took with him also an important confidential letter from Forman to Louis, assuring him that he could count on his master's fidelity to his engagements, but that if he wished really large-scale Scottish intervention he must send ample supplies of money and munitions, and also a small number of military experts.<sup>5</sup>

De la Mothe sailed in William Brownhill's ship, escorted by the ships of Robert Barton and David Falconer. The English were on the look-out; Falconer's ship was 'drownit,' and he himself made prisoner.<sup>6</sup> Barton and Brownhill, to Falconer's disgust, did not wait to fight. On August 17 James, hearing that Brownhill had come under the fire of the English ships and had been compelled to make for Denmark, despatched a duplicate of the amended Treaty to King Louis.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile both Louis and James had continued their

<sup>1</sup> No. 450.

<sup>2</sup> No. 441; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 44-47.

<sup>3</sup> De la Mothe and his servants were supplied with 'met, drink, and uthers necessaris' for 23½ days till Sunday, July 11, 'quhile he disjonit' (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 352), but Forman's confidential letter, which presumably he carried, is dated July 12.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 459 and 460.

<sup>5</sup> No. 461.

<sup>6</sup> No. 467.

<sup>7</sup> No. 476. Both original and duplicate are preserved in the Archives Nationales.

search for allies. On April 22 James despatched Carrick Pursuivant to Denmark to announce the birth of a son and heir, and to explain that Henry had mobilised a fleet and army which might be turned against Scotland, and that Ferdinand proposed to join him in an invasion of France. James, at the invitation of Louis, proposed to renew the alliance with France; he wished to know, however, what Denmark would do to help France or Scotland should either be attacked by England.<sup>1</sup> He despatched Carrick again on May 28, to congratulate John on the conclusion of peace with Lübeck and a truce with the Swedes, thank him for his offer of help, and find out from him the conditions on which he would come to the help of France, also the exact number of ships and men and the amount of the subsidy that he would contribute in the event of a war between Scotland and England. John was most discouraging: he recognised no obligation to France, strongly advised his nephew to agree quickly with his English adversary, and though he promised to give what help he could should Scotland be attacked, he warned James that it would not amount to much, since he had disbanded his army and sold or dispersed his ships.<sup>2</sup> Carrick's return to Scotland with this cold comfort seems to have been delayed, for on August 7 James wrote again to King John and to his son Christiern, repeating the appeal made in the earlier letter, and asking them to check the piratical activities of the men of Hamburg.<sup>3</sup> No reply seems to have been given to this request, beyond a counter-complaint from John that the Scots made the seas unsafe, and did not spare his subjects.<sup>4</sup>

On July 18 James sent Henry, along with a request for a safe-conduct for six members of his Council, including Paniter, to pass through England at any time during the next twelve months, a conciliatory letter suggesting that Henry should avail himself of Forman's genius for conciliation.<sup>5</sup> Dacre forwarded these to Henry on July 20,

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 443 and 445.

<sup>2</sup> No. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 473, 474.

<sup>4</sup> No. 494.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 464, 465.

with a covering letter, informing him that though musters were going on all over Scotland, James and his Council seemed disposed to be friendly, and that James wished Forman to go on to France after visiting Henry, to secure the surrender of Richard de la Pole.<sup>1</sup>

In answer, two letters were prepared at the beginning of August. In the first, Henry informed James that though he could not enter into a universal peace, to include France, without the consent of the other members of the Holy League, yet he would welcome James's ambassadors, especially Forman. He deferred, till the arrival of the ambassadors, the questions of the support given by Louis to Richard de la Pole, of the complaints of Robert Barton and David Falconer, the alleged capture of two Scots vessels, and redress for attacks at sea. He had ordered the Warden of the West Marches to make redress, on condition that the Scottish Wardens did the same. He had warned James of the support given to Richard de la Pole by Louis, not because it worried him, but because it would show James how little reason he had to support a prince who was really working against him as well as against England.<sup>2</sup>

The second letter, in the form of instructions to Dacre, expressly designed to 'leak' to the King of Scots, contained an unequivocal declaration that while Henry would welcome Forman as an ambassador to England, he would not allow him to go on to France, either to discuss the case of Richard de la Pole, or to work for universal peace. He could not grant such an unusually comprehensive safe-conduct as James demanded, as it might serve to protect de la Mothe, who on his last voyage had captured some of Henry's subjects. As to the detention of the Scottish ships at Berwick, Henry wished equal justice to be done. He was sorry that in time of peace the Scots should join with the French in plundering English merchantmen. When they attacked the English, they called themselves the subjects of the King of France; when they were taken as pirates

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Calig., B. vi, 33. Brodie, 1302.

<sup>2</sup> Record Office, S.P. Henry VIII, 229, f. 56. Brodie, 1314.

in company with Frenchmen, they became James's subjects—which much perplexed him. He did not intend to break with James, but he could not permit his subjects to be robbed without redress. A declaration that Falconer, though he fully deserved to die for his many acts of piracy, would yet be reprieved, was to be enclosed on a separate scroll, to be used by Daere as he thought fit.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of Henry's declaration that he would not break with the King of Scots, war on land seemed imminent. There was already an undeclared and unrestricted war at sea. The Earl of Surrey was sent north at the beginning of August with a commission to array the forces of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland for defence against the Scots.<sup>2</sup> He went no farther north than Pomfret, where he stayed for a month, waiting for the news that the Scots had crossed the Border. The news never came; on October 15 the guns that had been sent to Pomfret for the Scottish campaign were brought back to the Tower of London,<sup>3</sup> and on November 9 Badoer reported to his government that Surrey had returned to London, and that the dispute with Scotland seemed well-nigh settled.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE ROAD TO FLODDEN

If James did not strike, it was because he was waiting for a solid agreement with, and substantial help from France. But the final version of the Treaty<sup>5</sup> from which, at James's request, the dubious *ut saltem que* clause was removed, was not signed by Louis till October 12, and was not delivered to James by de la Mothe till November 29.<sup>6</sup>

De la Mothe's instructions<sup>7</sup> required him to represent to James the necessity of his doing what he could against the League—*dampnee secte schismatique*—with the great number of excellent fighting men in his realm. The King

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Calig., B. vi, 44. Brodie, 1315. <sup>2</sup> Brodie, 1317; 1365.3.

<sup>3</sup> Brodie, 1450.

<sup>4</sup> Brodie, 1475; Ven. Cal., ii, 211.

<sup>5</sup> No. 482

<sup>6</sup> No. 498.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 484 and 485; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 47-56.

of France would give him all the help that he could in the circumstances, and before their dual attack on the English would send 50,000 francs, with cannonballs, gunpowder, and good pieces of artillery. De la Mothe, in addition, was to specify the number of French ships that would co-operate with the Scots, and assure James that once the strife in Christendom was over, Louis would help his ally, as if his ally were himself, to accomplish his 'holy voyage and enterprise' against the Infidel. 800 cannonballs, 25,000 pounds of gunpowder, and, according to Daere, 8 light guns were actually delivered to James at this time, with the addition of 100 casks of wine.<sup>1</sup>

Before the year 1512 was out there arrived in Edinburgh the Papal envoy Octavian Olarius,<sup>2</sup> with letters from Julius and from the College of Cardinals, written on July 1, 1512.<sup>3</sup> Octavian had made his journey by way of Aberdeen,<sup>4</sup> probably because he wished to consult Elphinstone, the weightiest opponent of the King's pro-French policy, before he presented himself at the Scottish court. James was urged to persuade Louis to make his peace with the Pope, and so render possible the much-desired Crusade.

James now made a last attempt to secure the help of his uncle of Denmark. On January 17, 1513, he sent to Denmark Magnus Beilde, a young Danish nobleman educated at the Scottish court,<sup>5</sup> to inform King John that Scotland was in imminent danger of invasion by the English, that James felt himself justified in renewing the old defensive alliance with France, threatened equally by England and Spain, and to appeal to him to arm and provision a fleet, and despatch it for the defence of Scotland against the invader. It is doubtful if John ever listened to the envoy, or read the letter in which James besought him to act at once. He died on February 21, 1513, and his successor, to whom James had also written,<sup>6</sup> was too much interested in the re-establishment of his authority in Sweden to allow

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 489 and 493.

<sup>3</sup> No. 458.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 506 and 510.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 402.

<sup>4</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 399.

<sup>6</sup> No. 508.

himself to be enticed into a dangerous and unprofitable war with England.

James, for his part, had at last decided to strike. When on February 14, 1513,<sup>1</sup> de la Mothe and James Ogilvy embarked on the *Petite Louise*, they carried papers containing the momentous announcement that James meant to lead his army into England at midsummer, because there would then be abundance of fodder (*parce que lors on trouvera les herbes aux champs*).<sup>2</sup> With de la Mothe and Ogilvy went Octavian Olarius, carrying letters to the Pope and the College of Cardinals,<sup>3</sup> to the Marquis of Mantua,<sup>4</sup> and to his son, the Prince of Mantua.<sup>5</sup> James, in addition to offering his services as a mediator between the Pope and the King of France, instructed Olarius to inform Julius of the injuries inflicted by the English on his subjects, and of the patience with which, in the cause of peace, he had borne them, and to implore His Holiness not to pronounce any sentence on him, as it was Henry, and not he, who was the aggressor.

He was too late. Already Julius lay on his deathbed; already, at the instance of Cardinal Bainbridge, he had sent to England letters monitory and a bull executorial, denouncing excommunication against the King of Scots. On February 21, 1513, Julius II died; on March 10 he was succeeded by Giovanni de' Medici, who assumed the name of Leo X. The change of Pope brought no change of Papal policy; there was, however, one defection from the Holy League: on March 23, 1513, the Venetians, no longer at their ease in a League which now included their implacable enemy, Maximilian, entered into an alliance with France.<sup>6</sup>

Meantime Henry was not altogether easy in his mind. It was the old problem: if he 'would France win'—and he meant to carry out a large-scale invasion of France in summer—must he 'with Scotland first begin'? On February 15, 1513 he commissioned Dacre and West to

<sup>1</sup> No. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 516, 517.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 522, 523.

<sup>2</sup> No. 528; *Flodden Papers*, pp. 66-72.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 520, 521.

<sup>5</sup> Brodie, 1703.

treat with the King of Scots, ostensibly for a settlement of all the differences between the two countries, really to find out whether James intended to refrain from invading England, while Henry, with the flower of the English troops, was in France.<sup>1</sup> West, who went to Scotland without Dacre, has left a very full account of his mission,<sup>2</sup> which began on Sunday, March 20, and was prolonged to Wednesday, April 13. In one sense, it was a failure: he had not shaken James's purpose, but he at least knew now how the land lay—that nothing would detach James from the alliance with France, or make him give an undertaking, set down in black and white, to refrain from invading England if Henry invaded France. West knew, too, that the letter which he carried back with him,<sup>3</sup> with the peremptory demand that Henry should call off his invasion of France, was not calculated to conciliate his master.

In spite of his 'cracks'—his inordinate boasting to West—the knowledge that a sentence of excommunication was hanging over him, and that in his attempts to hold up an invasion of France, he ran the risk of diverting the whole armed might of England upon his own kingdom, somewhat disquieted the mercurial monarch. He did not want to break with the Pope; in spite of repeated requests by Louis, he had been careful not to send representatives to the Council of Pisa, and he now decided to send Forman to the continent again, to get a more definite promise of help from Louis, and to persuade Leo X to withhold confirmation of his predecessor's sentence.

Forman left Scotland on March 31,<sup>4</sup> with letters to the Pope, to a Cardinal—probably the Cardinal of St. Mark—and Maximilian, announcing that his ambassador had come to secure the reconciliation of Leo X and Louis, and so make possible the Crusade against the Infidel.<sup>5</sup>

Forman was at Blois on April 17.<sup>6</sup> He represented to Louis<sup>7</sup> that as the King of Scots had declared to the

<sup>1</sup> No. 526.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 539, 545 and Appendix II.

<sup>4</sup> No. 539.

<sup>6</sup> No. 547.

<sup>3</sup> No. 546.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 531-534.

<sup>7</sup> No. 548 and *Flodden Papers*, pp. 72-79.

English ambassadors open war by land and sea, he must know, and the sooner the better, what help Louis meant to give him. Instead of the Scottish fleet going to France, the French fleet must come to Scotland to join the weaker Scottish fleet. Louis should also send him, if possible, 2000 soldiers equally trained for siege operations and encounter battles, 200 or 300 men-at-arms, and a good train of artillery, with gunners. Forman was convinced that James would not consent to Louis entering into a truce or making peace with the English King, without the confirmation of the offer made by the English ambassadors, that the succession to the English crown, in the event of Henry dying without children, should be settled on him by the consent of the King and the 'Three Estates' of England, and the assurance that the Crusade and '*son grant voyage*' would be accomplished with the help of all the princes of Europe, and especially of the King of France. He reminded Louis that he (Forman), the Bishop of Ross, de la Mothe, and others had assured him that if James sided with Louis in a war against England, Louis would not make peace till he had placed the crown of England on the head of the King of Scots, and suggested that the pensions paid by Louis to the King of England and other princes, could be spent more profitably on the King of Scots, who would then, with his kingdom and his subjects, be entirely at his service.

Forman meant to go on to Rome; Henry meant that he should be arrested as soon as he set foot in Italy.<sup>1</sup> Nothing seems to have come of Henry's plot, but Forman succeeded in drawing from the Pope only a letter, written on June 28,<sup>2</sup> lamenting that James should keep alive dissension in Christendom, and so hinder the Crusade, charging him to keep the peace with Henry, and warning him that if he broke the Treaty with England, he would inevitably come under the ban of excommunication. The letter seems to have been brought by Octavian Olarius, who was in Scotland at the beginning of August,<sup>3</sup> but before his

<sup>1</sup> No. 544.

<sup>2</sup> No. 552.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 418.



arrival James had committed himself irretrievably to a breach with England and the Pope.

West was convinced that James had delayed his departure from Scotland because he was unwilling to break finally with England till he had heard from de la Mothe, who had left Blois at the beginning of March.<sup>1</sup> As week after week passed without his appearance, James began to fear that he had been captured at sea, for a great English fleet, commanded by Sir Edward Howard, was lying off the Breton coast. But disaster soon overtook it; disease broke out among the starving crews, and in a confused encounter on April 28 with part of the French fleet, Howard, with a single follower, leapt to the deck of the French flagship, and was slain. At the end of April the whole fleet was back in Plymouth.

De la Mothe did not arrive in Scotland till the middle of May. On May 19 he had an interview with the King,<sup>2</sup> when, in accordance with his instructions, he urged James to send his great ship—the *Michael*—and other ships to France as soon as possible. Only after their arrival would the money and munitions already promised by Louis be delivered to the Scots. He expressed his master's thanks for James's declaration that he would invade England in person, and his approval of midsummer as the best time for the invasion to take place.

The answer of Louis to the representations made by Forman, prepared on May 8, and delivered by James Ogilvy to the King of Scots, modified only slightly the conditions already laid down by de la Mothe. Louis insisted that James must send the Scottish fleet over to France, accompanied, if possible, by the Danish fleet, and refused to pay the promised 50,000 francs till it had actually arrived in French waters. He further required James to declare war and invade England immediately after (*incontinent et des l'eure*) the English army had embarked for France. In gratitude for James's refusal of the reversion of the throne of England in the event of Henry dying

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<sup>1</sup> No. 528.

<sup>2</sup> No. 528.

without a son, offered, according to James, by the English ambassadors, Louis promised to make no peace or agreement with England without the consent of the King of Scots.

Ogilvy appears to have returned at once to Blois with letters from James. To these Louis wrote a reply on June 7, which Ogilvy delivered to James on June 27.<sup>1</sup> James had already ordered the fleet to sail; between June 16 and June 20 letters were sent to persons of consequence in every part of the kingdom requiring them to choose from their tenants able-bodied young men equipped for service with the fleet.<sup>2</sup> They were to be ready on July 1, a date changed first to July 8,<sup>3</sup> and, a few days later, to July 19.<sup>4</sup>

France was now in evil plight: the army that had crossed the Alps in the late spring of 1513 to reconquer Milan was, on June 6, routed by the Swiss under the walls of Novara. The English transports protected by the fleet under Lord Thomas Howard, now Lord Admiral, were conveying troops by the thousand into northern France. On June 25 the English invested the frontier fortress of Terouenne and summoned it to surrender<sup>5</sup>; on June 30 King Henry sailed for France to conduct the siege in person.<sup>6</sup> But James was ready to venture his army as well as his fleet in the service of his ally. On July 11 he sent Ogilvy back to Louis with a letter announcing that he meant to see '*le passage*' made in the course of the month.<sup>7</sup>

He kept his word. On July 24 the lieges were summoned to assemble at Ellem in Berwickshire; on July 25 the *Michael* and the other vessels of the fleet, 'foiled, circuitous wanderers,' set out on their futile voyage to France by way of Carrickfergus; on July 26 he despatched Lyon King-at-Arms to the English camp before T rouanne with the formal declaration of war.

<sup>1</sup> No. 557.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 413, and No. 559.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 413.

<sup>4</sup> No. 559.

<sup>5</sup> Brodie, 2027.

<sup>6</sup> Brodie, 2065.

<sup>7</sup> No. 557. Apparently because no acknowledgment of this letter was received by James, a duplicate bearing the same date—No. 558—was sent off on August 17. Both letters are now in the Biblioth que Nationale.

## CONCLUSION

In brief, the Letters reveal James hesitating between the new alliance with England and the old alliance with France, and hoping for a time that it will be possible to adhere to both. Always, however, he is dominated by one wild ambition, by the dream of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, developing into the dream of a Crusade against the Infidel, that Crusade which other princes wrote about with tongue in cheek as the enterprise dearest to their hearts, but of which he alone was simple enough, or conscience-tortured enough, to wish the actual execution. So he began to weigh the great but problematical advantage of friendship with England—the succession to the English throne, should Henry VIII die without children—against what seemed to be the certain reward for friendship with France—the ships, troops, money, and munitions necessary for the success of his Crusade.

We cannot say, from the evidence of the Letters, that it was the provocative policy of the youthful Henry VIII that goaded James into renewing the French alliance and declaring war on England; we are rather, knowing what Henry afterwards became, astonished at his patience and magnanimity.<sup>1</sup> He did not, at this time, want to involve himself in a war on two fronts; all he desired was that Scotland should keep out of the ring, and leave him free to invade France.

Louis, on his side, was interested neither in the Crusade nor in James's pretensions to the English crown—he had in fact acknowledged Richard de la Pole as the rightful King of England after the execution of his elder brother Edmund in April 1513. He looked on James as a vain-glorious simpleton to be capon-crammed with promises and so induced to divert against his own subjects the armed might of England that otherwise would be turned against France. James seems, from time to time, to have enter-

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<sup>1</sup> See No. 568, with its surprising display of pity for his dead adversary.

tained suspicions of the good faith of Louis, but they melted away in his consuming passion for the Crusade. Only with the French King's help would the great enterprise be possible : he agreed, as the price of that help, to do the French King's bidding, and Flodden was the result.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Though much was 'tint at Flodden,' something was won from King Louis—the famous naturalisation edict (No. 567) commemorated where one would least expect it, on the first page of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* : 'All the effects of strangers (Swiss and Scots excepted) dying in France, are seized by virtue of this law [*Droits d'aubaine*], though the heir be on the spot.'



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Act. Aud.     *Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints.*
- Acts of Council.     *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554.*
- A.P.             *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*
- B.M.             British Museum Royal MS. 13. B. ii.
- B.N.             MSS. in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- Brodie.         *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, catalogued by J. S. Brewer. 2nd edition, revised by R. H. Brodie.
- Becker.         *Becker: De Rebus inter Joannem et Christiern II Daniae Reges a Ludovicem XII et Jacobum IV a MDXI-MDXIV actis Commentatio.*
- Cal. Ven.        *Calendar of State Papers, Venice.* Vol. II.
- Ellis.            Henry Ellis: *Original Letters Illustrative of English History.* 1st Series. Vol. I.
- G.                *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII.* Edited by James Gairdner. Vol. II.
- Lettres de Louis XII.     *Lettres du Roy Louis XII et du Cardinal G. d'Amboise, 1504-1514.* Edited by J. Godefroy.
- N.L.             National Library of Scotland, MS. 35.5.9.B.
- Pinkerton.       *History of Scotland*, by John Pinkerton. Vol. II.
- R.                *Epistolae Regum Scotorum.* Edited by Thomas Ruddiman. Vol. I.
- R.H.             Register House MS. of Letters of James IV.
- R.S.S.            *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland.*

- Rymer. Rymer's *Foedera*. Vol. XIII.
- R.O.R.T. Record Office : Roman Transcripts.
- Treasurer's *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*  
Accounts.
- W. *Aarsberetningen, fra det Kongelige Geheime-*  
*Archivet.* Edited by C. F. Wegener. Vol. I.

In Brodie, B.M., Cal. Ven., N.L., and R.S.S., the accompanying number is the serial number of the letter; elsewhere the number indicates the page on which the letter will be found. *Italics* indicate printed collections.

1. *James IV to Louis XII*, [*St. Andrews, March 26, 1505*].<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 111 ; B.M. 10 ; R. 17 ; G. 202.

James has a serious complaint from Robert Bertoun, George Younge and John Bertoun. About eight years ago they sailed in two ships to make war on the English, then bitterly hostile to Scotland, and reached the Ile de Batz, where they lay at anchor for a night. They landed without fear, naturally, of a friendly people ; but next morning an armed force from St. Pol de Léon took one ship by surprise and easily boarded the second, carrying both to St. Pol and putting the crews in irons. There they were held for twenty-one days, all threatened with death on the slightest pretext. When they were found to be in lawful warfare against England, they were at length dismissed unarmed, but all their goods and one ship the Bretons retained in defiance of treaty. Such a breach should not pass unpunished. Louis is asked to see that the loss is made good, speedy justice granted, the spoil restored, and the ringleaders punished. That will be a great favour to James, and thoroughly consistent with the old alliance.

2. *James IV to the General of the Premonstratensians*,  
*Edinburgh, April 2, 1505.* N.L. 88.

The King's ancestors in their desire to develop monastic life founded and endowed six houses of the order. Whit-horn is far the richest in buildings and equipment (*apparatu*), designed to be the leading house and almost the metropolis. That was justified by the episcopal associations, the resort

<sup>1</sup> R.S.S. i, 1063, records two letters written in St. Andrews on March 26, 1505, one to the King of France in Latin, and the other to his Queen in French, for the restoration of two ships captured by Bretons occupying the port of St. Malo, from John Bertoun, George Young, and Robert Bertoun, eight years earlier, during the war between Scotland and England.



of the religious, the tomb of St. Ninian and its fame for miracles. No change can be contemplated by the crown, which desires to see the pre-eminence of Whithorn increased; and up to the present the heads of the order have confirmed its status, always entrusting to it the visitation of the province and deputing the jurisdiction on the ground of judicial experience. Henry,<sup>1</sup> the prior, should enjoy the powers exercised by his predecessor Patrick, and if the General derogated from the status of Whithorn either upon suggestion or on the pretence of upright dealing (*simulata probitate*) it would be the wiser plan to have that altered.

H.

3. *Instructions by James IV to Lyon King-of-Arms, for John of Denmark, Holyrood, April 3, 1505.* N.L. 85; G. 187.

James directs Lyon, after greeting the King's uncle, reporting on his estate, and remembering him kindly to the royal family, to submit the following answers.

(a) With regard to John's request for an envoy, Lyon will say that he appears in that capacity, and he is to serve the Danish King in reaching an understanding with the Swedes. He will mention that he has letters for the Swedes, which, if John pleases, he will deliver, showing to the King a copy authenticated (*signatum*) by James.

(b) As to the request for two ships equipped for service, he is to say that James would have liked to send them with the envoy, but that circumstances precluded. He will explain—what is the truth—that the larger ships of the Scottish navy are still in the builders' hands (*sub fabris et artifice*), while others are being rebuilt after wreck and collision (*rescisse et collise ad novas reficiuntur*). Some of the large swift ships sent to Denmark in the previous year, which he hoped would have been of use both to himself in putting down a rebellion by the Islesmen and to his uncle, are detained, along with their skippers, through a

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Makdowell, provided Nov. 26, 1503. (Vat. Transcripts, Register House.)

dispute with the Bretons (*Britonum lite*). Such serviceable ships as remained were sailing with merchandise, some to Flanders, others to Normandy. He was to say that the ship in which he sailed to Denmark had been obtained with difficulty. Finally he was to say that James would grudge no trouble to give satisfaction to his uncle.

4. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, April 4, 1505.*  
w. i. 51 ; N.L. 81.

John's letters given (*signate*) at Copenhagen on the feast of St. Katherine the Virgin [Nov. 25] informed James of his determination to punish the Swedes and of their request for a truce and negotiations for peace. The truce was till June 24, and meanwhile there was to be a convention at Calmar where the question of the rebellion was to come before the magnates of Denmark and Norway, and John hoped for recognition of his authority. As the voyage to Calmar must be made, John asked James to indicate his support by sending an envoy and two warships, armed and equipped. He has sent an experienced councillor in Lyon King-of-Arms to state his attitude and, if John approves, to hand letters to the Swedish leaders.

Subscribed by James : the signet on the back.<sup>1</sup> H.

5. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, April 5, 1505.*  
w. i. 52 ; N.L. 79 and 311.<sup>2</sup>

John's herald, Thomas Lummysden,<sup>3</sup> delivered his letters on February 5. James is glad that things go well with the royal house, as they do with his own family. He is sending Lyon with instructions, and is glad that John is not too hard upon the Swedes. His course of action

<sup>1</sup> This and the following letter were probably taken by Lyon, who, on April 2, 1505, was preparing to go to Denmark (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 133). H.

<sup>2</sup> Imperfect copies : dated April 5 ; make no reference to the boy. H.

<sup>3</sup> Or Sieland, as he is usually styled (cf. *Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 350).

is prudent and truly royal : it is in the interests of his realm to grant the pardon that is sought. That boy of his (*puer ille tuus*) who came to Scotland <sup>1</sup> is liked and is well. Received among the pages of honour at court (*inter nostros honorarios juvenes*), he proves his noble lineage, and, though it may be premature to prophesy at this early stage, there are not a few signs of promise.

Subscribed by James : with the Signet.

H.

6. *James IV to the Archbishop of Upsala, and the Magnates and Councillors of Sweden*, [April 1505]. N.L. 312 ; B.M. 15 and 22 ; R. 34.

Of the letters received from his uncle, the King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, none have been more welcome than those which recently intimated hopeful negotiations for agreement between His Majesty and those to whom James writes. Success will mean much to them and all their interests, while war—which God avert in their time—will involve ruin. Every one must surely abhor civil strife, especially between subjects and their prince, not only for its destructive results but chiefly because it brings mourning and death upon men made in the image of Christ, connected by blood and affection. James is not a judge of his uncle's cause, and it is his to offer timely counsel, not to give a decision. The author of the injury should be the first to confess it. Either they have factiously denied to their King his royal right, or he has brought about their conspiracy by despotic action. The latter reason may be insufficient for a sudden attack by men who have sworn fealty, when they should have warned him in full council to amend his policy. It is wiser to cure resentment before it is aggravated by war. At the same time James is not urging them to relinquish their right. He has decided frankly to advise both parties to make peace ; and he has

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<sup>1</sup> See *Treasurer's Accounts*, ii, 332. 'Christofer' arrived early in February 1504-5.

sent Lyon King-of-Arms <sup>1</sup> to discover the wrong which has driven them to war and to be at their service in negotiating peace. He is a man of much diplomatic skill. If the charge of royal oppression is well founded, James is sure that his uncle will for his own sake improve his government and consult the magnates. If they have no reason but dislike of the King, they should bethink them of common Christianity, kinship, and equity. James's mother gives him a connection with the Swedes. Again he urges them to consider peace while there is time. Would they please send back Lyon as soon as possible with information as to their attitude and their case. He would have them understand, on his side, that he cannot suffer his uncle to be imperilled unjustly or royalty itself to be threatened by a new case of rank rebellion. He would have to repel force to the uttermost. It is for them to choose the course more pleasing to God and the better for themselves; and James's advice is, above all, peace. H.

7. *James IV to John, Bishop of Røskilde and Chancellor of Denmark, Edinburgh, [April 1505].*<sup>2</sup> N.L. 83; B.M. 23; R. 38.

James is surprised at the absence of letters from the bishop, President of the Council, and on friendly terms with him, concerning the difficult affairs of his uncle the King of Denmark. He expected to hear his views on the Swedish business; but the bishop was either preoccupied or had politic reasons for silence. His episcopal office, however, and his personal character are a guarantee of honourable dealing. James has decided to write in order to promote their friendship and prove the bishop's wisdom.

<sup>1</sup> Sent to Denmark in April 1505 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 133). H.

<sup>2</sup> There is an undated letter (N.L. 89), perhaps about this time, from James of Dunblane to John of Røskilde. Katherine Scrimgeour, wife of Robert Sinclar, merchant, dissipated her husband's goods and went off with some of them to John's diocese. Sinclar is taking action before James, who requests John to see that Katherine adheres to her husband or satisfies him for the abstracted goods. H.

Would he be so good as to give audience to Lyon King-of-Arms and intimate his views. H.

8. *James IV to Christiern, Prince of Denmark, Edinburgh, [? April 1505].* N.L. 82; R. 116; BRODIE, 666.<sup>1</sup>

The King his father gave welcome news of Christian's physical and mental welfare, though he would have liked to have letters from himself. Possibly his father had him so importantly employed that there was no leisure to write. Nevertheless James has not forgotten, and cannot forget, so close a kinsman. What is afoot in Scotland and the attitude which James takes to his father's requests, Christian will learn from Lyon King-of-Arms. He must cultivate the qualities which have distinguished the kings of Denmark in the field. His father is one of the men of his time, worthy of his predecessors; and James has high hopes of Christian himself. He should seek to equal or excel the ancestral fame. H.

9. *James IV to Philip, King of Castile, Holyrood, April 17, 1505.* N.L. 87.

Justice is surely the mainstay of governments. Scots merchants frequent Philip's lands, prosecuting varied business, and sometimes they are compelled to go to law. That has been the lot of the bearer, John Merchemstoun, at Middelburg. He is suing about the goods of Donald Crum and Patrick Merchemstoun, and the latter's unhappy end. James begs the Archduke to see that John gets justice from the Middelburg judges and is saved from protracted litigation.

10. *James IV to Middelburg, [April 17, 1505].* N.L. 86.

This is the third letter from the King about the goods of the late Donald Crum. His requests, which were in con-

<sup>1</sup> Placed in December 1510.

formity with law and sought from Middelburg nothing unworthy or difficult to execute, met with a frigid response in respect of justice, though the advantages of Scottish resort to their town might have suggested speedy expedition. If they had thought sooner of their friends the affair might have been settled and more serious trouble avoided.

Donald was a Scot of lawful birth trading in their town. Getting on in life he made a will, leaving in various legacies the most part of his goods, which were in Middelburg, and naming executors. Not long after he died in Scotland. Margaret Manwell, an inhabitant of Middelburg and his agent there, was sued by the executors and admitted detention of the goods, but claimed as his wife half share according to local custom and obtained decree that the goods should be deposited with the Treasurer.

Meanwhile Patrick Merchemstoun, an agreeable young man, thoughtlessly (*inconsulte*) married Margaret. His uncle, Master James Merchemstoun, transacted with the executors and found caution, so that they relinquished right and action anent the goods to James and Patrick.

Patrick hastened back to his wife with royal letters to Middelburg. But James has heard that Patrick was done to death (*insidiosa mors abstulit*) by an unknown hand in Middelburg. He asks that the goods in the keeping of the Treasurer should as soon as possible be adjudged to satisfy the terms of the will and the executors and their assignees. Secondly, they should decree that goods passing to Patrick's heirs *ab intestato* should be paid to his brothers. It is hard enough that the boys should lose Patrick, very unjust that they should be defrauded of his goods. The other aspect of the business relates to public vengeance and the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis*, and is a matter for Middelburg.

Finally, James requests access for his merchants, particularly for John Merchemstoun, the bearer; and the wish of the Middelburg authorities should be forthcoming. Regarding the agreement reached, James is furnishing John with other letters requesting that the goods deposited by order with the Treasurer of Zeeland should be released

for fulfilment of the will and the avoidance of further complaint by the executors and assignees, which might bring about grave action against friendly people. H.

11. *James IV to the Treasurer of Zealand, Holyrood,*  
*April 18, 1505. N.L. 98 ; B.M. 7 ; G. 198.*

James wrote some time ago for equitable consideration on behalf of young Patrick Merchemstoun and his interest in the goods of the late Donald Crum. The King understands that when litigation in the Council of Middelburg was still undecided the Treasurer was given charge of these goods. After an agreement was reached and Crum's executors transferred right and action to the King's familiar James Merchemstoun, for whom John [Merchemstoun]<sup>1</sup> appears as procurator, James wrote asking the Treasurer to admit what was concluded with his consent (*ejus consensu*) and judicially approved, and to restore the sequestrated goods. The King will make a point of returning the favour if occasion should arise. H.

12. *Charles, Duke of Gueldres to James IV, Tiel,*  
*May 3, 1505. N.L. 6.*

He has carefully studied the letters and instructions transmitted to him by James's servant, Patrick Haliburton, and regrets that the exigencies of war kept him from returning an earlier answer. He therefore sends his trusty and well-beloved Secretary, John de Vyessen, who, according to the instructions given to him will inform James fully about what has been done in the matters under discussion. He asks James to listen sympathetically to the envoy, and to put absolute faith in his statements about these matters, since his own attitude to James is not that of an ally (*famulus*) but of a devoted son.

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<sup>1</sup> G. gives 'Patrick,' from the B.M. copy : the N.L. version has 'John,' which is correct. H.

13. *James IV to Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, Edinburgh, June, 1, [? 1505].* N.L. 178 ; G. 185.

The Queen's letters dated at Blois on January 20, were delivered to James in Edinburgh by her servant Bertaigne on May 24, and stated the complaint of her subject, Guy Foulcart. He came to Scotland some years ago (*superiores annos*) and was, according to his account, compelled to take the Duke of York to England, was imprisoned, and got away with the loss of his goods—indeed if he had been without possessions he would scarcely himself have escaped. Returning home, he was condemned to pay 1800 *écus* to his partner, Guillaume Pomptome in terms of his contract and caution, besides principal, interest, and legal expenses. Foulcart affirms that he repeatedly and vainly raised with James the question of recovery. So the Queen desires cognition of his case and speedy justice.

Desiring to give general satisfaction, and particularly to the Queen in view of kinship and alliance, James has had careful enquiry made. Foulcart transported from Scotland the erstwhile Duke of York, and his ship was hired for cash at the King's order merely to land the Duke on the English coast. He expressed his willingness, though he obtained royal letters enabling him at need to plead compulsion, save himself from injury and represent that his trading operations were interrupted for the time (*intermisse mercature occasionem pretenderet*). The letters on a strict verbal interpretation contain nothing inequitable: old practice between the house of France and Brittany and the Scottish crown has been till now so well established that each party hired the other's sailors and ships at convenience. Besides, James takes it to be a rule of law everywhere that princes may, at need, hire the ships which reach their shores. However that is, the suggestion that Foulcart sought justice repeatedly and in vain is false: it was open to him to have immediate judgment and any due compensation,<sup>1</sup> and her envoy Bertaigne was offered

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<sup>1</sup> On June 12, 1508, the royal secretary took instrument that the chancellor and lords of council were prepared to do justice to a Breton



summary cognisance and sentence. Lacking confidence in his case, perhaps, he refused judicial proceedings and declined to remain. Justice will always be most readily available to the Queen's subjects if a pursuer seeks a decision, as she will find by experience. James will be delighted to do her any favour, but he cannot admit false charges made by private persons. H.

14. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres, [c. June 1505].*

N.L. 96 ; B.M. 6 ; R. 11 ; G. 192.

The Duke's secretary, John Vyessen, delivered to James in Glasgow, on June 14,<sup>1</sup> the letters signed at Tiel on May 3, in which he avowed his active interest in the cares of his friends and his desire to satisfy James as a kinsman. Continuous war was what delayed the secretary, whom Charles succeeded in sending through the enemy in disguise. He gave an admirable report, showed the written articles, and detailed his orders. James and his consort are, thank God, in good health.

(1) The Duke deals briefly with the negotiations by Patrick Haliburton, of the royal household, regarding Edmund de la Poile, formerly Earl of Suffolk, and refers to the copies of correspondence transmitted. Repetition is not necessary ; and, as the Duke says, an undistinguished messenger and caution were required by the circumstances. The messenger is no less cautious than his master.

(2) James returns thanks for his watchful policy. But the Duke suggests that Edmund's long residence with the King of the Romans precluded successful action. James leaves that question indeterminate.

(3) The Duke writes that a household man of Edmund arrived about Easter, 1504, asking permission for Edmund to enter his territory.

(4) The Duke admits an affirmative answer, so that, as he

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'anent the schip that umquhile Richart duke of York past away intill furth of the port of Ar,' and that he refused it (*Acts of Council, 1501-54, lx*).

H.

<sup>1</sup> The letter to Charles on Sept. 8 gives June 11.

H.

writes, Edmund is for the present at liberty to live in his land. Frankly, the Duke has violated his promise to James, that all access should be refused. He pleads that on consideration he hoped to be of great use to Henry VII: the intention was to promote a peace for which he had Henry's full authority. The pretext of a peace cannot pass with those who know the facts. The Duke should not have departed from his undertaking without consulting James, especially in view of Edmund's patent unreliability: he knew from the letters of James, and his own instructions mention, that Edmund had returned to England and that Henry had condoned his offence. There was therefore no room for repentance: Edmund has made his oath worthless. James affirms for certain that agreement is out of the question. A prince may pardon a subject, but cannot bargain. Either the Duke's plan was not mature or, as James would rather believe, Edmund was hindered by the exercise of the vigilance which the Duke promised, not by the access granted or an assurance of impunity. On the outcome the Duke is congratulated.

(5) The Duke adds that while Edmund was in Gueldres about 6000 foot were repeatedly and hastily assembled for some purpose unknown, that there was a suspicion that England was the objective, that the ports were closed to the exit of a fleet, and Edmund was warned not to infringe the law of nations by attacking James's relative, and that so he abandoned the expedition. The Duke should have suppressed this dangerous invention. The troops could hardly have been hired by a destitute man. Henry was to be intimidated into reconciliation or was to expect Edmund's restoration with the Duke's aid. Fear may be dismissed in the case of a victorious monarch like Henry: any idea of restoring Edmund would have encountered such difficulties as to be a memorable fiasco. Beware of extravagant promises by Edmund's friends: he was restored to England and left it because his friends were too few. James could wish that the Duke had been silent about this.

(6) The Duke says he has borne much expense for

Edmund, and cannot go on owing to the excessive burden of warfare. He will pardon some pretty plain speaking. He entertains an English rebel, proscribed by a great part of Christendom, to the displeasure of his friends and amid his own difficulties, when a conciliatory and not a provocative policy was advisable. James had put down the Duke as Henry's friend : he turns out to be an enemy, and the one resort of Henry's rebels.

(7) In return for all this James is asked for help against the King of the Romans and the King of Castile, Kings that debarred Edmund from their realms at James's request. How contradictory ! What a warning to James to keep clear of the Duke ! James did not like to arouse Henry by relating these inventions, lest he should have set down the Duke as of little account or as more hostile than ever, in that he does not abide by his promise, excuses assurances thoughtlessly given, and flaunts the pretended power of Edmund, who, but for the Duke, would by this time have wandered the earth in disguise or fallen into Henry's power.

James trusts that he has not written in too harsh a strain. He is thinking of his father-in-law and his wife, and could wish that the Duke would show a greater regard for them in proportion as hitherto he has thoughtlessly done them wrong. The King desires the good of the house of Gueldres, from which they both come, and which he is sorry to see attacked. The unhappy Edmund stands in the way of aid from James and his friends. Be done with him as soon as possible—he satisfies neither the Duke nor his own creditors and does not keep the law of nations—and seek a reconciliation with Henry. If the Duke stands to his promise, James will strive to restore good relations and temper the force which threatens. It amounts to this : when Edmund is given up to Henry or sent in charge of James or some faithful servant of the Duke to make submission, and when time, place and conditions are specified as soon as may be, James as kinsman will do his best with Henry. If neither course recommends itself, there can be no further negotiation.

H.

15. *James IV to John of Denmark, Linlithgow, July 3, 1505.* W. i. 52; N.L. 91; B.M. 25; G. 213.

Anthony Gawino,<sup>1</sup> comes of Little Egypt, and his hapless company, wandering in pilgrimage over Christendom—by order of the Apostolic See, he says—came to Scotland and sought a refuge there, imploring, in name of humanity, permission for him with his possessions and his people, to go about the country [and remain till they could sail to the Continent]. Their hard fate easily elicited the licence he sought. James learns that after some months here, during which he hears they conducted themselves well,<sup>2</sup> they are preparing to cross to Denmark; and they have asked for royal letters recommending this unfortunate folk to His Majesty. John knows more than James of the history and character of these wandering Egyptians, because his realm is nearer Egypt and has more experience of their presence.

Subscribed by James: with traces of the Signet. H.

16. *Henry VII to the Prior of Tynemouth, etc., Westminster, July 9, 1505.* RYMER, xiii, pp. 118-119.

Commissions J[ohn Stonewell], Prior of Tynemouth, William Cope, Cofferer of his Hospital, and Christopher Clapham, Porter of Berwick, or any two of them, to pay 10,000 gold nobles, being the third and last instalment of the dowry of Queen Margaret, to the King of Scots or his commissioner or commissioners in Coldingham, on the second anniversary of their marriage (August 8, 1505), or within the six subsequent days.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Gagino' in the dated Danish version, which varies slightly in form from the letter-book draft printed by G. and includes the additional bracketed phrase. H.

<sup>2</sup> W. 'bene et probe hic versati,' B.M. 'bene et catholice—sic accepimus—hic versatus.'

17. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres, Holyrood, September 8, 1505.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 120; B.M. 12; R. 21; G. 203.

The Duke's secretary delivered to James at Glasgow, on June 11, the letters dated at Tiel on May 3, and showed the subscribed articles with his instructions. He also conveyed all news of the Duke's affairs, the recrudescence of attacks by powerful princes, and the hostility of some who should have been supporters, how strenuously he acted in command, not only repelling attack, but winning repeated victories, though a protracted war—which he dreaded—would put an excessive strain upon his resources for defence.

James was sorry to hear of these attacks upon a land from which he had ancestral origin. He was glad that his kinsman, on the failure of policy, donned arms to show that if fortune did not favour him he had not yielded to wrong; and James sought to make their community of blood of assistance to the Duke, even if he had to dissent from his proposals for common action. Now, however, there is good reason to believe that peace is restored, and a kinsman must offer his congratulations. The pacification brings to James as much pleasure as credit and advantage to the Duke. The ancient splendour of the house of Gueldres they are both interested to secure. With the dangers of war over, James need not declare his attitude to the Duke, who may be sure that he will spare no effort on his behalf.

Will the Duke remember his friends and the matter lately discussed between themselves. If it is still open (*integra*) and he is pleased to abide by his promises, he will have from the conservator, Andrew Haliburtoun, letters in agreement with his articles, and on information through Andrew or another James will see the thing completed. The Duke will give credence to what his secretary has to say in the King's name.

H.

<sup>1</sup> This letter was sent with the Duke's secretary (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 159).

H.

18. *James IV to Louis XII, Stirling Castle, October 1, 1505.*

N.L. 92 ; B.M. 1 ; R. 1.

John Caupane,<sup>1</sup> that distinguished Frenchman, came to Scotland and won great personal popularity for his ability and knightly feats in arms. James recognising his merits (*pro meritis ornavimus*) gave him an honourable place in the royal service. Louis may perhaps pardon what is entirely consistent with the old alliance and with the high place which he accords to Scots in France. John is on intimate terms with the court, has important business in France, and hopes that a recommendation from James will improve his prospects with Louis. Accordingly James writes this strong letter in his favour, asking especially that John's brother may have just possession of the Abbacy of Fulhelnes granted by Louis, and that the King would advocate the process concerning it, remitting it to the royal council for expedition. H.

19. *Alexander Craufurd, Preceptor of St. Anthony's, to the General of the Order, Leith, [1505].* N.L. 104 ; B.M. 8 ; G. 199.

A swift pestilence, alas, carried off all the brethren but the preceptor and another, who had saved themselves by taking refuge some distance away. The year<sup>2</sup> has been so fatal that observance has almost ceased and the house lies empty with scarcely any to serve. Their goods also have been disastrously affected by pestilence and theft. Their town property is left without an occupier: their fields without a cultivator. The alms of the faithful are buried with the dead. Destitution prevents the attendance at the general chapter which they would fain give.

<sup>1</sup> The 'Cowpanis' of *Treasurer's Accounts*, ii-iii, *passim*. The abbey of 'Fulhelnes' is mysterious: Feuillans seems the most probable conjecture. There is a letter (N.L. 103) to a French lord, unnamed, recommending Caupane to his favour. H.

<sup>2</sup> The Edinburgh burgh records indicate the prevalence of pestilence between Oct. 1504 and Oct. 1505. H.

Would the General please depute the Abbot of Inchcolm (O.S.A.) and the Archdeacon of Lothian as conservators of the order in the Scottish province with power of censure : otherwise this house is doomed to extinction.

The Preceptor desires a writ of licence to initiate novices in place of the dead brethren, that divine worship may be resumed. He would have also an absolution for himself and the dead brethren for failure in attendance at the general chapter in plague-stricken years, and a dispensation for the next three years. The one hope of recovery lies in the benevolent indulgence of the General. The Preceptor will inform him during the next three years of their condition and progress. H.

20. *James IV to Julius II*, [1505]. N.L. 93 ; B.M. 2 ;  
R. 3 ; G. 188.

Christian princes are constantly commending themselves and the affairs of their churches to the Holder of the Keys, and intimating to His Holiness what may be for the interest of divine worship and for the salvation of souls. Often, and never in vain, has James written upon such matters. Immediately after his assumption Julius proved his paternal care when he healed the King's conscience with a generous indult of remission ; and a fresh benefit was the grant of the archbishopric of St. Andrews to the King's youthful (*vel impuberi*) son. Not long after, the royal envoys sent to offer due obedience were admitted to audience, public and private, and were despatched with gracious answers. All this makes James long to be deemed no unworthy son. God grant it may be so, who has preserved Scottish Kings that gave ear to the Apostolic See ever since the time when Constantine still reigned and Marcus, the thirty-fourth from St. Peter, was Pope in Rome.

James intends that St. Andrews should be administered with special care, and that His Holiness should never regret the promotion of the youthful archbishop. Accordingly

he now names a well-trying theologian, an experienced Dominican,<sup>1</sup> and desires his ordination as bishop with the title of some long vacant church (*in Episcopum ad quemvis priscum vacantis Ecclesie titulum*) in order that he may, like a wise father, serve the youthful archbishop and make amends for his immaturity. He fully merits any promotion, and episcopal authority added to character and wisdom in affairs promises to produce an efficient suffragan. James will see to a suitable living for him. H.

21. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh*  
 — 1, [1505]. N.L. 94; B.M. 51; R. 9; G. 190.

Two letters from the Cardinal have reached James, who, however, was long before assured of his zeal and all that he did for the reception of the royal envoys. No need to mention the promotion of the King's son while still a child to St. Andrews [May 10, 1504], for which they scarcely dared to hope, or the indults for the healing of the King's conscience, which he values in proportion to his regard for the salvation of his soul. There was the Cardinal's kindness to the envoys<sup>2</sup>—indeed to James himself—their honourable reception and the hearing they had in Rome, escorted with acclaim to his house, admitted next day to audience of the Pope and graciously answered, the ceremony of obedience so soon thereafter accomplished, the conduct by his household to and from the meeting of cardinals, the happy departure for Scotland. The Cardinal treated them more like a father than as official protector. James is in doubt as to how his gratitude should be shown. Mindful of a common saying that it is more dishonourable for a king to be vanquished in beneficence than to yield to force of

<sup>1</sup> The name is not given; but it was probably that of John Adamson, whom Archbishop Forman afterwards sought as coadjutor (*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii, 185). H.

<sup>2</sup> It would appear from No. 127, written by James Betoun to Louis XII (Aug. 1507), that Betoun himself was one of the orators to give obedience to Julius II. He was in France, on his way home, in Aug. 1504 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, ii, 453). H.



arms, James hopes that the Cardinal will make what use he pleases of him and his kingdom. While he lives he will deny nothing that fortune puts it in his power to bestow.

In another letter to the Pope James has named the Cardinal defender of the interests of the King and of Scotland, giving him his sole credentials. He wishes him to deal with hasty impetrations of dignities, especially the greater dignities, only in the light of royal letters, awaiting them for the eight months according to the indult granted by the Holy See. H.

22. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, 1505.* N.L. 99.

James [Betoun], Abbot of Dunfermline and royal Treasurer, had an indult for two years, not yet expired, in respect of the Benedictine habit, but his services are indispensable, and he cannot leave the King and his business. The monastic habit would be a great inconvenience, so that the King seeks a dispensation for five years. Modification of canonical statute on good grounds would be advantageous for the King and of negligible hurt to monastic observance.

23. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Protector of Scotland, [Holyrood, 1505].* N.L. 100.

The Cardinal impetrated the indult for two years in respect of the habit on behalf of the Abbot of Dunfermline, but as the Treasurer is bound to constant service with the King, James writes for an extension to five years. The Cardinal will please credit Sir Gilbert Strachane and his instructions: he needs no recommendation. John Barri, however, is an old campaigner of whom James does not approve: he tries to obtain unprecedented things without instructions, opposes men of the royal household. He will get his deserts in Scotland, and should be ignored by the Cardinal.

24. *James IV to Dominic, Cardinal of St. Mark, Patriarch of Aquileia and Protector of Scotland, Holyrood, [1505].* N.L. 105; B.M. 3; R. 5.

The Cardinal rendered a service to James which no letters can adequately acknowledge in obtaining for his son last year [May 10, 1504] the archbishopric of St. Andrews. He received orator after orator with the most generous kindness, and repeatedly enabled the King to clear his conscience (*confessionale conscientie nostre lavacrum aliud super aliud dederas*). He will have every justification for demands upon James in return. Reflection upon the difficulty of gaining a see like St. Andrews for a young boy leads to the consideration of possible ill effects upon the pastoral cure. The King has decided to commit that to a competent man, and he thinks of an admirably qualified Dominican, a mature member of the order and a doctor of theology, who may act as suffragan with some lapsed episcopal title and so relieve his scruples of conscience. The Cardinal is asked to bring this about. The King has written to the Pope, and trusts that so justifiable and necessary a request will easily be granted. H.

25. *James IV to the Magistrates and Council of Danzig, Holyrood, [1505].* N.L. 112; B.M. 11; R. 19.

James received the letters of their fellow-citizen John Buck, making suggestions which seem to have convinced them, though James had not heard the complaint. Buck's story is that in 1493 he had occasion to anchor his merchant ship under Inchkeith, when a piratical band from Leith captured him and took him to North Berwick. There he was despoiled of his goods (*lino cera et tabellatis*<sup>1</sup>) to the extent of two hundred crowns. He adds that Gilbert Walker, a Scot, plundered what was left, to the amount of one hundred crowns. Getting no justice from the Town Council of Edinburgh, he says he applied to the King, and

<sup>1</sup> Or *tabellariis*, whatever that may signify.

declared that he was remitted to the Town Council with a royal order for speedy judgment. He was received as before with ridicule, and was not heard. Finally he resorted to the ecclesiastical courts, where he spent heavily and, being a stranger, got no justice. Accordingly he demands restitution on pain of reprisals.

Here in brief is the King's answer. In the first place, it is not fear that makes him write, but a desire to keep them from injuring themselves through rashness or ignorance. He does not recollect seeing or hearing the man; and he does not believe his story—it looks like a contrivance to disturb peace. If the royal authority did not avail, he should have sought the King's court, not the ecclesiastical. If he applies, he shall have justice; and James will not give orders to avoid Danzig and places thereabout till injurious action recommends that course. They cannot propose hostile action upon the unsupported complaint of an individual. If they choose to take it, James hopes that responsible parties will speedily regret it. H.

## 1506

26. *Christina of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, March 13, 1505-6. w. i. 53.*

The Queen is profoundly grateful for his sympathy and interest in her experiences. Thank God, she has won through after a siege of more than six months. She cannot recount the sufferings in Copenhagen. Nine hundred strong men perished from what the physicians call dropsy and the Danes *schörbug*.<sup>1</sup> She has written about it as to a friend, whom she addresses in closing as 'the jewel of Scotland.' H.

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt. The symptoms are thus described in Wegener's print: *grossioribus salcis corruptisque fetum cibis premit anhelitum nutritivis artubus stipatis tunc gingivas inflat densque solutus masticare cibum negat: tunc pedum tumor discolorata pictura contractis nervis abdicet gressum: si hoc quidquam diu permansit malum vitalem spem morte strictura claudit.* H.

27. *James IV to Philip, King of Castile, St. Andrews, March 14, 1505-6.* N.L. 95 ; B.M. 4 ; R. 6 ; G. 211.

Philip's letters from Richmond were delivered by his herald on March 12,<sup>1</sup> informing James of his experiences : how he embarked for Castile, had a fair voyage for some distance, and encountered a storm which drove him to Britain. The rest of his fleet was scattered, and the ships did not succeed in making the same harbour. The fury of the storm was, as he says, the work of Providence to demonstrate the regard in which he was held by Henry VII, who welcomed him and his people like a father. Old friendship was renewed by treaty, Philip received the Garter and conferred upon the Prince of Wales the famous Order of the Golden Fleece, long before bestowed upon the King of the Romans and Henry VII himself. These reasons and his constant goodwill to James make him desirous of concluding a treaty.

James was sorry to hear of his treatment by an unkindly sky, pleased that he found firm friendship and a safe haven in which that friendship was perpetually assured. He congratulates him upon the event and its happy consequences. Already strong, the power of Philip is stronger still by a concord which will have its effect upon both peoples. These fresh bonds and the interchange of these distinctions give James pleasure : what a pity, as Philip says, that James could not be there to grasp his hand, that he could not share the remaining perils of his voyage and so cultivate his closer acquaintance. Repeated favours call for alliance in arms : while James lives Philip can hardly appeal to Scotland in vain. Since relationship and ancestral treaties have long been a tie between them, James gladly undertakes the obligations of friendship, praying Philip to use him and to let him know how his affairs prosper. He will never fail in will or deed, if he may be of service. He sends greetings to Philip's consort : may God bless them both.

H.

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<sup>1</sup> *Quarto idus Martii* : this letter is dated *secundo idus*. The King's gown of crimson velvet was sent to St. Andrews for the occasion (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 185).

H.

28. *James IV to Antwerp, Edinburgh, May 10, 1506.*

N.L. 12.

James has for years held a high opinion of Antwerp, a busy town (*mercuriale opidum*), in which stranger merchants are well received. He has delayed<sup>1</sup> their embassy regarding the establishment of the Staple there, in order to ascertain first the balance of advantage; and for this purpose he has commissioned Andrew Haliburtoun, Conservator of Scottish Privileges, to visit Antwerp, get to know the conditions, and inform the King with a view to final decision.

H.

29. *James IV to the Magistrates of Middelburg, Edinburgh, May 25, 1506.* R.S.S. 1265.

Requests the restitution of the goods of the late Donald Crom, withheld by Patrick Merchanstoun and Margaret Manvell, his wife, to the executors.

30. *James IV to the Prior General of the Dominican Order, [May 1506].* N.L. 109; B.M. 14; R. 28.

Traces the spread of Christianity in the West since the death of St. Antony. Scotland, almost the most remote region in the world, adopted the Christian faith when Constantine was Emperor, and Marcus, thirty-fourth in succession to St. Peter, was Pope. Thinks that this was divinely ordained, that the remotest region might be the speediest in venerating its Creator. Then, through the piety and devotion of his ancestors, church after church was built in Scotland. There was no religious house to which they did not assign its portion. Nor was the Dominican Order neglected in Scotland: there were many Dominican convents in Scotland, conspicuous for the royal gifts liberally bestowed upon them, and which, by permission duly obtained from the rulers of the Order, hold a provincial synod. These and greater privileges the Prior's

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *describimus*, which is probably a misreading of *distulimus*.

H.

predecessors had granted at the royal request to the Dominican houses in Scotland. But as there are never lacking those who would rather run into danger by their own stupidity than be guided by the wisdom of others, there are to be found in his order impious men who sully the good name of their order (*religionis decus deformantes*) by rushing into every kind of wickedness. Some, often called in vain by the authority of the Provincial to forsake their errors, to evade discipline, have fled in their madness to the neighbouring English province, where they live, apostate and a disgrace to their native land, in houses to which they have been uncanonically admitted by the Priors. Therefore he has thought fit to follow his ancestors and advise the Prior General to restrain, with the threat of censure, as ecclesiastical discipline and sound morality require, those [English priors] from giving shelter to any friar, whether novice or initiate (*profanum aut initiatum*), without the consent of his superior or letters of permission, and to compel them to send back at once any that they may have received.<sup>1</sup>

31. *James IV to the Authorities of Middelburg, Holyrood, June 1,*<sup>2</sup> 1506. N.L. 206 ; B.M. 16 ; G. 210.

James has had to write more than once and at length about the goods of Donald Crum, an inhabitant of their town, who died in Scotland a year or two ago (*superioribus annis*), and has asked them kindly to hear the complaints of the testamentary executors against Patrick Merchestoun and Margaret Manwell his spouse, Middelburg people (*cives vestros*) who detain the goods, and to administer speedy justice. He has heard, however, that the parties have come to terms (*in transactionem descenderunt*) although they have not observed the articles of convention (*conventionis capita*). James requests the authorities to put an end to the controversy all the sooner, now that agreement will have made judgment easier. Andrew

<sup>1</sup> For a briefer version, by Hannay, see No. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Date from N.L. copy.

Haliburtoun, Scottish Conservator in Middelburg, will explain the merits of the case in fuller detail, and he has instructions to refer the matter to them.

32. *James IV to Master James Inglis, Holyrood, [June 1, 1506].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 207 ; B.M. 144 ; R. 118 ; BRODIE, 664.

James is very much obliged by his letters indicating that he has some out-of-the-way books on alchemy (*Alchemiae sanioris philosophiae*), which persons of the highest rank are trying to get from him, and which with some difficulty he was retaining for the King, having heard of his interest in the study. The favour will be duly acknowledged. James has sent Master James Merchemstoun over (*istuc*) to see that the books which Inglis intends for him are sent to Scotland.

33. *James IV to Middelburg, Holyrood, [June 1506 ?].*  
N.L. 110 ; B.M. 9 ; R. 16 ; G. 200.

James has a high regard for their town as a centre of Scottish trade in past years. Andrew Haliburtoun, Conservator of Scottish Privileges in the Low Countries (*in istic terris*) has betaken himself thither and is, as the King understands, a willing resident. He has repeatedly intimated, to the royal satisfaction, the eminent services of their town, and James writes to congratulate them upon benefits which he will remember. He earnestly begs that they will encourage and assist his Conservator while he stays in their city, giving a friendly hearing to suits in their court, that by their authority those unlawfully resisting him, and that contumacious Scotsmen, whether merchants or sailors, or of any other profession, may be compelled to obey him. James will look on a wrong done to Andrew as an insult to himself. He asks that the

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<sup>1</sup> Date indicated by ' *ut supra* ' in N.L. 207. N.L. 206 is dated June 1, 1506.

Conservator may find this letter effective, and hopes, if they make it so, to promote their interests in Scotland.

34. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres, Edinburgh, July 8, 1506.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 115; B.M. 21; R. 30; G. 206.

William Lank, learned doctor (*doctor consultissimus*), and John Falquhour de Caminallis, succeeded in escaping the English and delivered to James in Edinburgh on June 5 the Duke's letters of April 27 from Nimeguen (*ex castello Noviomagensi*). Admitted to audience next day, the eloquent doctor explained that the treaties of peace had been broken by men who had no regard for faith or oath. The Duke wished James to understand his case, so that if plots against his life succeeded his kin might lay claim to the inheritance. Other communications he had for which he desired a private interview.

James heard the envoys first in public, as was proper, and then in private. He congratulates the Duke on his steadfast attitude and on his observance of the conditions of peace. The herald from the King of Castile was somewhat free in his accusations of a breach by the Duke, so that James is glad to learn his innocence. The breach by that king is surprising in view of what James had heard of his character. James is fully informed: the heads of agreement, the declaratory writ, the charges against the Duke and his answers are all in the King's hands. James will use them, if need arises, in the Duke's defence, and will prove that he has stood by his undertakings to the Duke. Marriage would strengthen the Duke's position and avert the extinction of his house by establishing a succession to maintain it or restore it. On all other matters the envoys will report.

[The following questions and answers accompany the letter:—]<sup>2</sup>

(1) The Duke is attacked by the King of the Romans

<sup>1</sup> This letter is noted in R.S.S., i, 1297, on July 9.

H.

<sup>2</sup> Numbered 116 in N.L. copy.



and by the King of Castile, who have repeatedly declined to arbitrate and have again and again violated agreement. If the question could be settled by arbitration of unsuspect lords and princes to be nominated by both sides, would James undertake the duty for the Duke ?

It is answered that James is willing to arbitrate so as to reach a friendly agreement along with colleagues ; but he does not think he could honourably give judgment, for it would go against the grain in a kinsman to take away ancestral heritage, while a sentence favourable to a kinsman, however just, would incur suspicion. If, however, there is a prospect of accommodation, James will not fail his relative, should he, along with others, be selected by mutual consent.

(2) If the King of Castile proves difficult, would James ask him not to take up arms against Gueldres but to consent to a friendly judicial settlement before unsuspect persons ?

It is answered that James, had not peace intervened, was resolved to ask him in view of alliance between the Scottish kings and the house of Burgundy, and would now ask him, not to compass the ruin of the Duke, but consult the ties of blood, foster friendship for the defence of his own realm, and remit the issue to judges or arbiters.

(3) Would James write to the lieutenants of Flanders, Holland, and Brabant, asking them not to drive the Duke from his heritage, but initiate a peace and advise judgment by arbitration ?

James would send letters to each of them urging them to spare his kinsman and not make war of their own accord, but for the King's sake turn their minds to accommodation.

(4) If peace or arbitration does not result and resort is made to arms, would James give advice and help to the Duke ? If so, by what means and on what conditions ?

The conclusion is that the King of Castile is related to James, and that the houses of Burgundy and Scotland are bound by old treaty, undisturbed peace, and commercial intercourse. In addition, the King of Castile, recently in England, sent letters and a herald to Scotland for the renewal of ancestral alliance, and James in writing obliged

himself to fulfil these engagements. Brothers and allies do not send threatening letters to each other, hostility to such a brother and ally would be highly improper. But since the Duke is defending his inheritance, while Castile is set upon acquisition and makes an unseemly attack upon his kinsman, James will not cease to moderate Castile's mind, find out from him what is at the bottom of the business, and frankly advise resort to a legal settlement. If he does not succeed, James will, when required by the Duke, answer as beseems a kinsman, and act as he would expect the Duke to act towards him. H.

35. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise, Edinburgh, July 9, 1506.* N.L. 114.<sup>1</sup>

James writes on behalf of John Cokburne,<sup>2</sup> a youth of pleasant disposition who has been for years among the King's pages of honour and is most promising. He has to return to France. His father, George Cokburne, captain of the French guard, is dead, and John's heritage is being detained from him. The Cardinal is asked to commend him to Louis and to prevent him from becoming entangled in complicated litigation. H.

36. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, July 15, 1506.*<sup>3</sup> N.L. 119; G. 214.

John's messenger, Thomas Sielande, delivered on July 10 two communications dated at Copenhagen on March 5 and May 4. The first intimated a commission to Sielande to negotiate with James: the second referred to some German

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, No. 103, places in 1509.

H.

<sup>2</sup> John is the John de Cos or Scotia of *Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 203 and *passim*. The letter is dated by R.S.S., i, 1298, where a similar letter to Guy de Rochefort, Chancellor of France, is noted.

H.

<sup>3</sup> Under July 16 the R.S.S. (i, 1305) notes five letters '*scripte in Dacia*,' two for the King for Denmark, one for the Queen, one for the Prince of Denmark, and one for the Chancellor, sent by one of the French Kings-of-Arms, and Thomas Sieland, servant of the King of Denmark.

merchants doing business in London under Henry VII and elsewhere, and to a Scot, Andrew Bartoun, who has settled a case which led to his captivity, and now lives in Scotland, as free as formerly. John will learn from his messenger James's considered view on the articles submitted. Sielande has been ordered to return to John, and has not been allowed to carry John's letters to Henry VII, in order that he might conduct this herald, the French King-of-Arms, to Denmark and bring him back to Scotland. It may be more opportune to discuss John's business thereafter. James and his consort are well, and he is glad to have good news of John's queen and the prince. H.

37. *James IV to Christina, Queen of Denmark, Edinburgh, July 15, 1506.* N.L. 118 ; B.M. 51 ; G. 215.

Her letters of March 13 from the castle of Copenhagen, brought on July 10 by Thomas Sieland, referred to the anxious interest of James in her affairs while she was attacked by the Swedes and his very friendly offices rendered for her deliverance, and assured him of her perpetual gratitude. She tells him of all that she suffered with admirable fortitude during a six months' siege, when her men were dying of hunger and disease, of the pestilence which infected the very strongest, and of her joy that a woman overcame these grievous ills. The long siege certainly stirred in James the profoundest anxiety, and he sent a fleet to Copenhagen which achieved less than it should have done and returned sooner than was expected. The ill success would not have been tolerated, had the news not been that she was safe. It is very kind of her to thank him, but he seeks no credit. To whom is he to be a friend if not to her and hers ? It was his aim to fulfil an obligation : his hopes were frustrated. None can refrain from marvelling at her leadership and her endurance. It is a triumphant testimony to the noble house to which she belongs : having stood fast, let her look forward to prosperity and a continuance of their reciprocal regard. H.

38. *James IV to John of Denmark, July 16, 1506.*

N.L. 117 ; G. 217.

Louis XII sent his King-of-Arms Montjoye to Scotland, who had audience of James, communicated his instructions, and asked for despatch to John. He says that he has a mission from Louis. Though his master and his own distinction would ensure a welcome, James would like him to have his hearty recommendation as a person of ripe experience who has seen many sorts of men and many realms, and who will give a shrewd account of what he has observed.

H.

39. *James IV to the [Bishop of Röskilde] Chancellor of Denmark, Edinburgh, July 16, 1506.* N.L. 139 ; B.M. 43 ;

R. 65.

On July 10 James received the Chancellor's communication dated at the castle of Draxholme on March 5. It makes too much of the King's generosity. Other proceedings at Calmar against the contumacious rebels James had from earlier letters : now the Chancellor informs him of a second Swedish embassy, making a second effort to restore peace, and has referred him to the bearer for its demands. James thanks the Chancellor for his considerate action. He has explained to the bearer by word of mouth the stage which his efforts have reached regarding the espousals<sup>1</sup> which the Danish King put in his hands.

H.

40. [*James*] *Abbot of Cîteaux, to James IV, July 16, [1506].*

N.L. 52.

His Majesty is aware of the periodical general chapters in which special attention is given to the conduct of members of the order everywhere. In the last years the leading fathers have issued salutary decisions which the Abbot of Cîteaux has to communicate to all Cistercian heads. He has resolved to send to the commissaries and abbots in

<sup>1</sup> A French marriage for Prince Christian.

H.

England, Scotland, and adjacent lands, brother Thomas <sup>1</sup> of Cîteaux to convey these decisions and confer, especially with the commissaries of Cîteaux, upon certain articles for the honour of the order. Would James kindly receive Thomas with favour and lend his support, granting letters of recommendation and safe conduct. H.

41. *Certificate of James IV, under the Signet, Edinburgh, July 16, 1506.* N.L. 116\* ; G. 218.

Be it known by these presents to all, and especially to the presidents of the royal court of Rouen, that James IV of Scotland ordered his well-beloved Robert Bartone, George Corintoun [Corntoun] and others, that in voyaging to Normandy they should procure from friends, in the King's name, a quantity of wood for the construction of his fleet in Scotland, that they obtained letters from Louis XII to that effect, and that on the strength thereof they bought, at the King's expense, the wood specified in the letters of the court dated June 20, 1506, and duly delivered it for his use.

Given under the signet and subscribed by James. H.

42. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, August 13, 1506.*<sup>2</sup>  
N.L. 113 ; B.M. 26 ; G. 219.

The building of a fleet to defend Scotland is a project of long standing which James is bent upon realising, and he is constructing more ships at home under the auspices of Louis. As France is well supplied with timber, he sent his men thither to procure a supply from a friendly people and to hire carpenters. Some ill-disposed Frenchmen sought to misrepresent his action, made endless trouble, obstructed his purchases, and tried to confiscate them as contrary to legal prohibition, till Louis became aware of it, removed impediments, repressed the malevolent, and granted to James permission to obtain what he wished. He is corre-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R.S.S., i, 1363.

H.

<sup>2</sup> Noted in R.S.S., i, 1319.

H.

spondingly grateful, and is delighted to have found that the goodwill of Louis remains unaltered. Surprised at the French attitude, he was afraid that he had given offence to the King; but it is an infinite relief to find him mindful of alliance and friendship, still exhibiting his wonted kindness. James responds with hearty gratitude, which he will show when opportunity arises. He will yield to no French subject in doing service. Bid this fleet, James, and the Scots go whither Louis will: none will be found more ready to satisfy his desire or do him honour. Louis should rely upon the old friendship and the bond of blood rather than upon those who seek to alienate them and forget the ancient alliance in their desire for drastic change. H.

43. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise*,<sup>1</sup> *Legate de latere in France*, [? August 1506]. N.L. 202; G. 218.

The latest of his many kindnesses, reported by Robert Bertoun, is so welcome that James proposes to increase the debt in frankly turning to account, when occasion arises, the authority of a man who has furthered the interests of the King and his subjects so as to anticipate their requirements in France wherever he was aware of them. James would sincerely desire to repay these eminent services, and would value any opportunity to gratify the Cardinal's wishes. Of one thing he may be certain: James is eager to promote his honour and glory, as he would easily demonstrate<sup>2</sup> if he were with him. H.

44. *James IV to Julius II, Stirling, August 20, 1506*.<sup>3</sup>

N.L. 126; B.M. 39; G. 224.

James is from time to time exercised lest he should offend God by neglect of justice or do a wrong to his sub-

<sup>1</sup> Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen.

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be the intention of the last sentence, which is carelessly written, and in which the word *improbaret* seems to be used in the sense of 'prove'—unless it is a misreading of *comprobaret*. H.

<sup>3</sup> A letter of the same date to the Senate of Venice is noted in R.S.S., i, 1324. H.

jects ; but he cannot keep his eye upon the whole realm, and provincial officers must bear the burden of administration. Some of them are culpable failures and abuse their powers, so that the King must set a very high value upon the man who shows exceptional wisdom, recommends himself to all by his discretion, and discharges his duties for the common weal and to his master's satisfaction. Such a man is James [Betoun], royal Treasurer and Abbot of Dunfermline, who, however, has qualms of conscience owing to his public service, though it would indeed be difficult for the King to do without him. James begs His Holiness on Betoun's behalf for a faculty to choose a confessor to absolve, *in foro conscientie*, from the stain of simony (excepting cases under the bull *Cena Domini*), irregularity (excepting bigamy, wilful homicide or mutilation), with a view to exercise of orders and retention of benefices canonically conferred. He hopes that His Holiness will grant this for the sake of the King and in the public interest. H.

45. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], Stirling, August 20, 15[06]. N.L. 125.*

George, Bishop of Dunkeld, now labouring under the burden of years, is looking for a successor, that he may spend what is left of his life in peace. Being anxious to avert the evils from which a bishopric usually suffers in a vacancy, he had chosen James, Abbot of Dunfermline, the Treasurer, as his successor. The King, being in agreement has sent letters to the Pope asking that when Dunkeld is vacant by the resignation or death of the present bishop, it should be given to the said James, and that, as he had said, he should be commendator of the Abbey for life. He now makes the same request in a less formal manner (*familiarius*) to the Cardinal, that he may use his influence, which is great, to secure the bishopric for the Treasurer.

46. *Instructions by John of Denmark for Thomas Seland*,<sup>1</sup>  
[c. September, 1506]. w. i. 5.

(1) John thanks James for his watchful care in Danish concerns, and especially for so wisely contriving the visit of this French King-of-Arms. Seland is going back with him to James, and will, with advice of James, accompany him to France on business of which James will learn the nature.

(2) John is unfamiliar with the French magnates, and such knowledge is important in treating for his son's marriage. He commits the matter to his nephew's discretion, just as if it were his own personal affair. He has full confidence, and will welcome any arrangement James makes.

(3) James is to be told how Lübeck, with other Hansa states adhering, threatens to command the Baltic in favour of the rebel Swedes, so that John is forced to appeal to his friends and particularly to his kin. If he prevails in the Baltic, both the Swedes and these states will be put in their place.

(4) James should provide adequate assistance for the beginning of next summer, such help as he would expect from his uncle in the like case. John proposes to clear enemy shipping off the Baltic and make booty of the merchandise. H.

47. *Answers from John of Denmark for Montjoye*,  
[c. September, 1506]. w. i. 7.

(1) After thanking the Scottish King, he will report that Sieland has articles of commission, and that John has as full confidence in James as in his own son.

(2) To Louis he will say that John himself would not fail in like case to bestow his daughter upon the man who he knew would be the successor to his throne.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sieland had a letter of credence to James, and a commission to hire ship captains, who were to keep what goods they captured (W., i, 6-7). H.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the marriage of Claude, daughter of Louis, with François de Valois, afterwards François I.



(3) He will ask Louis to send such assistance as will enable John to dominate the Baltic and as John is ready to reciprocate at need. H.

48. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, [October 1, 1506].*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 132 ; B.M. 35.

When John Brown, who was in peaceful possession of the consistorial Abbacy of Melrose, resigned in the hands of Innocent VIII, and that Pope provided [Sept. 1, 1486] David Brown, priest of St. Andrews diocese, the convent attempted, after the resignation and the promotion by the Apostolic See, to elect two monks in succession (*unum deinde alium nulliter electos*) and intruded them into the administration.<sup>2</sup> Both died a few days after the assumption of office (*susceptum honorem paucos dies morte commutaverunt*). In their place the persistent brethren elected Bernard Bell, a professed monk. James III was induced, by a number of Bell's supporters, to permit him to administer for many years, contrary to right human and divine, and found a pretext under which he obtained from Innocent VIII a provision for him, while he ruled that David Brown, the Abbot promoted in consistory, should be exiled from Scotland.

When James III and Innocent VIII were dead, David's case against Bernard as intruded by the persistence of the monks was heard before a succession of cardinals (*coram aliis et aliis cardinalibus*). In the end, the Cardinal of St. Praxedes gave sentence in favour of David and fulminated an executorial process. On the strength of this David returned to Scotland; but Bernard prevented access to James IV, and instituted an appeal for nullity. Distrusting his case, Bernard then renounced his right in

<sup>1</sup> This and the following letters are dated by R.S.S., i, 1334, which notes four letters on the subject, two to the Pope and two to the Cardinal. The second pair contemplate a different legal situation. H.

<sup>2</sup> In Jan. 1487-8 Melrose is mentioned among abbeys not to be purchased at Rome (A.P., ii, 183). H.

favour of William Turnbull, a secular clerk, who by pretending the equitable character of his claim (*simulata equitate*) extorted letters from the King, and was promoted at Rome in place of Bernard.<sup>1</sup> Against David, remaining in Scotland and undefended at Rome, sentence after sentence was obtained, so that the consistorial provision remains still ineffective, and the election by the brethren, which was quashed, perpetuates a possession formerly condemned as unlawful.

James would have the Pope commit to a cardinal for summary judgment the sole question of competitive right and title, the sentence to stand without appeal, lest a monastery like Melrose, a notable memorial of the King's predecessors, be completely ruined by protracted litigation, and that the King be not compelled by the state of affairs to take drastic action (*rei indignitate durius quid statuere*) or to adopt the unwonted course of leaving the interest of the church alone (*preter consuetudinem ab ecclesiastica re manum retrahere*). The Cardinal of St. Mark will explain the matter more fully.

H.

49. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, October 1, 1506.*

N.L. 130.

When John Brown, in peaceful possession of Melrose, a consistorial benefice, resigned in the hands of Innocent VIII, it was conferred canonically upon David Brown, priest of St. Andrews diocese. The convent elected in succession two monks, who died, and then a third, so that the consistorial provision confirmed *per rem judicatum* remains

<sup>1</sup> On November 28, 1500, Master William Turnbull, parson of Annan, had a licence to impetrate any benefice except a bishopric or archbishopric (R.S.S., i, 602, 604). Bell is found as abbot on Jan. 3, 1488-9, and during the next decade; it was alleged on Feb. 13, 1489-90, that Bell was not yet confirmed (*Act. Aud.*, 134-5). We find Turnbull as abbot on March 18, 1503-4 (R.M.S., ii, 2775). He was transferred to Coupar in 1507 (R.S.S., i, 1551), and his successor at Melrose, Robert Betoun, bought off David Brown in 1510 (*ibid.*, 2070). The convent had evidently relied upon a privy seal writ by James III (*Mun. Mel.*, ii, 590: Nov. 5, 1463), affirming their right to elect the abbot.

H.

frustrate to this day and a wrongful possession by the monastic election persists. David, tired out by litigation, advanced in years, and taking pity upon a place going to ruin through the negligence of the intruded abbots, asks that his right be transferred by the Pope to a man of standing who may restore an erstwhile famous house according to the royal foundation. He has selected Robert [Betoun], Abbot of Glenluce, as an experienced monastic who in a few years has saved Glenluce from perishing and has restored a house almost abandoned (*pene destitutam*). James seeks admission of the resignation, provision of Robert, and commission to administer for the tightening of monastic order and the succour of a decadent place, as the Cardinal of St. Mark will explain to His Holiness.

H.

50. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [October 1, 1506].*

N.L. 133.

The King has to deal with a most regrettable case. The authority of the cardinals has been scouted, and they ought to intervene: justice, the common weal, and the danger to monastic life demand their help. John Brown, who was in peaceful possession of Melrose, resigned in the hands of Innocent VIII, and the consistory unanimously provided David Brown, Clerk of St. Andrews diocese. The convent, upon hearing of the resignation, intruded one monk and then another by null election to a most unfortunate administration. When these monks died, Bernard Bell, a professed monk, was surrogate by the pertinacious brethren, and administered for three years, supported by the favour of James III. At the unhappy instance of certain persons that king ordered the exile of David, who was heavily encumbered by debts incurred by his predecessors and in his own promotion, and forbade by public edict any pecuniary assistance. He wrote to Innocent VIII for a confirmation of Bernard's election, and in opposition to David, so frequently that his efforts,

procured by circumvention, ended in a provision for Bernard in the fourth year of his administration. David, consequently, could not raise bulls of provision or for assumption of the habit, and could not redeem his predecessor's debts or gain possession. He lived for years (*multos annos*) at Rome in destitution. Finally, on the death of Innocent VIII and of James III, the Cardinal of St. Praxedes, the case having been committed to him after a succession of cardinals, gave sentence for David with process of execution and censures. Returning to Scotland, David was prevented by the action of his adversary (*per persecutionem adversarii*) from getting access to the King, and failed to obtain the administration. Bernard instituted a process for nullity and clung to his position. Distrusting the merits of his case and desiring to avoid renewed litigation, Bernard introduced a fresh claimant in William Turnbull, a secular clerk. Under a reprehensible indenture sealed by both parties Turnbull is said to have traded for the abbey, though to the King he pretended that there was no injury to David and that the purity of monastic life was at stake, and extorted royal letters to Alexander VI whereby, on admission of Bernard's resignation, he was pronounced abbot, and in litigation against David, undefended in Scotland and at Rome, procured sentence after sentence, not without underhand work by his procurators. By the resignation of an abbot in peaceful possession he had provision : David is frustrated with heavy loss to his creditors : election by the monks to a consistorial benefice previously resigned in the Roman court and there provided, has effect for the present.

It is the duty of James as heir to purge his father's soul and make restitution to those who have suffered loss : it is his intention to correct errors committed by himself and his forbears. Hence he is moved frankly to confess a serious offence to ecclesiastical liberty perpetrated by his deceased parent and in his own youth. And besides, Melrose was the first house of the order in Scotland, founded entirely by royal liberality, situated on the

borders of the realm, and it is endowed with broad lands that at need it might minister supply to military defenders and promote by counsel and material aid the common good. To-day it is too true that the intention is far from fulfilled. Royal land granted to this sacred place is alienated in feu and *emphyteusis* (*in feudum et emphyteosim*) for the use of laymen: a once noble monument to the King's ancestry cannot now house the prescribed and wonted number of brethren, meet the incumbent duty of hospitality, or offer the suffrages due to patrons. Nay, James grieves to behold all in neglect, buildings once magnificent falling, or already fallen, in ruins, what his ancestors established as a bulwark of the general safety now a secure refuge for rebel and exile, everything turned upside down against law human and divine, so that he cannot tolerate any longer this abuse of a monastic foundation.

Rome should come to his and his father's aid. The case should be committed to a cardinal, for preference the Cardinal of St. Mark himself as promoter of Scottish interests. The sentence should be without appeal, that the successful party may devote himself to reform and Melrose may avoid ruin from the expenses of litigation. The King does not wish William's unworthy occupation of the abbacy to drive him to drastic measures or to adopt the unwonted course of leaving the interests of the Church alone. The Cardinal, he must repeat, may be sure that he has nothing more at heart than the reparation of the place: would he please act so as to deserve the title of reformer of this sacred house.

H.

51. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [October 1, 1506].*

N.L. 131.

James repeats the narrative given to Julius and asks the Cardinal to see either that the resignation of David is admitted and Robert of Glenluce provided according to the letter written to His Holiness, or that it is delayed and the administration of the place entrusted to Robert (*loci*

*Melroseñ administrationem eidem admitti*). He may take directions from Gilbert Strachin, who is fully instructed.

H.

52. *James IV to Julius II, Linlithgow, October 3, 1506.*

N.L. 138.

Alexander VI erected the chapel of St. Michael as a college, and Julius himself made the Bishop of Whithorn dean thereof, granting jurisdiction over the members of the royal household ; but James always looks forward to a grant of pastoral charge. To add distinction to the royal foundation James earnestly begs that the dean should have his title altered to that of bishop, immediately subject to His Holiness and yielding precedence only to the archbishops, enjoying special prerogative from his relations with His Majesty. He asks that for the bishop's suitable maintenance the priory of Inchmahome be annexed to the *mensa* when it falls vacant, always provided that the foundation be observed in respect of the monastic rules and the suffrages of the canons. On other points His Holiness will be informed by the Cardinal of St. Mark.

H.

53. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Linlithgow, October 3, 1506.* N.L. 137.

James consults the Cardinal upon matters of petition at Rome in order to have his advice and to present his requests in a reasonable shape. The Cardinal impetrated the deanery of the Chapel Royal for the Bishop of Whithorn and procured privilege and jurisdiction. James is now writing to His Holiness and the Cardinal that the dean should be bishop of the Chapel Royal, immediately subject to the Apostolic See and taking precedence after the archbishops, and that for his more seemly emolument the Priory of Inchmahome (O.S.A. diocese of Dunblane) should be annexed on condition that monastic life and the obligations of the canons (*instituta canonicorum suffragia*) remain

unaffected. The dean is sending certain articles for this purpose which his man will show. These James recommends to the Cardinal's attention that he may endeavour to impetrate what he approves and what seems obtainable.

H.

54. *James IV to Julius II*, [October 4 ? 1506].

N.L. 273; BRODIE, 296.<sup>1</sup>

Requests an indulgence for George, Abbot of Arbroath, Patrick Paniter, the King's Secretary, Archdeacon of Moray, and Thomas Guthre, Provost of Guthre, Brechin, each to choose a confessor with power to grant absolution [except] in cases of simony, bigamy, wilful homicide, or maiming (*casibus in bulla Coena Domini exceptis*).

55. *James IV to the Doge and Senate of Venice*, [October 4, 1506].<sup>2</sup> N.L. 19 and 121.

George [Hepburn], an abbot in Scotland, who is about to set out for Rome on pilgrimage, lately asked him for letters which he might employ to gain the protection of Venice (*quibus se Veneto nomine si quando usus insumaret*), and he would go to Italy (*istuc*) all the more readily if he were confident of being at liberty, equally free to enter and to depart, in a state whose governors are renowned for their fair dealing, who abundantly satisfy him with the protection of the law, and whose zeal for justice grows with the increase of their empire. Therefore begs them to give his abbot the liberty of a pilgrim—a request which he is confident he will obtain because of their Christian charity.

<sup>1</sup> Places at end of 1509.

<sup>2</sup> See R.S.S., i, 1336-7, where a letter of passage for George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath, and letters to Venice, to Julius II and to the Cardinal of St. Mark, are recorded at Linlithgow under the above date. The letter to Venice, however, is more likely to be that noted under October 12, *infra*. (See also No. 65.)

H.

56. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, October 12, 1506.*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 122 ; G. 220.

On July 9 Montjoye, King-of-Arms, delivered the letters of Louis given at Tours on May 31, intimating that the object of the mission was to acquaint James and the Scots as friends with the good success of French affairs. Montjoye announced the assembly of the nobles at Tours and the arrangement, as desirable as it was unanimous, for a marriage between the King's eldest daughter and the Duke of Valois. The union is as welcome to James as advantageous to France, for no prince has better reason to rejoice than he whose kin reigns in the person of the daughter or the son of Louis. James is glad to hear that the King and his family are well: he and his consort, thank heaven, are blessed with good health. The herald will give Scottish news: he conducted his mission worthily, and enhanced the honour of his master in England, Denmark, and Scotland. H.

[A letter to Anne (N.L. 123) acknowledges hers of May 30 from Tours and congratulates her in similar terms.]

57. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, October 12, 1506.*  
N.L. 124 ; G. 221.

Sielande, the herald of John of Denmark, will refer certain matters to Louis for consideration. James hopes for an early audience and a speedy return, so that the herald may reach home while the sea is fairly calm, before the worst of the winter storms. The King has instructions to send by him to Denmark, but he is reserving them till Sielande comes back from France.<sup>2</sup> H.

<sup>1</sup> Letters to Louis and his queen are noted as sent with Montjoye and dated Oct. 1, in R.S.S., i, 1333. On Oct. 4 George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath, was going to Rome (*ibid.*, 1336-7 : 1339) and had letters to the Pope, the Cardinal of St. Mark, and the Venetian government. (See also No. 64.) H.

<sup>2</sup> Sielande and Montjoye were both in Scotland in mid-October 1506 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 350). H.



58. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, November 22, 1506.*  
R.S.S. i. 1363 ; N.L. 134.

On the death recently of their abbot, the prior and convent of the Cistercian house of Coupar, in a meeting presided over by James, Abbot of Balmerino, in conformity with their statutes unanimously postulated Robert [Betoun], Abbot of Glenluce, and through Thomas, a monk of Cîteaux, who was in Scotland with powers as commissioner from James, Abbot of Cîteaux, to institute and depose in head and members in concert with some abbot of the order, they procured the confirmation of the postulate, as public documents show. Desiring to conserve all the rights of the Roman church, James has ordered Robert, who has justified himself as a monastic head, to seek the approval of the Apostolic See, and intends to carry out the prelatial promotions which papal authority may ratify. Accordingly he prays His Holiness to admit this experienced abbot or make fresh provision in his favour, and grant canonical title to administer. H.

[A concurrent letter (R.S.S., i, 1364) is addressed to the Cardinal of St. Mark.]

59. *James IV to Julius II, [Edinburgh, November 22, 1506].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 135 ; B.M. 40 ; G. 222 ; BRODIE, 293 places in Dec. 1509.

Considerations of state demand special indulgence to cultivated men whose letters and learning fit them for public affairs ; their promotion is stimulating to personal merit and public service. Therefore James commends to His Holiness Patrick Paniter, his confidential secretary, who recently came to the office from his studies. A man so alert deserved the position ; and James hopes for a special grace, an expectation of three collations with pre-

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<sup>1</sup> This letter, with note of a concurrent letter to the Cardinal of St. Mark (N.L. 164) and some variation in phrasing, appears in R.S.S., i, 1365-6 under the above date. H.

ferential right and a secret expedition in the apostolic secretariat not contemplated by the ordinary rules of chancery (*supra commune cancellarie prescriptum*), such as Sixtus IV granted to Scottish clerks. His Holiness, unasked, grants these favours to private individuals: he will surely at the King's intercession indulge his indispensable servant, so intimately associated with his master and so competent. H.

60. *James IV to Julius II*, [c. November 22, 1506].

N.L. 163; BRODIE, 294 *places in Dec.* 1509.

Patrick Paniter recently left the pursuit of letters to be chief secretary, a post which demands learning and irreproachable character. But his conscience is exercised owing to letters issued in state matters under the signet, non-residence in his benefice and not reading the office *ad usum Romane curie*, although it would be inconvenient for the King to be without him. James asks on his behalf for a faculty by apostolic brief to choose a confessor who may absolve him (*in omnibus etiam simonie labe nisi exceptuatis in bulla in Cena Domini ac contracta ac contrahenda ex signatis aut signandis nostris literis seu alias quovismodo irregularitate nisi bigamie homicidii voluntarii manualiter commissi aut membrorum mutilationis ad ordinum sacrorum etiam presbyteratus susceptionem et administrationem atque de non residentia in beneficiis obtentis et obtinendis et officio ad morem Romane curie legendo cum uno secum collegente*). H.

61. *James IV to James, Abbot of Cîteaux*, [c. November 22, 1506]. N.L. 186.

The Abbot's letters of July 16 from Cîteaux were delivered by Thomas, monk professed of the order, at Edinburgh on October 14. In response to the Abbot's request, James gave audience to Thomas, who spoke of the early purity of the order, deplored the decline of devotion, and

requested permission to promulgate the institutes of the general chapter in the Scottish houses. James is eager to foster the religious life and has a special favour for the Cistercians. He caused Thomas to visit some houses in company with an abbot and to recall them to the prescribed rule. The visitation was salutary, but would certainly have been more so if there had been a longer time at disposal and Thomas could have visited and corrected each house. James congratulates the Abbot on his commissioner, whose wisdom and character have left a change for the better. He will welcome a commissioner in the future to complete the process of reformation.

H.

62. *James Betoun to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh*,  
— 1, 1506. N.L. 127 ; B.M. 20 ; G. 205.

The very great benefits bestowed on him by the Cardinal he cannot repay, but he must express his gratitude, lest he should appear unworthy or unmindful of these gratuitous favours. Yesterday his expected prorogation in the matter of making profession and assuming the habit came to hand. The extension for two years—not an easy matter—is clearly owing to the Cardinal. At present another piece of business remains to be expedited. The Bishop of Dunkeld [George Brown], upon whom age is telling (*senio laborans*), has chosen Betoun to succeed, and James IV has given his mandate of consent to the reservation of the bishopric for him, however vacant, writing to the Pope and to the Cardinal and asking His Holiness to decree him future bishop. Would the Cardinal be so good as to give the matter his attention. Betoun would also like to have *in commendam* for life the abbacy of Dunfermline, which he has held for two years with dispensation in respect of the habit and profession. The Cardinal may accept what Gilbert Strathauchin has to say in Betoun's name on these affairs.

H.

63. *Louis XII to Julius II*, [1506]. N.L. 161; B.M. 48; G. 228.

He understands that James IV has written repeatedly to His Holiness on behalf of James [Betoun], Abbot of Dunfermline, for a reservation of the see of Dunkeld on the cession or decease of the present bishop, an old man who has given his consent and has constituted procurators to appear before the Pope. Louis writes in support, hoping that the petitions of the two kings may be effective in this small matter, and that his own influence may do something to bring about a slight relaxation of strict procedure.

64. *James IV to [The College of] Cardinals, Holyrood*,  
— 1, 1506. N.L. 128.

James recalls the generosity that his ancestors have shown to the Church in the last thirteen hundred years. He has inherited from them his eagerness to enrich and adorn it and to preserve it from hurt. But he regrets to say that wicked men despoil the churches and possess themselves of the Church lands. These things, and worse, they do when a benefice is left vacant through the death of an incumbent. Therefore he has written to the Pope time and again about the reservation of the bishopric of Dunkeld for James, Abbot of Dunfermline. He also sent the mandate of the present incumbent, who, oppressed with age, wearies the King with his prayers, since he hopes to live in peace while his successor exercises the authority assigned to him.

65. *Sanuto Diaries, December 21, 1506*. CAL. VEN. i. 891.

On the morning of the 21st, an ambassador of the King of Scots came into the College, presented a letter of credence, and said that his King meant to go to Jerusalem. Requested the Signory to give him either galleys, or

artificers to build them. Was told that the King's demands would be granted willingly.

*Italian.*

66. *Sanuto Diaries, December 30, 1506.* CAL. VEN. i. 892.

On the morning of the 30th, after Alvisé Contarini, Bailiff and Captain of Rimini, had made his report to the College, he was followed by the ambassador or envoy of the King of Scots, Marco Alvisé, who demanded the despatch of a certain business. Orders were given to answer the King's letters and expedite them.

*Italian.*

67. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, [1506].* N.L. 129.

James records the devotion of his ancestors to the Church since the time of Constantine, and the zeal with which he has followed their example. But some people, rushing into every kind of crime, molest the clergy, and possess themselves of church lands when a benefice is vacant. For this reason George [Brown], Bishop of Dunkeld, has chosen James [Betoun], Abbot of Dunfermline, asks that the bishopric may be reserved for him, and names two procurators. Has repeatedly pleaded for a declaration that there is nothing illegal in the reservation, with the consent of the incumbent, of a benefice not yet vacant, especially when the King asks for it. Therefore begs that the bishopric may be reserved for his servant, James. Asks also that Julius will make him Commendator of the Abbey [of Dunfermline] in perpetuity, that it may more easily be defended from the attacks of the wicked (*perditorum incursus*). Has entrusted the rest of his message to Sir Gilbert Strachan.

68. *James IV to Louis XII. [1506 ?].* N.L. 109.

Thanks him for the horses that he has sent him. Is deeply indebted to Louis for remembering him, and sending

him again and again the best horses of this kind. He inspects them every day, and, as is right, makes much of the gifts of so great a prince. Sends Louis four hackneys (*gradarios*), not as good as he should have liked, but good enough in the circumstances; at least, he believes, not unfitted for racing and hunting, *qui si placidi fuerint dehinc aptiores parabimus*.

## 1507

69. *James IV to Charles, King of Castile, Holyrood, January 6, 1506-7.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 141; B.M. 28; R. 45.

James was distressed to hear that the King's father died some months ago [Sept. 25, 1506] so prematurely. He was a good friend to James in matters of importance, and recently in particular when he was with Henry VII he wrote very kindly, asking for a renewal of the old treaty with Scotland. James had resolved to negotiate over details, if there had been opportunity and Philip had remained longer in Britain. Now that the father is dead, that goodwill is transferred to the son. James has ordered Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon King-of-Arms, Knight, to approach His Majesty, show that Scotland has observed ancestral pacts, and report the conditions which Charles desires. He hopes for the closest friendship, which he will demonstrate in practice when he finds occasion of service. H.

70. *James IV to Henry VII, Holyrood, January 8, 1506-7.*<sup>2</sup> N.L. 140; B.M. 27; R. 40; G. 225.

Interest in the house of Gueldres impels James to write repeatedly to his father-in-law. He is very anxious that

<sup>1</sup> Date from N.L. MS.

H.

<sup>2</sup> This letter seems to belong to the undated group noted in R.S.S., i, 1377, and placed there between December 4 and 5. The following six letters of the group are dated according to this letter to Henry VII. The N.L. version gives Jan. 11.

H.

the house should maintain its great position in Germany, because his grandmother was the second daughter of Arnold, sixth duke, and the present duke and James stand in the second and third degrees of consanguinity, also because he finds an old treaty with the house engaging Scotland for its actual support. The Duke Charles is defending his paternal territory against an aggressive enemy, who is not particular about the justice of his cause so long as he extends his power, and who ceaselessly devastates Gueldres. No need to recall what Charles has endured from the King of the Romans, the Duke of Cleves, the Prince of Castile, Leon, and Granada. Their forces were so overwhelming that God Himself must have lent His aid when, after strongholds were taken, a country without help assailed and plundered in bloody warfare, the Duke clung nobly to his little heritage. And there were other troubles in compacts rendered null by force and fraud, peace and truce broken, violation of the law of nations by others regardless of faith and solemn oath. Surely vengeance from above will fall if such wrong done by man goes unavenged.

Recently the King of Castile, Leon, and Granada enjoyed Henry's hospitality, and Henry may have heard something about the Duke of Gueldres. James understands that Philip was driven by his father to attack the Duke. When he was in England he wrote to James regarding renewal of the ancestral alliance, and in that alliance James had reposed his main hope. But now they say that the King of the Romans, with many thousands and the princes of Germany, again assails Gueldres, forgetting that kings were ordained to repel wrong, not to make plunder and profit. Since Henry has provided auxiliaries for Philip, and will be called, as James is sure, to alliance with the King of the Romans, it is meet to submit this appeal. It must commend itself to Henry's judgment, when justice fights for the Duke in defence of a heritage more than seven hundred years in his family, and when the Duke has offered arbitration in vain to an enemy with whom power is of more account than equity.

It would not be to the glory of Henry, so mighty a king, to take the field with all these allies against a duke almost totally prostrated already: victory would be without renown, and would bring odium upon him and his for extinguishing unprovoked the name of Gueldres. The relationship of James with the Duke should preclude such a course, especially since the dukedom, after the Queen of Sicily and her offspring, would pass to James and his line, Henry's own grandchildren. Besides, Henry must recollect the friendship contracted between him and James under apostolic sanctions. Is he free to make war upon James's kin? Neither people is so impatient of peace as to desire a renewal of the old strife. No deference to anyone and no hostility to the Duke should make Henry forget that treaty.

It should be remembered, too, that James must stand or fall with the Duke as sprung from the same house, out of regard for ancestral repute and inviolate alliance, and the personal tie of kinship. If English soldiery attacks with the King of the Romans and James lends aid to the Duke, there is the making of a conflagration at home. Henry knows the folly of an ignorant and unruly folk, always ready for the worse interpretation, which would eschew peace and prefer the sword, inflamed to do more harm than it had suffered if a brother and a kinsman were lost in war abroad. It will be safer to guard against imminent ills than to seek a cure when the damage is done, albeit human affairs are so much exposed to accident that it is easier to apprehend evils than to avoid them.

Henry should reflect whether it is better to keep their peoples in restraint or arouse ancient enmity. This, in short, is the mind of James. If Henry lays the Duke low or takes up arms so that against all that is right he is cast out, James would be regretfully compelled by his beliefs in the force of justice over wrong to regard his father-in-law as an enemy. Interests of state discourage the thought of any breach of the established friendship; and Henry may judge what a grief such an event would be to James's beloved wife and his own most delightful daughter (*carissima nobis conjux, suavissima tibi filia*).

H.



71. *James IV to Maximilian, King of the Romans*, [*Holyrood, January 8, 1506-7*]. N.L. 143; B.M. 30; R. 47.

James was induced to write to Maximilian by friendship with his deceased son the King of Castile, who so fully recognised the obligations of kinship and alliance as to make James anxious to pursue with his family the treaty relations already established. Now that, alas, the King is prematurely dead, James writes thus intimately to his father that he may find in him, the kinsman and ally of his grandson Charles, none readier to promote his honour and advancement as far as he may. These friendly relations and his affinity with the ancient house of Austria have induced James to send his envoys and counsellors, Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon King-of-Arms, Knight, to approach Maximilian for a more gracious treatment of his kinsman Charles, Duke of Gueldres. Whatever his deserts, and his errors, it were fitting that Maximilian, even where wrong is manifest, should exhibit to the world and to his own subjects a readiness to forgive. It behoves a king to pardon rather than by severity to provoke still graver offence. That course, James hopes, will bring the Duke round to due obedience. He will surely accept Maximilian's conditions if Maximilian is willing to leave him his heritage. It would be wise to use judicial, not military measures, and to avoid the charge of oppression, to restrain the vengeance prepared for the Duke by allied princes and submit the issue to arbitration, to bind to him the Duke and those come of his house rather than to alienate them. The steadfast affection of the Duke and his allies will not weaken Maximilian. So James has sent his orators to him, who will advise the Duke to offer the terms of a complete settlement. Would Maximilian use these envoys at his discretion for agreement and grant them safe conduct to Gueldres. If they cannot be of service, they are to hasten to James's uncle, the King of Denmark in connection with the troubles between him and Lübeck. H.

72. *James IV to the Chancellor and Council of Burgundy, Holyrood, [January 8, 1506-7].* N.L. 142; B.M. 29; R. 46.

James has written, after full deliberation, to his kinsman and ally the King of Castile; and doubtless they will see the communication. They may be sure of his intention to cultivate friendship. His envoys are instructed to advise a peaceful settlement with the Duke of Gueldres, so that the wise policy of the Council may be a disappointment to enemies and a gratification to friends. He would ask them to give the envoys safe conduct in visiting Gueldres, a favour which the usages of public law will render it easy to grant. H.

73. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres, [Holyrood, January 8, 1506-7].* N.L. 144; B.M. 31; R. 49.

The King's regard for the Duke induces serious thought about his conduct, while the blood relationship compels special consideration of his interests. The Duke esteems James so highly as to have given him full power in his affairs, and that confidence carries with it a heavy responsibility. The distance separating them prevented assistance to the Duke in his difficulties; and James appealed to his old ally of France. It is reported that French troops were sent to aid in the defence of Gueldres, and it was good to hear of the capture of cities which had rebelled. James saw the correspondence between the Duke and Henry VII, and knew of Henry's military preparations. He had something to say on the subject, on which he and Henry did not see eye to eye. At all events there is no word up to date of hostile action by Henry, however low his opinion of the Duke's deserts. To prevent such action James has sent his envoys and counsellors, Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon King-of-Arms, Knight, to placate Henry, beg the Council of Burgundy for a peaceful solution, see the Duke himself, advise acceptance of the terms discussed with the envoy of the late Philip, and urge accommodation the more frankly

now that it befits them all as kinsmen to respect and defend his young successor. The ambassadors have instructions, and the Duke will kindly inform James regarding his position. H.

74. *James IV to John of Denmark*, [Holyrood, January 8, 1506-7<sup>1</sup>; N.L. 146; B.M. 33; R. 56; G. 229.

The herald Sieland delivered John's letters, announced his instructions, gave information regarding the action of Lübeck, and stated John's views. James has sent Sieland on to Louis XII, and has given him letters for the King and the peers of France. Montjoye, the French King-of-Arms, persuaded James to send Sieland thither first, promising that it would conduce to John's importance in the eyes of Louis. But James has bidden Sieland return to Scotland to report any progress, and that he might consider the advantageous course with special care. When he arrives, he will hasten on to Denmark. Meanwhile John's affairs impel James to send Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon King-of-Arms, Knight, first to Lübeck and then to John, to discover the cause of the trouble and advise a peaceful settlement. He already knows from Lyon, his envoy, of the persistence of the Swedes and John's just cause for taking arms: of the Lübeck trouble he knows nothing. The envoys will make their report to John. James thinks that a word of counsel is required. John should be sure that he has just reason and is not moved by cupidity: he should also prefer to remedy any offence by conference, and volunteer amends if he is to blame. In any case they should not find him inexorable, but such as to be reputed indulgent abroad and at home. Conflict would be with a disciplined and well-equipped foe: so he must proceed with calculation as well as vigour. The wise undertake war for the blessings of peace. It is far simpler to preserve

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Diplom. Hist. Dan. places in October 1506.

peace than to find a cure for the wounds of war. Let him be certain that the quarrel is forced upon him, not sought.  
H.

75. *James IV to the Magistrates and Council of Lübeck, [Holyrood, January 8, 1506-7].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 145; B.M. 32; R. 51.

The King of Denmark informed James that without any cause of offence they are actively supporting the rebellious Swedes against him, that they have prepared a fleet to attack the royal territory or bring about defection, and that they have resolved to take arms openly on the Swedish side. James has been asked by his uncle for armed assistance. He is still their good friend; and his envoy a few years ago, and in an affair not dissimilar, had from them a pacific answer which he remembers with gratitude. This and the old commercial intercourse between Scotland and Lübeck have determined him to intervene in the name of good sense. Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon chief King-of-Arms and Knight, are going to Lübeck and then to Denmark to strive for conciliation, ascertain their reasons for defection, and discover the rights and wrongs of the case. To be frank, James can well believe that desire for power rather than for vengeance is the motive, but he thinks that the peril is likely to be greater than the spoils. His view is that an unhappy breach should be healed before things go too far and while second thoughts are possible. It is easy to take up arms, but the victor alone dictates the peace. James has no wish to threaten them: his is friendly advice to beware in time. Opportunity for deliberation, once missed, is often ill to find again. He is encouraged by certainty of their prudence to believe that the long journey of his envoys will be justified, especially as he does not mean that Lübeck should abandon its just rights. He will not be biased though he is the King's nephew: his object is to avert war. A ready expedient is confession where the fault lies and amendment. They should con-

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Diplom. Hist. Dan. places in October 1506.

sider the discreditable features of the Swedish conspiracy. They must be aware that the Swedes have not kept the last sworn agreement. The King thwarted their attempts and forgave patent wrong with some forbearance; yet they prefer to risk rebellion, swayed by a misguided desire for domination, and persevere in making ruin complete. Sworn pacts, imperial decrees, papal interdicts—so James hears—have failed to restrain them, and should they escape human vengeance there is divine retribution to fear. A flourishing state like Lübeck should have had nothing to do with those who seem to have made a tool of it. The Swedes appear to be unrepentant and inveterate rebels, and Lübeck's support of them astonishes James. No king can afford to see rebellion spread; and James must reluctantly state quite definitely that he would have to take the field in the common cause of kingship against rebellion and on his uncle's behalf. Nor will he be alone; and he prays that God may give signal proof of the wisdom that lies in caution. They must think of their common weal and strengthen the forces of peace. The Scottish envoys are men of experience, through whom James expects a report.

H.

76. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, February 1, 1506-7.*  
N.L. 107; R. 23.

James recalls the history of St. Francis and his order, none holier or more widely diffused. Opposition and criticism were the penalties of success. Any attempt to fuse the Observants and the Conventuals would be disastrous, especially for Scotland. The Observants have stood for the salvation of souls: they have remedied neglect by others: the sacraments are ministered, and Christ's word is faithfully proclaimed. For eighty-nine years the order has persisted with the approval of popes and councils, and has found many adherents to its exacting rules. It is not lawful, unless on considered grounds of papal policy, that these men should be brought again to a less strict manner

of living. What hope of a holier life, if the Franciscans have not in the past respected the laws laid down? James thinks that it would be far from easy to achieve a union. What is more, forty-two years ago<sup>1</sup> his grandmother introduced the Observants in Scotland: his father honoured them, and his mother was their cordial friend. James himself completed and furnished for them house after house, where he found cleansing for his conscience, and became a devoted son and defender. He has thought it right to tell the Pope all this and banish any regrets concerning the order in Scotland, to whose fruitful labours he can hardly do justice in writing. Scotland, her people, prince and clergy, seek liberty for the Observants to live according to their professed rule. His Holiness should not be the Pope to invalidate what predecessors fully approved by wise decree: what the order has lost by unworthy detraction he should make good, and maintain the old loyal affection for the way of St. Francis. H.

77. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark and Protector of Scotland*, [*Holyrood, February 1, 1506-7*]. N.L. 108; B.M. 14; R. 26.

Embracing Christianity thirteen hundred years ago, the Scottish kings amply endowed religious houses. The Minorites were late in coming, but they succeeded miraculously in Scotland, where they are pre-eminent. James alludes to the life and work of St. Francis, and to the persistence of the order. It has been exposed to deliberate calumny. James appeals for the Observants to the Cardinal, Protector of Scotland and St. Francis, trusting that he will defend them. He has written to the Pope, and he encloses a copy of this letter, that the Cardinal may consider the rights and wrongs of the case. There is no

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the bull of Pius II in 1463 to the vicar-general of the order for the foundation of three or four houses. On the accuracy of the statement about Mary of Gueldres, see Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 58. H.

object in enlarging to him upon so excellent a cause. One thing only he would urge: the pious foundations by the Scottish crown forbid alteration of the Franciscan observance here: neither the interest of the realm nor the royal authority will allow it. H.

78. *James IV to Middelburg, [? February 1506-7].*

N.L. 153.

Their letters of December 22 were delivered on February 7 by their advocate, Augustine de Camynade, stating that the mission entrusted to him was of the greatest importance and indeed necessary for Scotland and as such should be considered favourably. Their envoy made a most worthy speech in a full assembly of nobles. Middelburg should be congratulated on so eloquent and skilled a representative who expounded clearly its sound domestic policy. He spoke admirably on the usual liberties of Scots merchants, the convenience of Middelburg for import and distribution, the popular favour for the Scots, their increasing number there and the advantage to the town. On the other hand, if the Scots were compelled to go elsewhere there were shallow waters to navigate, new taxation, heavy expenses, and they would have to find the purchaser and the trader. In effect his conclusion was that the merchant should be at liberty to land where it suited him, do business, and come and go.

James has remitted this merchant question to experts of his Council who will discuss it fully. They will consider the merchant interest without regard to popular clamour or the indiscreet judgment of the generality, and will be guided by reason and policy, so that what Middelburg calls the 'liberty' of the merchant may be made to conduce to public and private interest. It has been decided that the Scots merchant should not, as before, wander from this place to that, but should fix his staple, and in conformity with the custom of trading nations should observe a convention to be settled. It is thought expedient to frequent

a special port where definite law is in agreed operation : indiscriminate resort at the merchants' will does not commend itself. James was resolved to tie his merchants to one port had it not been for the speech of their advocate Augustine, who obtained an interval to apprise Middelburg of the proposed Scottish staple and ascertain its views at the earliest date. Scotland has no dislike of Middelburg or objection to resort thither if general conditions prove satisfactory ; but it is the intention to concentrate upon one place. James is justifiably surprised that his familiar, Master James Merchemtoun, had difficulty in obtaining expedition of justice anent Donald Crum's goods when friends might well have expected it. More will be said on the subject by Augustine, who did everything possible on behalf of Middelburg. H.

79. *James IV to Hew Martyn, Edinburgh, February 13, 1506-7.* R.S.S. i. 1428.

Licence to Hew Martyn, merchant of Veere, and his shipmaster, John Bayre, to come to port of Aberdeen to trade.

80. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, March 1, 1506-7.*  
B.N.: MS. 2930, no. 16, fol. 35<sup>1</sup>; N.L. 151; B.M. 36;  
R. 61.

The old law of friendship and the custom of allied princes require that they should communicate one to the other their happy tidings, so that as friends rejoicing with friends they may feel the same pleasure. Since there has been an alliance between his predecessors and the royal house of France for many years, and since there is a bond of blood between himself and Louis, he is doing nothing unworthy or contrary to family tradition if he announces by Rothesay herald events no less pleasing than advantageous that have

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<sup>1</sup> Original letter.



happened to himself.<sup>1</sup> Would that the birth of a son and heir to Louis were announced! Then he would have the pleasure that a friend should feel. He writes in the second place, in the name of his uncle, the King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, to thank Louis, because he had listened sympathetically to the matters submitted to him, and had prepared to take them up with the hostile Lübeckers, with the object of helping his ally in peace and war, and, if necessary, fighting in his defence. But the King of Denmark subsequently informed him that a peaceful settlement with Lübeck had been reached, and, at his uncle's request, he writes to Louis advising him to desist, now that peace is made, from the activities that he had decreed on his behalf.

Signed James R ; Paniter.

Endorsed : *Excellentissimo Christianissimo et Illustrissimo principi Lodovico Dei clementia Francie regi Duci Mediolano et domino Gennensium fratri consanguineo et confederato amatissimo.*

81. *James IV to Anne, Queen of France, Holyrood,*  
[March 1], 1506-7. N.L. 152; B.M. 37; G. 231.

James is sending Rothesay herald to give news of him, so that a friend may share his joy and that her gladness may be enhanced by the special regard in which he has always held her. How he wishes that there were news of a son for her : that son would give him as much happiness as could his own. And he must tell her of the arrival of the heir he desired, destined if he lives to revive the old intimacy with the royal house of France. She may credit what else the herald has to say in the King's name ; and she will perhaps send through him news of herself and of her health, which he sincerely trusts is good. If there is anything Scottish she would care to have, it shall be hers.

H.

<sup>1</sup> The birth of a son, James, at Holyroodhouse, Feb. 21, 1506-7. The infant prince died February 27, 1507-8. (Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 219.)

82. *The Authorities of Lübeck to Henry VII, [March]*  
1506-7.<sup>1</sup> N.L. 29 ; G. 233.

Henry wrote to their city by the envoys of the King of Scots and recommended these men as negotiators between Lübeck and the King of Denmark. Regard for Henry ensured a respectful reception; and they answered that they intended not only to meet his wishes, but sought to find ways of deserving his kindness, and were inclined, nay perfectly ready, to grant what was with so wholly admirable a purpose required of them. Of all men they, who have commercial dealings, know that nothing is more advantageous and necessary than peace. They would fain be as free to enjoy it as they are eager; but they do not wish to blame anyone or to complain of the grievances and losses their citizens endure, and so they conclude by commending themselves and their common weal to His Majesty.

Given under the seal of the city by the *proconsules et consules*.  
H.

83. *The Authorities of Lübeck to James IV, [March]* 1506-7.  
N.L. 33 ; G. 235.

They cannot sufficiently express their sense of indebtedness to James for selecting men of eminent learning, experience and character as envoys to procure the great benefit of peace with John of Denmark. It would be unfair to them to enlarge upon the acceptability of an action for which they themselves will convey the gratitude of Lübeck as faithfully and fully as they have correctly, after all the hazards of their journeying, executed the orders of their master. Anxious to meet the royal wishes as far as possible, the city answered the ambassadors by word of mouth and at their request gave a written summary of the reply which was in terms of the paper enclosed herewith. It has

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<sup>1</sup> This letter, like the succeeding letter to James IV, is dated 1507; but Denmark reckoned from Jan. 1. The Scottish envoys were at Lübeck during Lent, and in Copenhagen attended a disputation at the university (Becker, 39, n. 8).  
H.

also through its secretaries informed them of the hindrances (*impetitionibus* : sc. *impeditionibus*) imposed by John, so that they might instruct James on the subject and be better prepared to meet the complaints alleged.

The city kept silent—though nothing was left undone which might give hope of placating John—about infringement of privileges (which he himself confirmed) in respect of shipwreck goods, fresh and numberless burdens, seizure of vessels, exaction of annual rates, delay of payment, and other matters ; and it did so to avoid appearing as accuser of Denmark. Now, too, they would certainly not have mentioned these things had not James asked for information and but for a fear of being misinterpreted to a king with whom Lübeck would ever wish to entertain goodwill and find opportunity to show it.

Given under the seal of the city by the *proconsules et consules*. H.

84. *James IV to the Parlement of Rouen, Holyrood, March 1, 1506-7.* N.L. 150 ; G. 236.

Louis XII last year authorised Robert Bertoun, George Corintoun [Corntoun] and other servants of James to procure timber in Normandy for the royal use and import it. These men submitted the King's letters to the Parlement, and they are, James has heard, in their hands. A specified quantity was brought to Scotland for the building of the fleet. More is required ; and James now writes for permission to use the privilege already given and for their decree in favour of these men to purchase and import timber for the same purpose. If there is anything he can do for the Parliament in Scotland, he will be glad of the opportunity. H.

85. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, March 6, 1506-7.* W. i. 55 ; N.L. 148 ; B.M. 35 ; R. 60.

James heard John's messenger Sieland on his return to Scotland from Denmark with Montjoye, the French

King-of-Arms, and sent him on to Louis XII with letters to the peers and magnates of France. On his way thither he endeavoured to enlist for John the aid of Henry VII against his rebels and enemies, a matter which had been definitely raised by James's envoys to Denmark, the Dean of Glasgow and Lyon King-of-Arms. Louis favoured James's matrimonial proposal on behalf of his cousin Christian, John's son, and the request might have succeeded if the King's kinswoman<sup>1</sup> had been sought in time or had not been already married. John will learn from the letters of Louis and from Sieland what efforts for peace with Lübeck, and what aid in war, he might have expected. Louis gave Sieland instructions for James, who kept him for some time on his return to Scotland owing to the Queen's confinement<sup>2</sup>: also there was a rumour of truce with Lübeck [now confirmed by John's letters, of which Louis shall be informed]<sup>3</sup> and James wished to announce the birth of a son and heir. John will be glad that one of his blood will rule in Scotland. Sieland, trusty and silent (*fide et taciturnitate bonus*) as he is, will indicate James's mind in regard to the articles of his commission. John, of course, understands that it is James who has kept him.

Subscribed by James and Paniter: with the signet.

H.

86. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, March 8, 1506-7.* N.L. 147; B.M. 34; G. 232.

John's letters of December 17 from his castle of Noryburgh [Norburg ?] were delivered by his messenger Gestach on March 1. His Majesty seemed to wonder whether Sieland was alive or dead. He is alive and busy, and James has detained him in Scotland. John wrote of agreement with Lübeck. James rejoices that he has reached this wise and timely settlement with his former friends, which has

<sup>1</sup> Anne de la Tour, who married John, Duke of Albany.

H.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret's first son was born Feb. 21, 1506-7.

H.

<sup>3</sup> The parenthesis in brackets is not in the Danish version (W., i, 55), which gives the date.

H.

isolated the rebellious Swedes and deprived them of hope. Gestach was called to secret audience; but Sieland was required as interpreter, and he explained John's fortunate circumstances. Had James not heard the news, his fleet would have sailed for Denmark and poured in troops to help him. This advantageous settlement of the controversy is most praiseworthy; and it has induced James to despatch Rothesay herald to Louis, their common ally, to apprise him of the fact, to save him the trouble of sending to Lübeck about the late quarrel, and to give him the opportunity to offer congratulations. H.

87. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, March 10, 1506-7.* N.L. 149.

James has given to Sieland instructions for John, enabling him to communicate the King's views secretly. A speedy answer is desired and news of John's affairs. Would John be so good as to send from Denmark an accredited envoy. H.

88. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Holyrood, March 10, 1506-7.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 176.

The church of Ross recently become vacant by the death of John [Frisel], whom the dean and canons buried with due solemnities, James desires a bishop who will defend ecclesiastical liberty and diligently administer the diocese. He writes recommending Master Robert Cockburn, who is in the royal service (*nobis familiarem*), qualified in letters and character; and he asks the Cardinal to procure his advancement as likely to promote divine worship and produce a successful bishop.

Robert has resigned the chancellorship of Dunkeld by appointment of procurators and the ordinary has provided

<sup>1</sup> The see became vacant on Feb. 5. The letter to the Pope (N.L. 177) which does not go on to deal with Paniter's interest, is dated May 10, 1507. In the uncertainty the letters are placed here under the earlier date. H.

the royal secretary, Master Patrick Paniter. The Cardinal will consult Master Gilbert Strachin, and impetrate the benefice for the secretary (*sive per dimissionem sive per munus consecrationis aut potius per declaratoriam pontificis extunc vacantem et illius signaturam unacum pronuntiatione Roberti ad episcopatum cum derogatione specialium reservationum*). H.

89. *O'Donnel, Prince of Ulster, to James IV, Drunangall [Donegal], March 13, 1506-7. N.L. 53; G. 237.*

O'Donnel writes that during the life of his father, James's loving subject (*vestro amantissimo subjecto*), who was as he explained by letters patent at the time, he was desirous of paying a personal visit. He still cherishes the wish, if opportunity serves. The death of his father has been an obstacle. He has had wars with many Irish magnates which, thank God, have had a happy issue. But at the beginning of the approaching summer he intends a sharp attack on his numberless foes for their misdeeds, and he hopes very much for Scottish aid. Would James send John, son of Alexander McHean, the chief of his clan and the King's subject, on the feast of the apostles Philip and James [May 1], with four thousand fully equipped men, and order his lieges in the part of Scotland which adjoins Ireland, especially the leaders of Clandonnell, under such pains as he may choose to impose, that those whom McHean asks to accompany him should put in an appearance at that date; and would he forbid the leaders of Clandonnell, under suitable penalties, to consort with any of the Irish nobility against O'Donnel, in view of a report by these enemies that James has for some time contemplated leaving Scotland. O'Donnel hopes that is not so. He desired this year to visit St. James the son of Zebedee, and was prevented by the lawyers and men who knew his country, especially by the Friars Minors of the Observance; and the arguments in the contrary are much stronger in the case of James. He begs him to abandon the pilgrimage owing to the possible dangers which might arise, and in

the general as well as the writer's interest. A speedy answer is requested. Aeneas McDonayll is to be his envoy with full instructions on these and other matters. H.

90. *James Betoun to Anthony de Initiatis, [end of March, 1507].* N.L. 171; B.M. 68; R.H. 68.

Betoun learns that Anthony has come to the ancient realm of Scotland from Julius II, bringing for the King the sword and cap which are distinguished (*non infima*) gifts at the disposal of Roman pontiffs. This whole body of leading churchmen (*reverendissimorum*), sent from his sacred majesty to receive Anthony, congratulates him upon his arrival, and in the King's name conveys a greeting of honour to the Pope. These gifts are valued not so much for themselves as in witness of a special affection for the Prince. A peculiar debt of gratitude must be owing by Betoun himself, whom His Holiness has favoured with so important a commission. At present they have come by royal command to do Anthony honour, and they will gladly conduct him wherever he should go. H.

91. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, April 1, 1507.*  
N.L. 156. BRODIE, 300.<sup>1</sup>

Robert [Betoun], Abbot of Glenluce, was postulated for St. Mary's of Coupar, deprived of its administrator, and has the papal confirmation. Robert desires to exchange Coupar for Melrose, and William, Abbot of Melrose, also wishes to make the exchange. They have appointed procurators, and James grants his letters in support. The lands of Melrose are on the border and so exposed in war and to banished Scots during peace that resources formerly ample will not meet bare necessities, and owing to the exceptional number of promotions to the abbacy and very heavy expenses in litigation the place is in great need, an annual pension to one Bernard Bell being a first charge upon revenue. In view of these facts would the Pope effect the

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 300, places the request in December 1509.

exchange for Robert, with retention of Glenluce for a year at least as a slight compensation for the Melrose pension.  
H.

92. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, April 1, 1507.*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 126 and 160 ; B.M. 49 ; G. 224.

James has written again and again about a reservation of Dunkeld on the cession or decease of the present bishop for his treasurer James, Abbot of Dunfermline. That manner of expedition was exceedingly common in Scotland under Alexander VI, especially when the holder's assent was forthcoming. James would beg His Holiness to consult ecclesiastical interests and be pleased to remember his petition.  
H.

93. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [April 1, 1507].*  
N.L. 157 ; BRODIE, 300.

Desires that Robert [Betoun], Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Glenluce in the diocese of Glasgow, now postulated, with the papal confirmation, to the Abbey of Coupar, of the same order, in the diocese of St. Andrews, may be transferred to Melrose. To this end [William] the present Abbot of Melrose has chosen procurators and James has written to the Pope asking that William may be transferred to Coupar and Robert to Melrose. The Abbey of Melrose, being situated on the border of his kingdom, is despoiled by the enemy in time of war and occupied by banished men and outlaws (*exules et relegati*) in time of peace, so that what was formerly a very wealthy house is now reduced to shameful poverty (*exiguus etiam ad honestatem non sufficiet*). Frequent translations of abbots and a protracted lawsuit have further weakened it. It is also greatly weakened by a pension payable yearly to a certain Bernardus. James has therefore asked that out of con-

<sup>1</sup> Date from N.L. 160.



sideration for the Abbey of Melrose he should allow Robert to retain Glenluce for at least two years, which would be some help towards lightening the burden of the pension. The Cardinal will get further information from Gilbert Strachan *familiari nostro* and John Duncan.

94. *James IV to the Father General of the Cistercians, Holyrood, April 1, 1507.* N.L. 158.

The piety of Scottish kings gave rise to noble Cistercian houses in Scotland; but St. Mary's of Melrose was designed to be the richest and the chief. The fathers of the order have always hitherto confirmed its primatial authority, granting to the abbot visitatorial powers in the province. James therefore desires that the commission be renewed to the present abbot: if the Father General delays to do so, the King may be forced to obtain these customary authoritative powers from the Apostolic See. H.

95. *James, Abbot of Dunfermline, to the Cardinal of St. Mark, April 1, 1507.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 159.

Betoun has written repeatedly about the reservation of Dunkeld with consent of the present bishop; but having on the latest information (*novissima*) been disappointed because his Holiness shows himself somewhat difficult, he recognises that he must give up, to avoid importuning the Cardinal, although he certainly expected that a reservation with assent of the holder would be procured on the very justifiable grounds shown and after repeated royal letters, as Gilbert Strathauchin will explain. Betoun asks the Cardinal to give his attention to the Coupar-Melrose exchange and bring up again Betoun's promotion to Melrose with retention of Glenluce. H.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is carelessly dated in the copy as 'from our palace,' though it is clearly Betoun's. H.

96. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, [April 1507].*

N.L. 165 ; B.M. 70 ; R. 82.

Antony de Initiatis, Knight of Alessandria, esquire, and old household man of His Holiness, reached Scotland on March 31 with the sword and cap consecrated on the night of the Nativity. These two gifts James received at Holyrood on Easter day [April 4], amid assembled magnates and prelates and after the rites celebrated by the commissioner [James Betoun]. The gifts arouse his loyalty and devotion and show the regard in which he is held. Many benefits from Julius, before he occupied the papal eminence, put James in doubt how he could fitly respond ; and now he is the more at a loss because in Scotland it is not easy to demonstrate by deeds his attitude towards His Holiness, much as he would desire to do so. One thing may be said : occasion will never find him ungrateful or forgetful. These distinguished honours he is glad and thankful to acknowledge. It remains to add that Antony's mission has been fraught with honour to the Pope and favour to himself. James has entrusted to him certain matters affecting his conscience. H.

97. *Antonius de Initiatis to Pope Julius II, [Edinburgh], [April] 1507. N.L. 166.*

On Easter Sunday [April 4] he presented to James IV the hat and sword committed to him by the Pope. He thanks His Holiness for entrusting him with such a mission.

98. *James Betoun to Julius II, [April 1507].*

B.M. 71 ; R.H. 71.

Betoun has received the letters of His Holiness. He has discharged the duty committed to him, and has handed the sword and cap to the King on Easter day [April 4] with all the appropriate ceremonies. He thanks His Holiness with all the sincerity at his command for having

chosen him to perform this distinguished office, and he will pray for his felicity with all devotion. H.

99. *James Betoun to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], [April 1507].* N.L. 167; B.M. 72; R.H. 72.

Anthony de Initiatis, knight of Alessandria, the Pope's esquire and long of his household (*familiaris antiquus*) brought to Scotland the sword and cap consecrated on the night of the Nativity, and Betoun handed them to the most illustrious prince by virtue of his commission. He informs the Cardinal that Anthony discharged his mission with such address as to gain for the Pope the greatest possible honour, and for himself the good wishes of all. Betoun is entrusting business of his own to Anthony, with instructions to wait upon the Cardinal, in whom is all his hope.

100. *James IV to Bernardo Dromer, Edinburgh, April 5, 1507.* R.S.S. i. 1456.

Letter of passage to Bernardo Dromer, trumpeter, and four of his companions, coming from Bologna to serve the King with their trumpets and musical instruments.

101. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, April 6, [1507].*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 155.

James has written already to His Holiness about the College of St. Michael at Stirling and the amplification of divine service there. Alexander VI erected it and Julius himself made the Bishop of Whithorn dean, with ordinary authority over the household. James again (*iterum*)<sup>2</sup> asks that the dean be called bishop and the subdean of the foundation become dean, the bishop to have ordinary

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 422, places in 1510.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote on Oct. 3, 1506. (See No. 53.)

jurisdiction over genuine members of the household (*in nostros veros et continuos commensales*), and for his more seemly emolument James again seeks the annexation of the Priory of Inchmahome when the office of prior falls vacant, on condition of the maintenance of regular observance, reservation of all burdens for the diocesan ordinary, and the institution of a claustral prior satisfactory to the diocesan, as the Cardinal of St. Mark will explain at more length. H.

102. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, April 14, 1507.*  
N.L. 168 ; B.M. 69 ; R. 80.

Antony de Initiatis, Knight of Alessandria and esquire in the household of Julius II, is on legation in Scotland and has thoroughly deserved commendation for wise and honourable conduct, winning universal popularity. He has been all the more welcome as a dweller in Alessandria and a born subject of France. The favour of Louis is vital for him ; and he believes that letters from so good a friend of the French King will secure it. James strongly recommends him, asking Louis so to treat Antony's business in France and that of his friends as to prove that this appeal has had its effect. H.

103. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, April 20, 1507.* W. i. 9 ; N.L. 15 ; G. 243.

On April 17 John received with great satisfaction his letters, as graceful as they were wise, at the hands of Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, and Lyon King-of-Arms, who at John's order had discussed the points of their mission with the men of Lübeck, and then reported to John the proceedings and answers in all matters wherein he was concerned. James should not suppose that he has frivolous pretexts for taking arms against the men of Lübeck, for John cannot fail to note the advice tendered, that it is wiser and more becoming

in a king to go to war for a grave and public offence than from lust of power or greed, which have very often been fatal to victory.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact he had found himself deeply concerned in the support given by Lübeck to the rebellious Swedes, though Lübeck uses unconvincing arguments to show that the charge is not just. To clear himself, John is compelled—and James will approve his intention to make him acquainted with Denmark's point of view through his own emissaries—to detain these envoys a little longer for an early diet with the men of Lübeck to be held in Denmark, so that they may be able to give James an exact account of the issues involved. He sends his best wishes to James, to whom he is much indebted, and to his consort. H.

104. *James IV to O'Donnel*, [Stirling, April 22, 1507].

N.L. 172 ; B.M. 42 ; G. 240.

Aeneas Makdonall duly delivered at Stirling, on April 20, the letters dated from Donegal on March 13. James is very glad to have this evidence of an inherited regard : O'Donnel's father in person pledged his great loyalty to the King, and preserved it. If O'Donnel had come, he would have had as friendly a reception. His successful pacification is good news, and a visit will be welcome. As to the request for four thousand men on May 1, under John, son of Alexander McHean, there should have been much longer notice. The memory of his father justifies assistance, if only the cause is just. James would like to know who are the enemies and what is at stake. With reference to prohibition of Clandonell, James's men will not act without consulting him, and will certainly not oppose his subject (*nostrum subditum*) O'Donnel, or they will suffer for it. He is grateful for the advice about leaving Scotland. The report need not disturb O'Donnel : such

<sup>1</sup> Gairdner's text should read *que sepissime male partam removere victoriam*. H.

an enterprise will be deliberate, and the realm will not be left unless it is safe. After adequate precautions have been taken, no protests from others and no ordinary dissuasion will avail to delay so pious a project (*tam sanctum et pium iter*).  
H.

105. *James IV to the Widow of the late O'Donnel, Stirling, April 22, 1507.* N.L. 173 ; G. 241.

He received at Stirling on April 20 her letters of March 13 from Donegal, referring to her late husband, assuring the King of her continued regard, and recommending her son to his loyalty and goodwill. He is delighted to hear that she is well ; and she may be certain of his reciprocal affection. He thought highly of her husband ; and the friendship will find its own witness in the successor, whose interests James studies to promote, especially if he follows in the father's footsteps, as the King hopes that he is likely to do.  
H.

106. *James IV to O'Donnel, [? May 1507].*  
N.L. 281 ; G. 242.

James has his letters of April 16, and congratulates him on his welfare and the goodwill expressed. The King has never repented kindness shown to O'Donnel's father. He was most worthy of his ancestry and most loyal to James, as indeed James expects also of the son, to whom he desires to be of service and will demonstrate it when occasion arises.  
H.

107. *James IV to the General of the Premonstratensians, Holyrood, May 1, 1507.* N.L. 109 ; B.M. 52 ; G. 246.

Henry, Prior of Whithorn,<sup>1</sup> extorted royal letters to the General asking that his house should be ranked first of the

<sup>1</sup> Henry Makdowell was provided on Nov. 26, 1508 (Vat. Transcripts, Register House, iii).  
H.

order in Scotland and that he should have the full jurisdiction in visitation and reformation which the Abbot of Souleseat, despite his much inferior status, then held. The General complied, and granted a commission exercised by the Prior of Whithorn until now. James was not alive (*minime cognovimus*) to what he wrote at the prior's supplication; and he referred the whole matter to the wise consideration of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate and legate, who found that the famous house of Dryburgh had been at the head of the order, not Souleseat or Whithorn. Accordingly James besought the archbishop to put things right and to see that the General's authority in Scotland was not altered or improperly transferred to another judge, as the archbishop himself is writing to explain.

H.

108. *Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the General of the Premonstratensians, Stirling,*<sup>1</sup> *May 1, 1507.*  
N.L. 170; B.M. 67.

Dryburgh had the first place among the houses of the order in Scotland and a title to visit and reform, a title recognised by the General's predecessors in delegating the jurisdiction; yet the Prior of Whithorn presumptuously and illegally resorts to harsh treatment, not mere correction, and now exercises superiority in this province of St. Andrews, encroaching upon Dryburgh's old freedom and disturbing it in many ways. The archbishop desires that the old pre-eminence of Dryburgh should be revived and its former authority in visitation and reformation restored, or at least that the house should be exempt from the commissioner of Whithorn, absolved from his censures, and subjected to the control of the General of the order alone: otherwise the archbishop may be forced by the unbecoming action of the commissioner to interpose his ordinary and diocesan authority in defence of his jurisdiction or to seek

<sup>1</sup> ' *Ex palatio nostro apud Striveling.*'

apostolic help. His messenger will explain the circumstances.  
H.

109. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, May 10, 1507.*<sup>1</sup> W. i. 56; N.L. 176; B.M. 45; R. 67.

James heard how wisely and successfully John settled the quarrel with Lübeck. Later he learned from John's letters that hostilities had ceased, and that the whole controversy is now submitted to negotiation. He therefore despatched Rothesay herald to apprise Louis XII, who nevertheless, as a special mark of regard for John, commissioned his chief King-of-Arms Montjoye to visit him and indicate the efforts he was making for peace and the military aid which might be expected. Montjoye would have gone direct to Lübeck and thence to Denmark through Germany but for apprehensions of danger from the soldiery in Flanders and the troops of the King of the Romans. He hastens by way of Scotland to intimate the views of Louis and exhort Lübeck to make a firm peace; and he carries letters from James to Lübeck with the same advice. James hopes that the men of Lübeck will take the initiative in asking for terms: otherwise it will do no harm if they become aware that Louis supports John. Montjoye is crossing without delay, and has instructions from James, who desires his return as early as possible.

Subscribed by James and Paniter: with the signet.

H.

110. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, May 10, 1507.*  
N.L. 177.

The King recommends Robert Cockburn for the vacant bishopric of Ross.

<sup>1</sup> The French herald left Scotland for Denmark in May (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 385). The letter is dated from the Danish original (W., i, 56).

H.



111. *James IV to the Council and People of Lübeck, Holyrood, [May 1507].* N.L. 174; B.M. and R.H. 44; R. 66.

James sent his envoys, in view of his friendship with them, in an effort to reconcile them with his uncle and save Christian blood for conflict with the enemies of Christ. He was glad to hear of the truce, and he trusts that peace will ensue. Peaceful settlement is the advice which Louis of France sends by his chief King-of-Arms Montjoye. They should avoid war, especially in this base and foul (*turpi et foeda*) Swedish cause, in which the authority, not only of the King of Denmark, but of all princes, over rebels is in question. James asks them to give the French herald a hearing and send him back to Scotland as soon as possible on his return journey to France. H.

112. *James IV to the Court of Rome, Edinburgh, June 8, 1507.* R.S.S. i. 1489.

Two missive letters, presumably to the Pope and the Cardinal of St. Mark, are noted relative to the nomination of Sir James Kineragy for the deanery of Aberdeen. H.

113. *The Authorities of Lübeck to James IV, June 13, 1507.* N.L. 28; G. 247.

After Montjoye, the French King-of-Arms, had delivered James's letters and they had perused them more than once, they did what they considered their duty in showing their gratitude to the best of their ability and in commending themselves to His Majesty, as they do again now. Montjoye thoroughly understood their wish to have peace and to accede to James's desire, and no doubt his account will make repetition in writing superfluous; but as he requested a written answer to his instructions from Louis XII, they have given it in the very condensed form of which a copy is enclosed. That the answer may seem to

be shorter than the importance of the business required is owing to their desire to avoid any appearance of deliberate disrespect to the majesty of that King whose favour they would wish to conciliate. Relying upon the wise judgment of James, they expect from him what men desirous of peace can promise themselves from the most Christian King and lover of tranquillity. They will be glad to do everything which they find acceptable to James.

Given under the seal of the imperial city of Lübeck by the *proconsules et consules*. H.

114. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, July 2, 1507.*

N.L. 179.

Failfurd, order of the Trinity, amply endowed by the King's ancestors, has suffered gravely through prolonged litigation between Thomas [Dickson] and William [Houston], and since the death of the provincial of the Blackfriars, who was commendator, has gone from bad to worse. The provincial contrived to maintain and repair in part a house normally monastic; but things have gone so far that the end must come unless there is succour. William, a secular clerk, intruded himself and remained, litigating at heavy cost to the place, and has prevented possession by Thomas, a brother professed of the order and canonically provided, partly by powerful intervention, partly on the pretext of renewed litigation. Out of pity for the house and sick of the contest, Thomas proposes to resign right in the hands of His Holiness. James asks the Pope to admit the resignation, advocate and remit the case from the Rota, owing to the poverty of Failfurd, to judges delegate who are, in view of the merits and if justice follows, to provide David Anderson, the new provincial, with dispensation from the ordinary, as commendator for life. David's character and business ability, James fully expects, will be the saving of the place and will restore monastic order. H.

115. *Louis XII to Robert Cockburn, Briançon, July 10, 1507. Flodden Papers, pp. 1-4.*

Instructs him to ask James, in view of his offers of help and the old alliance, to send 4000 infantry to Genoa or Savona for the defence of Milan against the King of the Romans, and to inform him that he is glad to learn that he has sent ambassadors to confirm the alliances between them.

*French.*

116. *John of Denmark to Andrew [Forman], Bishop of Moray, Copenhagen, July 18, 1507. w. i. 15.*

John has learned from the bishop's brother Robert and from other quarters, how much he is indebted to the Bishop for furthering John's business with his dear nephew the King through his long association with the royal household. John expresses a strong sense of his loyalty to James and of his kindness to himself, and hopes that the future may see that attitude continued. H.

117. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, July 20, 1507. w. i. 10.*

During the last days the Lübeck negotiations were concluded and the Scottish orators are setting sail for home with Montjoye in company. They have fulfilled their orders admirably, and their delay should be excused because they have been so ready to do service honourable to both James and John, service which John desires to acknowledge. He wishes James to know what occurred regarding the Lübeck controversy at the last diet after receipt of James's letters by Montjoye. The men of Lübeck and their supporters of the Hansa met with the arbiters on June 24. John sends a copy of the agreement so that it may be exactly reported. He has reserved certain points for future discussion that James may refer them to his

men of learning for examination and revision.<sup>1</sup> Creditably as both envoys have acted, John wishes specially to recommend Robert Forman for the next desirable episcopal vacancy. The young noble whom John is now sending<sup>2</sup> he would have employed in his nephew's service and made a man of (*in expertum virum provehi*) at his court. On other matters which he might have mentioned the Scottish envoys will report adequately. H.

118. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, July 20, 1507.* w. i. 12.

After Montjoye, the French King-of-Arms, had discharged his mission to the senate of Lübeck with his wonted thoroughness and his Gallic eloquence, he came straight to John to report his instructions and his dealings with that body. He was so eager (*inflammatissimum*) for the honour and advantage of both kings that John warmly commends him and asks James to give him full credence. H.

119. *James IV to the Cardinal of Alessandria,<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh, July 20, 1507.* N.L. 180; B.M. 65; R.H. 65. (*July 2, 1507.* N.L. 180).

When the ministry of Failfurd, order of the Holy Trinity, a house founded by the King's ancestors, became vacant by the death of John Mure, provincial of the Blackfriars and commendator, Thomas Dickson, a Trinitarian, had the ministry conferred upon him by the General of the Order. William Houston, a secular clerk, was intruded with the help of laymen, and had Thomas, who was prosecuting his right, imprisoned. After a sentence against William, appeal was made to Rome. The appeal was

<sup>1</sup> A like request was sent to Louis XII (W., i, 12).

H.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 123 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Antonii de S. Georgio, bishop of Alessandria, auditor of the Rota, cardinal 1493.

H.

deserted ; and Thomas raised an action of desertion and nullity which had proceeded some way short of conclusion when William, deceitfully and falsely asserting his presence in Rome, procured the reference of the case to the Rota, and a decret of inhibition depriving the delegates of all cognition so that he might worry the pursuer by the long delay in process. Deceit ought not to help a man, nor should conduct so culpable open the way to ecclesiastical benefice. Thomas grew sick (*exosus*) of a litigation which had dragged on into its fifteenth year, and referred his right to the King in order that, in view of his ancestral interest in Failfurd and the devout intention of the founders he should see to the provision of a suitable administrator who might be competent to maintain the divine service and the appropriate suffrages of the order. James at length took pity on Thomas. He has chosen a man of proved character and judgment in David Anderson, the venerable successor of John Mure and provincial of the Blackfriars, to be commendator of Failfurd, to whom as the prospective restorer of the ministry he asks that Thomas's right should be transferred by resignation at the court of Rome with derogation of the suit. He urges anew that the case as it now stands owing to the false allegation should, because of very pressing poverty at Failfurd, be advocated from the Rota and remitted to judges in Scotland for summary decision without appeal, so that Failfurd may be saved from complete ruin, and that, if need be, the judges may make provision in favour of the said provincial, with dispensation to hold the ministry *in commendam*—a stimulus to reformation of the convent after the manner of his predecessor—James implores the Cardinal, who can influence the course of justice (*cui justicie signatura in manu et debita auctoritas est*), to succour the place in view of his unrivalled legal skill (*pro tuo longe consultissimo ingenio*), stretching a point in the remit to judges in Scotland and in derogation of the suit. Will gladly bestow on him a fitting reward (*quod tibi dignum fuerit hic volentes prestabimus*). In the absence of his protector, the Cardinal of St. Mark, James thought

that he was the right one to approach (*praecipae requirendum*).

*Ex palatio nostro apud Edinburgum.*—July 1507. H.

120. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, July 20, 1507.* N.L. 11 ; G. 248.

The mission of Master Tycho Vincent, Dean of Copenhagen, and royal secretary, was at the instance of the King, who asks James to give him full credence in the business entrusted to him, and hopes that his efforts may conduce to the settlement which John is very anxious to see.

Given under the signet.

H.

121. *John of Denmark to Margaret of Scotland, [July 20, 1507].* w. i. 13.

John has frequent and growing testimony to her regard for him and to her services in his interests with her husband. He hopes that he will be able to repay her future kind offices. No greater good fortune in which John might have a share could befall her and her husband than the birth of a prince ; and it will give the greatest pleasure among the Danish nobility. May the Almighty grant her and her dear husband, his beloved nephew, long and happy years.

H.

122. *John of Denmark to Robert [Blacader], Archbishop of Glasgow, Copenhagen, July 20, 1507.* w. i. 14.

Robert Forman, the archbishop's nephew, has testified warmly to his support of John's interests with James. It is most acceptable, and John hopes that more and more he will enjoy the advantage of his diligence and solicitude. He has heartily commended to James the archbishop's nephew as he returns to Scotland, and he hopes that the archbishop as a kinsman will second the request he is making.

Forman has told John a good deal about his King's contemplated pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He cannot but be distressed at the prospect, and he pleads with the archbishop to dissuade James from an enterprise which has ended in many cases so unfortunately. May God second his efforts, not to mention the thought of his young wife and his country. How could James possibly justify a desire to go so far from them? <sup>1</sup>

H.

123. *Elizabeth, Princess of Denmark, to James IV, Copenhagen, July 22, 1507.* N.L. 5; G. 245.

The dictates of affection must serve as the explanation of a letter which has neither form nor elegance, and James will not be surprised. These few and inadequate lines she hopes that he will graciously accept, for she hesitates to trouble him with more, and her happiness is greater than writing can express. Not for her sake, but out of his exceeding goodness and his affection for the King of Denmark, her brother, James has given her son Christian <sup>2</sup> a most cheerful and kindly welcome. She values that more highly than far greater favours to herself; and she cannot offer anything more in return for this kindness to Christian

<sup>1</sup> The last lines as printed and punctuated by Wegener are hardly intelligible: *que etiam fronte quo animo et qua denique pietate hiis se tam procul abesse malit, ut votivam prolem et patriam tam famoso ingratitude judicio ascribere, laudabunt ceteri sue peregrinationis accintum (sic) robur, ac certe nos illius contumaciam pro singulari nostri unici nepotis (amore) amplectimur*; but the reference to the *votiva proles* is interesting. H.

<sup>2</sup> The heading in the letter-book states that she writes *pro Cristoforo filio suo domino Brechene*: a letter to her from James in 1509 (G. 277) is headed *matri Christierni*. The boy is 'Cristofer' in *Treasurer's Accounts*, ii, iii: 'Schir Christiern' in iv, where he is found in Scotland in July 1512 (355). On April 19, 1510, 'Sir Cristiarn' and his spouse, Agnes Stewart, had a precept for conjunct infeftment in the barony of Brechin (R.S.S., i, 2047), and on Sept. 24, 1511, under the surname of Stewart, but without mention of the lady, a charter under the great seal (R.M.S., ii, 3652). He had a payment from the lordship rents of Whitsunday, 1510 (*Exchequer Rolls*, xiii, 335).

H.

her son—nay rather, his (*immo verius tuo*)—than her entire devotion to the King's service.

Subscribed by Elizabeth, daughter of King Christian.  
H.

124. *James IV to Ferdinand of Aragon, [? July 1507].*

N.L. 183 ; B.M. 47 ; R. 68.

James is anxious to have some horses from Ferdinand's realm, but has learned that foreign buyers are forbidden by public edict. Still he hopes that ancestral goodwill will induce Ferdinand to allow the purchase of six. It would be a great favour ; and James would do his best to return it if Ferdinand sought anything from Scotland.

H.

125. *James IV to Emanuel, King of Portugal, [? July 1507].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 154 ; R. 91.

There is bitter and renewed complaint that in the reign of James III certain Portuguese at Sluys in Flanders discovered the exceptional value of a cargo belonging to Scots merchants which was in one of John Bertoun's ships. A piratical fleet followed it out of port on the homeward voyage, slew some merchants and sailors, captured the vessel, took the best of the merchandise and fittings, and were off to Portugal—and that in time of peace, when the Scots had no reason whatever to fear attack. An agent with letters from James III was sent to Portugal, and died there in suspicious circumstances. Bertoun and his men clamoured for letters of reprisal, which James III repeatedly refused, ordering them to proceed judicially. Eventually, after heavy and vain expense and the discussion in council, he granted reprisals to the amount involved by the loss of goods and men. James IV confirmed the grant, but several times allowed suspension at Emanuel's request without obtaining satisfaction ; yet he hoped that Emanuel

<sup>1</sup> Writing to Maximilian on Dec. 8, 1508, James refers to a letter to Portugal on this subject of the above date.

H.



would make a settlement rather than precipitate more serious trouble. James is a thorough believer in friendship between princes; but a king is bound by his royal oath to support his subjects in their just causes. There is a demand for restitution or reprisal. James has sent Rothesay herald to declare his goodwill and to ask that these private controversies be settled for the sake of public peace. He is being pressed to remove the suspension and put the letters of reprisal in force. H.

126. *James IV to Louis XII*, [August 1507]. N.L. 185; B.M. 73; R. 83.

Robert [Cockburn], postulate of Ross, delivered at Edinburgh on July 28 the letters given (*signatas*) by Louis on July 10 at Briançon.<sup>1</sup> James is grateful for the kindness and goodwill expressed, and is delighted to hear of his health and distinguished successes. His frequent references to Scottish interests deserve the warmest acknowledgment. The postulate reported the levying of Germans in His Majesty's territories, and therefore asked for four thousand trained foot to be sent to Genoa or Savona as soon as possible to meet the threatened attack of the King of the Romans upon Milan. James at once admits the old Franco-Scottish relations for mutual defence, strengthened by ties of blood, which make him feel that he must stand or fall with France. He was anxious, therefore, to send troops, but immediate transport to Genoa or Savona is not feasible. Longer notice should have been given. He is sending a courier for more precise information: how many thousands, and at what Scottish port the French fleet will take them on board. None will be readier at a critical juncture to listen to an appeal from Louis, who at the request of James sent aid to the Duke of Gueldres for the defence of his land, a favour, as the postulate will not fail to say, valued as though rendered to Scotland. H.

<sup>1</sup> See No. 115.

127. *James Betoun to Louis XII*, [August 1507].<sup>1</sup>

N.L. 184; B.M. 74.

The King's letters dated at Briançon on July 10 were delivered on July 28 by Robert Cockburn, the postulate of Ross. Betoun thanks the King for the gracious contents and instructions. He is profoundly grateful for the King's kindly offices and liberal assistance when he was on a mission to the Apostolic See some years ago (*superiores annos*), and he is therefore his devoted servant. It is hardly necessary to keep James in memory of Louis. He would at once have made the requests effective, had it not been for the circumstances of the time and the attendant difficulty. Yet the situation remains favourable (*omnia manent ad vestras literas paratiora*), and Betoun will make a loyal and diligent effort to do what Louis has ordered to be done in Scotland.

H.

128. *James IV to Julius II and the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, September 12, 1507.* R.S.S. i. 1538.

Two letters are noted on behalf of Patrick Lausoun, son of the late Master Richard, for a dispensation to hold benefices compatible and incompatible and with cure.

H.

129. *James IV to Middelburg, September 14, 1507.*

N.L. 187.

Their advocate, Augustine de Camynade, delivered their letters. He carried out his commission, as before, most exactly. First of all he wished that merchants should be at liberty to choose their destination, and after he understood that one place was to be fixed he sought to make an agreement for Middelburg, promising certain exceptional (*ampliora*) privileges. James committed the matter to certain auditors of council. Meanwhile, Henry de Borsselen, bailie of Veere, came as an envoy from the lady of Veere,

<sup>1</sup> In the N.L. copy the letter is dated July 8. Montjoye was in Scotland, August 18 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 416).

H.

welcome partly for her sake, partly for his own and his father's merits. In public audience he proposed that the staple should be at Veere and held forth many inducements. The King ordered the Scottish view to be ascertained. There was considerable difference of opinion, but unanimity about privileges, which must be a prior consideration before choice of a port. The suggested articles were sent to Middelburg and Veere, and in order to ascertain the convenience of Veere for import and distribution Scottish trade is at present directed thither. But the matter is still undecided (*integrum*). James will be guided by the merchant interest. When the choice of a port is approved, he will not delay settlement. H.

130. *James IV to Anna of Veere, [September 1507].*  
N.L. 188.

Her relative Henry de Borssele, bailie of Veere, delivered her letters of August 11 at Edinburgh on September 8. She considers the interests of Scots merchants and of her own town, alludes to the relationship (*affinitatem*) created during these past years, and says that she has sent envoys for whom she begs a gracious audience. Borssele made a weighty speech, pointing out many advantages from the fixing of the staple at Veere.

James answers briefly that he is delighted to hear of her good health; and he must congratulate her on the success with which Veere has treated the Scots merchant hitherto so that he has no strong objections to the place (*ut locum istum non exosum habeat*). Borssele will report the answer given meantime to her requests. He is a *persona grata* for his own and his father's sake, deserving any honour that awaits him. H.

[There follows (N.L. 189) what appears to be a postscript thanking Anna for a gift to the Queen, and stating that James will leave nothing undone conducing to their common interest or that is seemly and honourable, as Borssele will assure her.]

131. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, [September 1507].*

N.L. 192 ; B.M. 75 ; R. 55.

His uncle, the King of Denmark, informed James recently of an embassy to him from the Emperor of Russia and a firm proposal of friendship. Such a treaty aroused hopes for a return to the Roman fold, and John prepared to send envoys to work upon the mind of the Emperor (*a superstitionosa suorum impietate sollicitent*) and, if there was prospect of success, to take timely measures for an assemblage of Christian princes adequate to an occasion so important for the faith. A rapid success is predicted, if the effort corresponds to the object to be gained. His Holiness has it in his power to lend his authority and further the enterprise, as Montjoye, the chief herald, is instructed to inform him. The pontificate of Julius promised to the Lord's people some lofty and glorious achievement ; and it is likely that His Holiness may lay claim, named as he is, to the words of Virgil and 'bound his empire by the ocean and his fame by the stars.'<sup>1</sup> H.

132. *James IV to Louis XII, [Holyrood, September 18, 1507].* N.L. 191.

Montjoye, King-of-Arms, sent first of all by Louis to James, went to the Senate of Lübeck, where he urged the same arguments in favour of peace with the King of Denmark which the Scottish ambassadors who had arrived before him had already used. After a lengthy discussion, the influence of Louis prevailed, and, as he will learn more fully from Montjoye, a definite settlement of the dispute between the King of Denmark and the Swedish rebels was arrived at. James thanks Louis on behalf of his uncle, whom he feels bound to support as an ally, and declares that he is under a similar obligation to Louis. He should inform Louis that the Emperor of Russia cultivated the friendship of the King of Denmark, which affords a hope

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid*, i, 287. This letter seems to be dated by the letter to John on Sept. 18.

that he may return to the Roman obedience. King John has therefore sent envoys to win the Emperor from his superstitious beliefs and teach him the true faith. This would be an added strength to the Christian commonwealth, but to effect it they must all give their active support as well as their good wishes.

133. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise and the Chancellor of France, Holyrood, [September 1507].* N.L. 193.

Montjoye, King-of-Arms, returned to Scotland recently from Denmark and reported a pacification. Furthermore, the Danish King is confident that the Russian Emperor can be brought back to the faith of the Church : John had his envoys in Denmark upon a proposed treaty of friendship. That would be added strength to the Christian commonweal. James has resolved to inform them that they may appeal to His Holiness and to Louis. All Christian princes must lend their aid, and the project is feasible if pursued with some energy, as Montjoye will explain. The support of Scotland is assured. H.

134. *James IV to the Chancellor of France, Holyrood, September 10, 1507.* N.L. 221 ; B.M. 61 ; R. 75.

Experience has convinced James of the weight which the Chancellor attaches to what is equitable and right, and makes him the more ready to approach a man who is set upon justice and honour. He is commending to Louis the business of his kinsman George, Lord Seton,<sup>1</sup> which he understands to be before the Parlement of Paris (*in senatu Parisiensi*) ; and he begs the Chancellor to read what he has said and to do anything that he conscientiously can in this important matter. If occasion arises to serve the Chancellor, James will make every effort to use it. H.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acts of the Lords of Council, 1501-54*, lxii. The date is given by N.L. 221. H.

135. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, September 18, 1507.* w. i. 56.

The orators of James brought John's letters and instructions and spoke highly of his kindness, especially the Dean of Glasgow, who would do anything to serve His Majesty. Montjoye also presented letters and stated his commission. A third communication came by the Dean of Copenhagen, who thanked James in public meeting—scarcely necessary as between uncle and nephew—and congratulated him upon a son. As to the Russian Emperor, James has written fully to Julius II, Louis XII, the peers of France, and Henry VII, recommending the matter to their consideration. He has invited the French Queen to enter relations of affinity with John's son, and Montjoye has a proxy to sympathetic friends in France. James is preparing his fleet for departure at the earliest opportunity. Many thanks for the four horses of which he has already tested two with satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> He has placed the boy whom John sent among his pages of honour (*inter nostros honorarios*). John's devoted servant, the Dean of Glasgow, will write and tell him more. H.

136. *James IV to Earl of Arran, Edinburgh, September 14, 1507.* R.S.S. i. 1545.

Letter of protection to the Earl of Arran and his kin, especially David, Bishop of Argyll, and Sir James Hamilton of Shawfield, while Arran goes to France upon 'certane chargeis and erandis of ouris' and his own, and also goes on pilgrimage to St. John of Amiens and other places.

137. *James IV to Sir Thomas Halkerstoun, Edinburgh, September 17, 1507.* R.S.S. 1548.

Protection and respite to Sir Thomas Halkerstoun,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, 416.

Provost of Crichton, while he remains furth of the realm and forty days later.

138. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, September 20,*<sup>1</sup> 1507.

N.L. 195A ; B.M. 78 ; R. 87.

This courier delivered at Edinburgh on September 17 His Majesty's letters given (*signatas*) on August 23 at Blois, in which James was thanked for a goodwill which he would have preferred to show in action rather than merely to express. The steady friendship desired by Louis he will maintain by deliberate choice, as well as on the ground of close alliance. Louis, for various reasons, thinks that the thousands of infantry which he asked for need not be sent, yet thanks him as much as if he had really sent them. To the request of Louis that a force of infantry should be kept ready, so that it may be sent quickly to France (*isthic*) if the need again arises, James answers that he and his subjects will come to his defence at need, but he begs Louis to give him timely notice, so that the troops may set out well prepared on the appointed day. Whatever happens to Louis James regards as also happening to himself.

139. *James IV to Louis XII, [September 20, 1507].*

N.L. 194 ; B.M. 76 ; R. 86.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, is going to visit Louis, bearing a full answer to the recent request for foot soldiers. Would Louis kindly send timely notice of his wishes so as to give James opportunity to satisfy them. The tie of blood even more than the traditional alliance makes him wish to deserve well of Louis, and he will do by him as he would desire to be done by. His Majesty will hear this from Arran, who will be the readier to serve him for his close blood relationship. H.

<sup>1</sup> R. prints Sept. 27.

140. *James IV to Master Robert Cockburn, Edinburgh, October 10, 1507.* B.N. : MS. 3019, no. 62, folio 180.<sup>1</sup>

Instructions to Master Robert Cockburn, Postulate of Ross and Chaplain to King Louis :

He is to thank Louis as warmly as possible for the goodwill, reported by Cockburn and witnessed by his letters, which he shows to James and his subjects.

He is to say that James is delighted that he wishes to make use of his subjects, and is to assure Louis that when he decides to send to Scotland (*par deça*) for them, giving him notice some time beforehand, he will supply the full number of troops he requires, of the kind he asks for, and after them will continue to send others, and if the need arises, send every available man and go himself (*jusques au dernier de nostre peuple et à nostre mesme personne quant besoing sera*).

If it happens that God advances him to greater fortune, will always send him troops in such manner as he is pleased to ask.

Louis is to repose as complete confidence in Cockburn as he would in James himself, as Cockburn has been instructed to impart to Louis other things by word of mouth, which James does not wish to be put in writing.

*French.*

141. *Tycho Vincent to James IV, London, October 11, [1507].* N.L. 54 ; G. 249.

On reaching London he did not find the King, and hastened to Abinton [Abingdon], where His Majesty was staying. When an audience was convenient, Tycho boldly and successfully discharged his small mission, in presence of the Prince and members of council who were called. A Danish subject named Nocht complained of some Englishmen who, six years ago in Iceland, broke into a sacred building and removed certain goods deposited as royal tribute. Having explained with becoming brevity

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<sup>1</sup> Original in French. Paper badly stained and holed.



the object of his visit, Tycho had the desired answer and evidence of Henry's regard for his master. The King committed the case to a bishop and a secretary, who were told to give it close attention : he would then forward to Tycho in France the compensation and the writs concluding the business.

The King next professed his desire to meet John's wishes in matters of graver importance, pointing to the order of Denmark which he wore, and adding that though he was of the brotherhood of the King of the Romans he oftener put on the Danish insignia : Denmark had been his first and staunchest friend, and Tycho must report this to his master.

At a later stage in the audience the King desired to know Tycho's business in France, and said that he had a commission for him. On a ready offer of service, the King with unexpected munificence (*subita regalis munificentie largitate*), sent him through a bishop twenty English angels and provided an escort.

These words and actions would appear to indicate sincere feeling, and Tycho is reporting them to King John by letters which James may see his way to forward.

The English King's daughter, sister of the Queen of Scots, and not yet eighteen, as Tycho has been told, was not present. Tycho would like to have James's decisive view on the matter of which His Majesty knows, because future developments in that direction (*ad eam rem*) depend upon the will and counsel of Denmark and Scotland. As long as Tycho is entrusted with James's instructions he will deal with the King's original project (*quod tua majestas inceperat*) so as to keep him fully informed. He writes in haste before departure for France ;<sup>1</sup> and he will see that James receives any news of special import. H.

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<sup>1</sup> Tycho was to go to the university of Paris. In 1508 John of Denmark wrote asking Louis to introduce him to an influential member of the Parlement and enable him to meet the leading lawyers (*qui parlamento presunt*). He was to learn the French language and court practice (W., i, 19). H.

142. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, [October 14, 1507].*  
N.L. 190 ; R. 77.

The Lord de la Mothe is in Scotland on his way back from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and has reported to James instructions from the consul of the Catalans at Alexandria for Louis. James is most thankful to God, who has aroused such a hope in his time ; but Louis has greater reason for joy in this opportunity to enhance the traditional repute of the most Christian King and glorify for ever the French monarchy. According to de la Mothe, Louis has invited the consul to an audience in France with a view to necessary action. James begs him to renew the invitation and take the matter up with vigour. He is deeply interested in success, and looks for news of developments.

H.

143. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise, October 14, 1507.*  
N.L. 195 ; B.M. 63 ; G. 252.

The Lord de la Mothe, recently returned from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was in Scotland and described his instructions from the consul of the Catalans at Alexandria for Louis XII. It is a good providence which grants occasion for successful action at this juncture. From de la Mothe James understands that Louis invited the consul to visit him and discuss matters personally. James appeals earnestly to the Cardinal to lend his great influence in a pious enterprise to the glory of France, and not to suffer such an opportunity to pass : he fears that they as Christians may incur the wrath of God if they do nothing.

H.

144. *James IV to Philip de Pratis, Consul of the Catalans at Alexandria, [October 14, 1507].* B.M. 110 ; G. 253.

De la Mothe recently explained the consul's instructions for Louis XII ; and James is exceedingly glad, hoping for a success that will give him still greater happiness. To further the service of the Almighty is his deep-seated purpose. His ally of France is inviting Philip in order to learn more and to consider what steps may be taken

to that end. James and other professors of Christ will do all they can. He begs that the consul will not think it too much to visit France: personal information regarding the opportunities will be a stimulus to action. H.

145. *Patrick Paniter, Secretary, to his Pupil Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, at Padua, Edinburgh, November 17, [1507].* N.L. 190; B.M. 79; G. 206.

Greets half his soul (*dimidium animae*). For many a day Paniter was distracted by his fears for Alexander, now blaming himself for desertion, now thanking fortune for his own preservation. He vowed and prayed with tears for his life. God has now greater things in store for him. Paniter congratulates him upon his safety, and will gladly fulfil the vows he made. Alexander's father, the King, bids him not think this perilous journey was arranged for nought: it was to try his mettle in the field of letters. It would be a shame if the hopes of him proved vain. He has gone forth to do business (*ad mercatum*), and he will have everything he needs: he must be true to himself and not return empty-handed. Paniter longs to be with him, even if it had to be in the heart of the Alps. But he has a faithful instructor,<sup>1</sup> under whom they look for learning and progress. Paniter cannot but follow him in spirit. He must concentrate upon becoming a man and a scholar, and come back as soon as possible to be the father of his country and the ruler of his see. H.

146. *James IV to the Chancellor of Burgundy, [c. December 31 1507].*<sup>2</sup> N.L. 199; B.M. 140; R. 118; BRODIE, 660 *places December 1510.*

James is putting John Francis in charge of Scottish merchants over there, and has made him conservator of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Halkerstoun, Provost of Creichtoun, who was in charge of Alexander, had a respite during absence dated Sept. 17, 1507 (R.S.S., i, 1548). This letter is dated according to the N.L. copy. H.

<sup>2</sup> John Francis was appointed conservator at that date (R.S.S., i, 1583), but for correct date see No. 158, another version by Hannay of the same letter. H.

the privileges granted by the dukes of Burgundy. He therefore writes to ask that if Francis requires his intervention the Chancellor would kindly assist in the administration of justice and would see that these privileges are maintained inviolate.

H.

147. *James IV to John Francis, Edinburgh, December 31, 1507.* R.S.S. i. 1583.

Precept making him Conservator of the Privileges of the nation and merchants of Scotland in Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland, Holland, and all other parts under the rule of the Archduke of Flanders, now vacant by the death of Andrew Haliburton, with power to appoint a deputy.

148. *James IV to Julius II, [? late in 1507].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 197.

James writes in support of a petition for absolution and dispensation submitted by Robert Bartoun and Elizabeth Craufurd, his spouse. Elizabeth was the wife of Gilbert Edmestoun, and Edmestoun was godfather of a child born to Bartoun and his wife Elizabeth Jamesoun, while Elizabeth Jamesoun was godmother to a child of Edmestoun and Elizabeth Craufurd. When Edmestoun and Elizabeth Jamesoun were dead, Bartoun espoused Elizabeth Craufurd, and they have doubts about the legitimacy of their position owing to spiritual relationship. Perpetual separation would involve serious evils, and they ask for absolution and dispensation.

H.

149. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, [? 1507].* N.L. 136; BRODIE, 1152 *places Ap.* 22, 1512.

The diocese of Lismore is very extensive and mountainous, more prolific of worry to the bishop owing to its wild

<sup>1</sup> This letter is undated, and is placed here as is suggested by its position in the N.L. MS. H. See No. 341 for companion letter to the Cardinal of St. Mark, also undated.

character than of episcopal revenue. He has a difficult job in imposing ecclesiastical discipline upon a rude people, unsettled (*vaga*), and not amenable to law. The present bishop is efficient and watchful, and deserves a wide sphere of government. The episcopal *mensa* is so exiguous that he cannot maintain his household or meet pastoral charges suitably. James feels justified by the circumstances and the merits of the bishop in appealing to the Pope. The house of Sadaguil (*sic*), once Cistercian and established by the King's ancestors in Lismore diocese, has within living memory seen no monastic life and has fallen to the use of laymen. There is no hope of reviving monastic life: the fruits are barely £9 sterling: it would be most troublesome to recall long-standing alienations. James writes for a commission to the Archbishop of Glasgow or other prelate to investigate and, if His Holiness approves, unite the place in perpetuity to the bishopric.<sup>1</sup> H.

### 1508

150. *The Cardinal of St. Mark, Protector of Scotland, to James IV, Rome, January 1, 1507-8.* N.L. 4; G. 253.

Distant from the Roman court last summer, the Cardinal was unable to perform his duties, but he left the Cardinal of Reggio,<sup>2</sup> who agreed to undertake incidental Scottish business. He has returned, and will remain, please God, ready to execute instructions and serve James, for whom he has a profound respect. In the affairs of the treasurer [James Betoun] and others, full attention was given to the royal wishes; but difficult circumstances delay rapid expedition. Still, expedition proceeds, as the King will learn from Gilgert Strawcheue [Gilbert Strauchan], his most faithful servant and energetic solicitor in Scottish

<sup>1</sup> The papal annexation was followed by a royal charter on Jan. 1, 1507-8 (R.M.S., ii, 3170). H. (See also No. 446.)

<sup>2</sup> Peter Isuali.

interests, whom the Cardinal most cordially commends. It will be a great pleasure to see Gilbert promoted with the favour of his master to some dignity, enabled for his loyalty and goodness, with others whom James has generously advanced, to glory in the Lord and receive the Cardinal's congratulations. H.

151. *John of Denmark to James IV, Helsingborg, January 10, 1507-8 (sic). w. i. 17.*

In previous letters John intimated the terms of agreement reached at his castle of Nyköping between him and the men of Lübeck with their associates of the Hansa. It is clear therefore that Lübeck promised to procure an obligation from the other states of the Hansa, especially Danzig, Reval and Riga, for observance. John sent his secretary to these places with the envoy of Lübeck, but he had enclosed disappointing answers. Shortly after, ships with Swedish goods came to Stralsund, and should have been arrested under the terms of the agreement; but the men of Stralsund, despite envoys from John, admitted the goods on the pretext that they belonged to Hansa merchants and that they had therefore no right of arrest. These places have never since the agreement ceased to trade with the Swedes. John is justified in complaining to James and other friends, and he is preparing a naval force in the Baltic for the beginning of spring to put a stop to the traffic, a course which he thinks will bring the Swedes to obedience and the Hansa towns to their duty. He asks James to let him have two ships manned for warfare at Copenhagen before Easter.<sup>1</sup> He will provide any additional equipment necessary, and will send back the ships as soon as possible. If Scottish ships are not available, James will kindly buy one or two at John's expense. He might also write to the Hansa towns advising observance of the agreement, with the suggestion that otherwise

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<sup>1</sup> A letter to Louis XII (W., i, 19) is in similar terms but makes no request for ships. H.

they may find themselves in difficulties ; and a word to them from Henry VII, if James would appeal to him, will be of considerable effect. H.

152. *James IV to the Magistrates and Council of Middelburg, Edinburgh, January 11, 1507-8.* N.L. 201 ; B.M. 56 ; R. 74.

James has written repeatedly regarding the goods of the deceased Scot, Donald Crum. Margaret Manwell, a Scots-woman living in Middelburg and acting as Donald's agent, had charge of his goods, and after Donald died in Scotland the testamentary executors brought an action against her in Middelburg. Cautioners were named in Master James Merchemstoun of the royal household, Thomas Harvey, Adam Nisbet and James Hommyl, burgesses of Edinburgh. Margaret was condemned, after a full hearing, in the Middelburg council in £95 Flemish, and her goods were publicly sold over there for non-payment. These cautioners were sued owing to the principal's delay, and were condemned recently before the Scottish Lords of Council, with decret of execution. It is the business of Middelburg to take exact account of the goods and to see the money paid as far as possible : if the goods are not to be found, to order imprisonment and the restoration for the purposes of the judgment of goods secretly dispersed.

Given *in pleno concilio*.

H.

153. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, February 12, 1507-8.* N.L. 204 ; B.M. 58 ; G. 255.

Two motives induce James to write, the indulgence with which the Pope listens to petitions for the King's friends, and the fact that no human being can altogether forget clemency and none holier than he who, bearing sway over others, is ready to pardon an injury. If there ever was a slight hope of forbearance in a lamentable case, surely there is hope now when James intercedes on behalf of a very good friend with the vicar of Christ and the father

of mercies. Jerome Friscobaldi, closely associated with James, is under a grave charge before His Holiness; and it is not unreasonable in the King to look for some grace in consideration of unbroken Scottish devotion to the Apostolic See.

Philip, late King of Castile, when his state was in difficulties, threatened serious action against Jerome, who was there, unless he imported alum<sup>1</sup> from every available quarter by sea on sale at a sacrifice to gratify the people, and in fact took security accordingly. Jerome had to comply, and began to import foreign alum, a welcome help to the needy people, though it is now made a grave charge against him. James begs the Pope to consider the circumstances, decree what is right and proper, and transfer the odium to the authors of the monopoly: nay, to remit the blame—if blame it be to obey one's King for the benefit of the people—to the late prince's memory and at the Scottish King's prayers, that the highest authority upon earth may also stand eminent in forbearance. H.

154. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, [February 12, 1507-8].* N.L. 203; B.M. 148; BRODIE, 659.

Jerome Friscobaldi, merchant of Florence, a man acceptable to princes for his character and a familiar of James, is an inhabitant of Bruges in Flanders under Louis, and has incurred the serious displeasure of Julius II on false charges. James has recently written to placate His Holiness. He is very anxious that Louis should support the plea for his very good friend, in the hope that their united action will be effective and that Jerome will be absolved. H.

155. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, March 1, 1507-8.*  
N.L. 215; B.M. 59; G. 257.

George [Vaus], Bishop of Whithorn and Dean of the Chapel Royal, died recently,<sup>2</sup> and a successor is desired

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter (G., ii, 167) on the importation in England.

<sup>2</sup> Vaus died before Jan. 29, 1507-8.

H.

H.



for the charge of the household, a man who will necessarily be very closely associated with the King. James asks that the double vacancy be filled by James [Betoun], Abbot of Dunfermline and royal Treasurer, retaining the abbacy *in commendam* for life, with immediate subjection to the Apostolic See and precedence after the archbishops. In addition, the King requests that the priories of Restinot and Inchmahome, annexed or to be annexed, and the provostry of Lincluden, a benefice of royal patronage, be incorporated in perpetuity for the episcopal *mensa*, in order that the surplus, upon the cession or decease of prior and provost, and after meeting usual charges and the obligations (*suffragia*) of the canons, should supplement the small episcopal revenue, as the Cardinal of St. Mark will explain more fully. H.

156. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, March 1, 1507-8.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 216 ; B.M. 60.

The see of Whithorn is vacant by the death of George [Vaus]. The Cardinal had the Bishop made Dean of the Chapel Royal, with ordinary jurisdiction over the royal household, and, regretting the inadequacy of the episcopal *mensa*, had the Augustinian Priory of Inchmahome annexed to it, just as Alexander VI had previously united the Priory of Restinot of the same order to the Chapel Royal. That the new bishop may have a more distinguished provision, the King asks that the conventual houses of Restinot and Inchmahome and the provostry of Lincluden should now be annexed, on condition that observances in these places (*ut integra locorum onera undique observentur*) and the usual suffrages of the canons be maintained. In addition, for the honour of the royal household, he desires that the Bishop of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal should be inferior to no one. For the firmer establishment of the original foundation and resistance to its adversaries he

<sup>1</sup> Provided May 12, 1508. The Bull of Annexation was dated June 8 (Rogers, *Chapel Royal of Scotland*, cxiv).

seeks the promotion of James [Betoun], Abbot of Dunfermline and royal Treasurer, and specially asks that he should hold that Abbey *in commendam* for life, as the King would find his absence difficult to bear, to facilitate a more liberal maintenance of his ecclesiastical position and a more seemly dignity about the court (*ut pro regia majestate decentius agat*). The King is sending David [Abercromby], subdean of the Chapel and a royal secretary (*secretarium nostrum*): the Cardinal will please remember what James wrote before on behalf of David.

157. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, March 1, 1507-8.*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 181; B.M. 66; R. 78; G. 258.

James recollects his letters of last year to Louis about the complaint of Robert Bertoun and George Young. About ten years ago they sailed with two warships against the English, then at enmity with Scotland, and happened to anchor for a night at the Ile de Batz in Brittany. They landed, were well received, and went on board again without interference. At dusk a force from St. Pol attacked their ships, surprising one, carrying the other after a fight in which Scots were slain, and taking both as booty to St. Pol, where the crews were kept in irons for three weeks, waiting for the death which on the slightest pretext would have been theirs. When it was clear that they had only been making lawful war on the English, the Bretons let them go to certain shipwreck and death on one of the ships, all goods and the oars taken away, and retained the second vessel and the goods as the reward of their performance.

Desiring to maintain the traditional goodwill, James wrote to Louis for effective justice; and the latter committed the case for settlement to the Council of Brittany. After laborious and expensive litigation for a year, there was no condemnation of the manifest act of violence, and no sentence of restitution in an obvious spoliation.† On

<sup>1</sup> The version of this letter printed by Ruddiman (R. 78) omits the explanatory matter marked †. 'On the contrary . . . Parlement of Brittany' †.

the contrary, a pretended order by one Jean Etienne led to the decision that there was nothing wrong in the attack. The auditors of the Scottish Council took this to be unjust. Neither law nor custom admits seizure prior to inquest, or before accusation by a pursuer and the taking of the culprits in recent offence, or unless it had been discovered that James was not at war with the enemy. This pretended judge had not any previous inquisition to show: there was no accuser: the Scots were taken to prison not in flagrant delict but in their own ships, though the war with England was matter of common knowledge. Therefore the order for caption must of necessity have been unjust or a fabrication, and it is clear that what followed was armed force in manifest violation of right. Besides, though valuation should by law and custom have been referred to the oath of some who had suffered the spoliation, and the Scots would have been prepared to give and prove a sworn estimate in the Council of Brittany, the judges gave scarcely a tenth under the suspect modification of their own people, and not half the legal expenses. The Scots now prosecute appeal, but their expectation that the sentence will be reconsidered is diminished because those who presided in the Council are said also to preside in the Parlement of Brittany.† Wherefore James asks for justice there or advocacy to the King's chancellor and lords, lest the Scots be provoked to some immediate retaliation which it were well to forestall. He writes with special attention to this private breach of traditional treaty relations in order that these men may be prevented under due penalty from despoiling friends, should war with England be renewed.

[*There follows a paragraph, numbered 182 in N.L., directed to the Parlement of Brittany along with the facts above narrated.*]

James relies upon their wise discretion, and looks for strict justice. He hopes that any improper judgment by the council will be reconsidered, that he will not be forced to seek an explanation (*interpellare*) from his ally the King about breach of treaty by his Breton subjects, and that the

Scots may not be provoked to speedy retaliation by their experience in the law court. H.

158. *James IV to the Chancellor of Burgundy, Edinburgh, March 14, 1507-8.* N.L. 199; B.M. 140; R. 118; BRODIE, 660.

James has appointed [Dec. 31, 1507] his familiar, John Francis, for the time as Conservator for the Scots merchants in the Chancellor's territory and for the privileges granted by the dukes of Burgundy. The Chancellor is asked kindly to listen to Francis if he has need, and aid him in doing justice and maintaining privileges. H.

159. *James IV to the Grand Master of Rhodes, Holyrood, March 15, 1507-8.* N.L. 209; B.M. 57; G. 262.

From his letters delivered by Sir George Dundas,<sup>1</sup> Knight of the Order, James has learned of the ceaseless warfare between Rhodes and the Turks, in which the island is strongly defended or the knights invade Turkish territory. The Master writes that Dundas has committed himself (*professum*) to this warfare for Christendom, and commends his qualities of mind and character. James is delighted that Dundas has joined and that the master approves of him. He was of the royal household (*familiaris*), and now he is doubly recommended for all his endurance in the service of Christendom, though a man of so varied accomplishment (*omnifariam doctus*) is on every account a welcome visitor. James thanks the Master for his favour to Scots and his recognition of their deserts. H.

160. *Secretary Paniter to the Senate and People of Middelburg, Edinburgh, March 20, 1507-8.* N.L. 200; BRODIE, 662.<sup>2</sup>

From their letters and those of Augustine he was able to give to the King the precise information they desired

<sup>1</sup> Dundas was admitted to the temporality of Torphichen on November 30, 1508 (R.S.S., i, 1771). H.

<sup>2</sup> Places in December 1510. H.



him to have: he also reported other matters of vital import for their case. The other side is urgent, hoping to gain the point by numerous supporters and on the ground of the old connection, and forwarding articles full of the most generous promises. Paniter has decided to consult the Middelburg authorities in order that they may take all practical measures for the desired result and adopt such a line as will lead to honourable and permanent results for both parties. They will have fuller details from Master James Merchestoun, a strong supporter of their cause, and Paniter himself will certainly keep as watchful an eye upon their interests as though he were one of themselves.

H.

161. *Alexander Stewart to James IV, Padua, March 26, 1508.* N.L. 70\*; B.M. 213; G. 267; BRODIE, 411 places in 1510.

Little wonder that Alexander has written five letters from Padua and has had no reply, for no pains have been taken in Flanders over the transmission of either's correspondence. It would perhaps be better not to write than have his letters undelivered; but Alexander would wish to know that his instructor [Thomas Halkerstoun] has obtained the archdeaconry of Aberdeen on the strength of the royal nomination made at their departure: he was as much surprised by the withholding of collation as pleased by the nomination, especially as there was as good reason for conferring it upon Halkerstoun when he was with his pupil as for bestowing it upon the other man. He begs that no refusal be permitted of what has always been freely granted. A few days ago he wrote a good deal (*copiosius*) about himself and his reading: so now he is brief. He has thought it well not to mention his correspondent's title,<sup>1</sup> for wars make it a time of suspicion and danger.

Subscribed by his very humble servant Alexander Stewart.

H.

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<sup>1</sup> But in the copy there is the direction 'to the King's majesty of Scotland.'

H.

162. *Alexander Stewart to Patrick Paniter, Padua, March 26, 1508.* N.L. 71; B.M. 214; G. 268; BRODIE, 412 places in 1510.

As there is no greater proof of affection than frequent letter-writing, Alexander has resolved upon that—rather to get Paniter's replies than to gratify him. A few topics come to mind just because he is deprived of opportunity to write. Paniter has doubtless heard about the Emperor from many correspondents, so no more of that. What Alexander wishes of Paniter is vigilant defence of his interests, knowing as he does that Alexander has left very few friends. If he hears of disparaging reports to his father, he must meet them and prevent any hasty prejudices. Paniter is to be congratulated on his stand in Halkerstoun's business against powerful opposition, and is to hold on. Halkerstoun is a very grateful soul, and his affairs should have as close attention from Paniter as Alexander's. He returns hearty thanks for Paniter's great kindness to his friend Robert (*Roberto nostro*), learned through Robert's letters. But enough of all this. Would he please write of any Scottish news, and give respects to the King and Queen.

Subscribed by his *obsequentissimus discipulus* and addressed *doctissimo viro preceptorique colendissimo*.

H.

163. *James IV to Ferdinand of Aragon, Edinburgh, March 31, 1508.* N.L. 208.

James is profoundly grateful to Ferdinand for so kindly permitting Andrew Mathesoun, who lives in his territory, to obtain horses, anchors, and ropes and transport them to Scotland. He is also deeply indebted for what Ferdinand openly gave out to James's honour when he was with the French King at Savona. This letter, however, deals with the matter of John Lupas of St. Sebastian. Last year (*superiori anno*) Lupas suffered shipwreck in the Scottish isles and lost a vessel of 200 tons (*cadorum*). William Brownhill, a Scot, took pity upon him in misfortune and

furnished him with a ship of above 100 tons with 500 ducats, on condition that he should make of it a new ship (*in novam navim fabricaret*) of the same burthen at St. Sebastian to be delivered just before the coming Easter at Arne-muiden (?)<sup>1</sup> in Zealand. James understands that a public edict forbids the alienation of ships from Ferdinand's territories, and he begs for a permit for fulfilment of the bargain, in order to maintain Scottish confidence and enable their subjects to render mutual aid to one another. H.

164. *James Betoun to the Authorities of Antwerp, Edinburgh, April 4, 1508.* N.L. 211; B.M. 82; G. 262.

Their letters of February 13 have reached him. They have quite accurately gathered from Andrew, who lives in their city, that Betoun supports their interest, for he has promoted it according to Andrew's instructions. Meanwhile, however, the Bailie of Veere has been in Scotland and has obtained the King's permission that the merchants should make one or two experiments respecting the convenience of that place for import and distribution. At present, therefore, all Scots sail to Veere; but there is no final conclusion. The Staple will be fixed as best serves the interest of the merchants; and the bearer will explain the matter at more length. H.

165. *James IV to the Magistrates and Council of Antwerp, Holyrood, April 6, 1508.* N.L. 212; B.M. 83; R. 90.

Their letters of March 1 reached James on April 1, in which they allude to another communication given to Andrew [Haliburton], the deceased Conservator, renew their request that Scots merchants should settle at Antwerp and bring their goods thither, and state that commissioners are being sent to confer. James answers that his orders are for Scots merchants in the Low Countries to frequent Veere for the time being as a suitable place for import and

<sup>1</sup> The script is bad and the name uncertain.

distribution, the staple port and the privileges to be fixed with the approval of the merchants. He has no mind to tie his subjects down to a particular place until conditions and immunities are adequately understood, so that maximum advantage may determine the final choice. He does not think that the Scots have any such antipathy to Antwerp as would make them rule the city out for staple purposes. H.

166. *James IV to John of Denmark, [April 1508].*

N.L. 217 ; G. 263.

John Posthalule (*sic*) delivered the letters of his master dated at Helsingborg on January 10, informing James that Lübeck had broken faith by the renewal of commercial support to the Swedes in rebellion, and alluding to the idle explanations and the latest wrong in the retaking of a ship. John asks for two ships, with nautical equipment only, to block the communications of Sweden with supporters and facilitate return to allegiance. He asks James to write to Lübeck, Henry VII, and Louis XII.

James is his steady supporter in a just quarrel ; but there is much that makes him advise accommodation, in particular weighty Scottish affairs, in which James might have the aid of allied princes, if they were at peace. However, he has ordered Andrew Bartoun, only just returned from France, to go across on John's service or to be sent back for a second ship at present trading abroad. He has also written to Henry and Louis ; but Louis has France and Milan to defend and is facing alone the King of the Romans and the German princes. Lately he begged James to commend to John the Duke of Gueldres, kinsman of James and Louis. The Duke is now in difficulties, and James would regard aid given to him as though rendered to himself : if the Duke's territory were easily accessible, the enemy would find him not lacking reinforcement.

John is to open the letters which James's messenger will bring back from Lübeck and to deliberate accordingly.



He has a faithful and devoted client in Robert [Forman], Dean of Glasgow, who gives his affairs the most careful attention.

Last summer there was nothing but rain in Scotland, and the crop was below normal in quantity and quality.<sup>1</sup> Import is urgently needed: the merchants of Sweden, Lübeck, and suchlike, being suspect to John, would be very shy of Scotland. James therefore desires from John a licence by edict to export surplus wheat or flour in exchange for Scottish merchandise. H.

167. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, [April 1508].*  
N.L. 101; BRODIE, 782, *dates May, 31, 1511.*<sup>2</sup>

Louis has probably learned how last year the grain harvest in Scotland was a disappointment. Growth was strong and in the harvest month prospects were excellent; but the wheat (*triticum*) belied their expectations. The royal household cannot have a sufficiency of leavened bread (*fermentario pane*) without importation from abroad. James appeals to Louis as kinsman and ancestral ally for 200 or 300 bushels of wheat or wheat-flour, to be purchased in France and transported in French ships, so that his household may be fed according to custom (*antiquo more*) upon wheaten bread and give thanks to Louis. H.

168. *James IV to John of Denmark, [April 1508].* N.L. 214.

James desires permission for William Patersoun of Leith to go where he will in John's dominions and make purchases, especially of wheat-flour, meal, and other victual, and transport them to Scotland without let or hindrance. H.

169. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, April 4, 1508.* w. i. 57.

On March 24 this bearer delivered John's letters given (*signatas*) at Helsingborg on January 10. James decided

<sup>1</sup> See *Acts of the Lords of Council, 1501-54*, lxiii, and *Exchequer Rolls*, xiii, 87, 100.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 373.

first of all to send this man John <sup>1</sup> to Henry VII, thereafter to his ally, Louis XII. He added letters urging them in view of treaty to consider John's interests and for the writer's sake to respond cordially. But to back his requests James should have had more definite instructions and should have perused the correspondence on either side, though he can believe that both kings are prepared for what is feasible. John will be informed as soon as possible as to James's share in the business.

Subscribed by James and secretary Paniter: with the signet. H.

170. *James IV to the Council and People of Lübeck, Holyrood, April 9, 1508.* W. i. 58<sup>2</sup>; N.L. 218.

James has written and laboured to win the goodwill of the King of Denmark for them; but, since greed of power and the influence of faction often lead men to revolution rather than to peace, he must advise them that he will have to take action not only against John's rebels the Swedes, but against supporters who stiffen the Swedish attitude. Last summer saw certain articles of treaty between them and John, and these, communicated to James, Henry and Louis, are so clear that James has made up his mind to treat as enemies those who violated the terms. He writes, therefore, that they are not to provoke John to arms, but stand by their pacts and undertakings so as to preserve Scottish friendship. If they break faith and commit wrong, they are to know that James will espouse his uncle's just cause and will stir up his confederates against them. He looks for letters indicating their intentions at the earliest possible date. H.

171. *Thomas Wolsey to Henry VII, Edinburgh, April 1508.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. viii; PINKERTON, vol. ii. pp. 445-50.

He remained in Berwick from March 22 to 27, waiting

<sup>1</sup> Apparently John Gotskalck. H.

<sup>2</sup> From a contemporary copy in the Danish archives certified by Paniter and endorsed *Exemplum literarum regis ad lubicenses*.

for his safe-conduct, the King of Scots being in Whithorn. He arrived in Edinburgh on March 28, and, in spite of the Queen's efforts, he did not obtain an audience with the King till April 2, since he was so very busy shooting 'howmys' and making gunpowder. In his attempts to deliver his credentials (in declaring my credens) he saw James once every day till April 10; during which time he encountered such inconstancy that he could not conceive what report he could or should send to Henry.

(1) He delivered Henry's letters to James, declared that Henry was glad to hear of the increase of his prosperity and honour, which he would strive to advance when the case required. The marriage of the young Prince of Castile bore witness to his affection for James and his issue. Henry had gone to a great deal of trouble to effect this marriage and alliance, in the benefits of which he intended James and himself, and their descendants, to participate equally. For this James thanked Henry most heartily; he was indebted to Henry for enabling him, through the marriage, to become the ally of princes with whom he had not hitherto been allied.

(2) When, according to his instructions, he reminded James that he had acknowledged the receipt of Henry's letter written at Hunworth on January 11, stating that, contrary to the perpetual peace, many Scottish subjects, some of them great persons and some in disguise, had passed through England without a safe-conduct from Henry, some of them also conveying secretly the ambassadors of hostile princes, James sent for the letters dated January 13 at Hunworth, and professed to find differences between them and Wolsey's version. He asks what great personages, except the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Earl of Arran had passed through England without Henry's permission and what ambassadors of hostile princes, except the ambassador of the Duke of Gueldres, had been conveyed secretly. Answered according to his instructions and his poor wit, but James leans so fast to his own opinion, that he can in no wise satisfy him. He therefore sends

Henry copies of the two letters, that he may make a more ample answer, and see how James 'sticks lightly' at words of no importance.

When he said that Henry was astonished and hurt by his statement that he had suffered by the alliance, James answered that so far as he himself, and the merchants of his realm were concerned, they had got no scathe, but honour, pleasure, swift riches, profit and advantage. Nevertheless, some of his subjects, trusting to the alliance, had suffered great harm, by which he meant not the loss of goods, but the killing of his noble men, especially of his Warden, slain on a day of truce, for which no redress can be obtained, since Bastard Heron, found guilty ('fyled') of that murder, is allowed to go free in England. Such injuries done to his subjects, who are always ready to live and die in his service, he counts as injuries done to his own person.

Finally, as regards raids (*attempts*) and redress of them, while James is of Henry's opinion that princes should not concern themselves with such small matters, but should remit them wholly to their wardens, with strict command to do justice, he considers that some of the English wardens are not sufficiently powerful to obtain appropriate redress. He approves of Henry's orders to Lord Darcy to arrange an early meeting with Lord Hume, and hopes that at this meeting the redress offered on Henry's instructions will be such that he will have no reason to write again about it. James is of Henry's opinion that princes should not esteem their friendship so lightly as to break it off because of disputes between their subjects; if redress has not been made they should handle the matter themselves, without resorting to letters of marque, least of all for murder. Though when the treaty was first made, letters of marque were considered appropriate, yet he has seen since that their use might greatly endanger the alliance. He thinks it right that princes should be advised if due redress has not been made, and execute justice without further delay.

From what he has heard and seen he (Wolsey) thinks that, with regard to raids, murders, and robberies, the

English have suffered four hurts to the Scots' one. He said so plainly, and perceived that Lord Hume was somewhat abashed, but they are so proud-hearted that they will not confess their error.

(3) The affair of the Earl of Arran is taken to heart by James and all the great men of his realm, for though James admits that the Earl entered England without a safe-conduct, contrary to the Treaty of perpetual peace, and for reasons adduced by Wolsey deserved punishment, yet he considered that Henry should have advised him first that the Earl had displeased him, then, if James had failed to punish the Earl, Henry would have had good cause to be offended. When he (Wolsey) urged that Henry was willing to let the Earl come to Scotland as long as he gave his oath and seal to return (to England), James declared that if the Earl accepted any such condition he would hang him as soon as he entered Scotland. He is willing that Henry should hold him to ransom, or punish him in some other way, but he will not recognise any such written promise or oath. Since the Earl is James's subject, and could not go to England without a safe-conduct from him, he could not, without James's assent, return at Henry's bidding. Wolsey sees that he would like the Earl to return, but he is stiff-hearted, and will not beg openly ('owtwardlie') for his deliverance. Nevertheless, the Bishop of Moray, in James's presence, asked Wolsey to write to Henry.

James said that the French ambassador, who had been long with Henry, told him that if he instructed him to ask Henry for the liberation of Arran, he was sure that he could effect it. James would be right loath that any foreigner should be an intermediary.

Sir Patrick Hamilton reported to the Queen that he had been well treated, and reported the very opposite to the King, and said that the Earl had made no oath to return. This report embittered the King still further.

(4) With reference to the ambassadors of the Duke of Gueldres, James says that they were not escorted through Scotland by his servant, and that on their return home

he sent them to Henry. He wonders why Henry did not write at once, if he was offended.

(5) As to the renewal of the old league between Scotland and France, James says that as long as Henry treats him kindly, he will never break with him, nor renew the old league, but be at all times ready to live and die with him 'against all other, were it the French, or any other.' His course of action is determined, not by fear or the possibility of succession, but only by Henry's kindness and his own oath and promise. He thinks that so far Henry has not treated him like a son, but if henceforth Henry will be like a father to him, he would act in everything like his loving son.

At Wolsey's arrival, James had decided to renew the league; all his subjects except the Bishop of Moray call on him daily to do so: the King and Queen and Forman are the only ones who 'stick.' Forman says that no one was ever less welcome in Scotland, as people think that he has come to prevent the renewal of the league. 'They keep their matters so secret here that the wives in the market knoweth every cause of my coming.'

As far as he can see, the delivery of the Earl of Arran is the only thing that will keep James from renewing the league. He would fain have him back, but he is too headstrong to ask for him openly.

He was told by James that if he left before the Lord D'Aubigny's arrival, James would, as soon as he knew the reason of his coming, send Forman with a letter to Henry, containing secrets which no man else should know. It would be advisable for Henry to send him instructions that the old league was incompatible with the alliance (*amyte*) between Henry and James; various members of council had said in conversation that the two alliances could stand together, not knowing that Henry's 'sweet consideration' had wondrously mollified James's heart.

(6) Finally, as to a personal meeting, James says that he is very desirous of it, though the Council objects. He cannot in order meet Henry in any other place than the Borders.

*English.*

172. *James IV to Henry de Borsselen, Bailie of Veere and Lord of Lauderdale, and the Council of Veere, Holyrood, May 25, 1508. N.L. 222.*

Margaret Manwell of Middelburg declines to follow (*sequi*) her husband Patrick Merchemstoun or to let him share in their common goods, and she takes no steps to pay what was adjudged in Middelburg and due by the woman's own contract. This is an unfortunate breach of justice and prejudicial to matrimonial good faith. James asks the Middelburg authorities to compel Margaret to treat Patrick as her husband and take ship for Scotland if her husband demands it, to see that the goods of each are common to both and that the adjudged sum is paid, since they are Scottish lieges. Master James Merchemstoun has full instructions from the King on the subject.

H.

173. *Burgomasters and Councillors of Lübeck to James IV, Lübeck, May 14, 1508. w. i. 58.<sup>1</sup>*

The numerous letters from James have always been received with pleasure. By the last, of April 9, they cannot but be disturbed, not because guilty fear made them deplore the royal threats, but because James, without hearing their case, seemed to have listened with unusual readiness to depreciation of them and their commonwealth and to undeserved calumnies. James knows, indeed, that they have ever been well-wishers towards Scotland, but, apart from that, they have taken no inconsiderate action against the King of Denmark, nay they have explored every avenue to his favour. They are aware how much his goodwill means through neighbourhood and the great privileges they enjoy under him. They beseech James to remember their former answer to his orators, and not to trust those who accuse them of deliberate and exasperating plots against His Majesty of Denmark after all their efforts for conciliation. They will not cease to follow such courses

<sup>1</sup> From a contemporary copy in the Danish archives, endorsed *Copie litterarum in Latino*.

as, saving their common weal, they may deem likely to placate both James and John. H.

174. *Sanuto Diaries, May 16, 1508.* CAL. VEN. i. 903.

On the morning of the sixteenth the ambassadors from France, Milan, and Spain came into the Colledge, and a bishop of Scotland (Blacader), dressed in purple camlet, sat near the Doge, presented letters of credence to the signory from his King and the King of France, and made a Latin oration in praise of the state and of the Doge, and of the goodwill between his King and the Signory. He then said he would consult about going either by the Jaffa galley or by the ship. The Doge spoke him graciously, as usual. *Italian.*

175. *James IV to Louis XII, [May 1508].*<sup>1</sup>

N.L. 196\* ; B.M. 62 ; R. 76.

Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, subject of Louis and well-beloved kinsman of James, desires to visit St. Ninian and fulfil a vow which he undertook, if Louis will be so good as to grant permission. James begs royal indulgence for the pilgrimage, which will actually enable so trusty a man to inform James thoroughly regarding his commission ; and he asks Louis to see that meanwhile Bernard's authority, position, and revenues suffer no detriment. He has sent Alan Stewart, one of the household, with the present request. H.

176. *Sanuto Diaries, June 1, 1508.* CAL. VEN. i. 904.

On Ascension Day, the 1st, the Doge went as usual with the ambassadors in the Bucentaur beyond the two castles to espouse and bless the sea. There were present the

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Stewart was in Scotland by May 9 (*Exchequer Rolls*, xiii, 123 : cf. *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 112-13). H.



ambassadors of France, Spain, Milan, and Ferrara, and also a bishop of Scotland (Blacader), going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

*Italian.*

177. *James Betoun to Louis XII, Edinburgh, [? June 1508].*

N.L. 224 ; B.M. 108.

Betoun had the letters from Louis at the hands of Bernard d'Aubigny, the deceased knight,<sup>1</sup> and understood the nature of his commission to James. Had Bernard survived he would have had to report how ready Betoun was to render service. He is indeed obliged by His Majesty's favour to serve him, and he will be faithful and diligent in fulfilling his wishes in Scotland. H.

178. *James IV to Louis XII, [end of June 1508].* N.L. 282 ;

B.M. 184 ; R. 115 ; BRODIE, 657 *places at end of 1510.*<sup>2</sup>

Of the two ambassadors whom Louis sent to him, one, a famous and dear kinsman, died at his court, and the other was so stricken with grief that there were fears for his life. This has delayed his departure till now, because he was not strong enough for the journey, and he has gone off before he has completely recovered. Wishes Louis to know briefly what matters were discussed, and with what result. First of all, when the ambassador was admitted to his presence, he spoke openly of the old alliance between the royal house of France and James's ancestors, and then told clearly how the one had often been of help to the other. He delivered letters, and communicated the instructions of Louis, both openly and in private. Then, after the return of the Archdeacon of St. Andrews from France, he learned of the King's singular affection for him from the archdeacon and the letters which he brought, and also from the King's ambassador and councillor, John Sellat, a

<sup>1</sup> Bernard died on June 11, 1508. His colleague on the embassy was president of the Parlement of Paris. H.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 189 for a shorter abstract of this letter.

worthy subject of so great a prince. Is convinced by these arguments that there must be the same friendship for Louis on his part as Louis has shown to him, not only with letters and seals, but even more by his deeds, so that he may be seen to strengthen by his actions the treaty made by his ancestors. Therefore, mindful of the treaty and their friendship, he earnestly desires to be of service to Louis, so that it may be said that he spared neither mind nor body to advance his interests. On the advice of the ambassador and his own archdeacon, he has arrived at the decision which will be communicated to Louis by the ambassador.

179. *James IV to Anne, Queen of France, [June 1508].*

N.L. 284 ; B.M. 54 ; N.L. 223<sup>1</sup> ; R. 72.

The deceased knight, Bernard d'Aubigny, delivered her letters and gave good news of her welfare. She mentions James's subject of Terregles (*de Turriclis*) and recommends him to James in the same terms as in the letters of Louis ; but he does not recollect any missive from Louis on the subject. He has decided to accede to their requests.<sup>2</sup> A kindly hearing is asked for the Archdeacon of St. Andrews and Antony Darces, and a speedy despatch. She will please excuse the detention of Darces in Scotland, for which James is responsible, and promote his interests in France.

H.

180. *James IV to Louis XII, [June 1508].*<sup>3</sup>

N.L. 283 ; B.M. 53 ; R. 70.

James is sending his clerk register, Master Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon principal of St. Andrews and Dean of Moray, and with him Antony Darces, Lord de la Basty, a subject

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version.

H.

<sup>2</sup> On December 12, at the French Queen's request, James granted remissions in favour of Andrew, lord Herreis, in connection with the slaughter of George Sinclair of Hiefield (R.S.S., i, 1778).

H.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 128. Sellat was Bernard's fellow envoy.

H.

of Louis and one of James's knights, who speaks French. They are charged with certain articles, especially relating to the mission of the late Bernard d'Aubigny and Jean Sellat. Louis may be assured of one thing: James is extremely desirous to deserve well of the French royal house and to see the French realm prosper, as Louis may learn at any time from Antony or other Frenchmen. He owes Louis an apology for having detained Antony in Scotland for some time. H.

181. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise, Legate a latere in France, Edinburgh, [June 1508].* N.L. 285; B.M. 55; R. 73.

The Cardinal's wisdom and friendliness induce James to keep him posted about his business in France. Gavin Dunbar, clerk register, Archdeacon principal of St. Andrews and Dean of Moray, and Antony Darces, Lord de la Basty, who speaks French and is James's knight, are going to the King upon certain matters of business to be referred to the Cardinal and also upon the articles which the late Bernard d'Aubigny and Jean Sellat brought to Scotland. The Cardinal has always been so good that they should have a special recommendation to him. James hopes that he will confer with them on their business and will see to an early answer. H.

182. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, June 25, 1508.* w. i. 60.

Master Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, and the King's most excellent servant, has related the false charge made to John that the dean on his recent return had enlarged (*predicasset*) in Scotland upon the unchaste behaviour of Danish matrons. Invention as it is, it deeply wounds an innocent man and leads him to demand the author, a defence of his accusation either in person or at law (*aut virtute et viribus aut legitime*), or a public withdrawal. The

dean is insistent with James that he should inform His Majesty with a view to redress : otherwise he has decided to take legal action. James never heard him say anything of the kind and does not believe the story : he knows the dean's character and discretion, and he does not think that he has ever defamed anyone, much less matrons. The King would never have committed a foreign embassy to a man given to silly detraction. Forman was chosen from the whole household as having mixed acceptably with leading figures in Europe, who have, like John, commended him. The dean has a regard for the Danes, and often refers to His Majesty in whose interest he is always loyal and diligent. Unless he is cleared about the ladies, James fears that the dean may take his suspected accuser further than canonical purgation. Tycho, the Dean of Copenhagen, who was honourably received in Scotland for some days, should be taken to witness ; and there is John Postlac,<sup>1</sup> with more of that sort. If Forman was guilty, James does not deprecate punishment : if he is innocent, his repute and good name should not suffer.

Subscribed by James and secretary Paniter.

H.

183. *James IV to Gregory Garth and Joust Elare, Edinburgh, July 9, 1508.* R.S.S. i. 1701.

Respite and galya (safe-conduct) to Gregory Garth and Joust Elare, burgesses of Danzig, permitting them to come to any port and sell and buy freely for three years.

184. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, July 11, 1508.* N.L. 22.

Recommends to James, on account of his faithful service, William Pistor, the bearer of this letter.

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<sup>1</sup> Is this the Dane whose name is given as 'Posthalule' in the letter of James to John in April ?

H.

185. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, July 28, 1508.* w. i. 19.

John Gotskalck, sent to Louis XII, has just returned with the answers of which a copy is enclosed. He had letters from Louis to James, but the weather prevented him from reaching Scotland. These letters are now transmitted. James should be informed that the last letters from Louis to Lübeck and its supporters are of very qualified advantage to John : he is keeping them back, lest any of the Hansa people might discover the suggested conditions. Also he has found Montjoye, the French envoy, much more faithful in appearance than in fact. However, John takes it all with equanimity, as he advises James to do, hoping that under God things may turn out satisfactorily. The proposals for a marriage between Christian and a distinguished lady of France, discussed when Montjoye was in Denmark, John has, after examination, resolved to abandon, as on the French side the advantages offered are very slight. The Marquis of Brandenburg tried to persuade John about a daughter of the King of Poland. He gets various advice regarding daughters of other princes, but he is not going to take any steps without asking James, who will kindly state his views as soon as possible.

H.

186. *James IV to Anna of Veere, Edinburgh, August 3, [1508].* N.L. 219.

He has read her letters with gratitude, not more for her good offices to himself than for the goodwill which keeps his interests in mind. The Conservator, who is the bearer, will assure her that James is not forgetful of friends. If the Conservator remains at Veere (*apud vos se teneat*) the King looks for a favourable reception of him. In the matter of the goods belonging to the secretary, Master Patrick Paniter, which were stolen from an Antwerp ship, James commends the case in order that the authorities of Veere may give just judgment and have it put to execution.

H.

187. *James IV to Middelburg, Edinburgh, August 3, [1508].*  
N.L. 220.

John Francis, the Conservator of the Scottish merchants, delivered their letters which show a most gratifying attitude. About the Staple nothing has been fixed up to the present. The matter remains open, to be decided according to the prevalent opinion of the merchants, as the Conservator will report. James commends Francis to their favour. If he settles down (*consederit*) in Middelburg, would they treat him with consideration. He also commends in name of justice the cause which Master James Merchemstoun is prosecuting, that the royal appeal may be found to further his business. H.

188. *The City of Middelburg to James IV, Middelburg, August 16, 1508.* N.L. 65.

Their consul, M. Petrus, whom they lately sent as ambassador to the Duke of Albany, has returned with letters from James. To learn from the letters and hear from the consul that the decree of the Duke fixing the Scottish staple (*assignationem nationis Scotorum adhuc*) in their city was of no avail—though the consul had obtained the promise of his whole-hearted support—was an experience so bitter that nothing more bitter could happen. They cannot find anything amiss in their conduct of the negotiations: their ambassador came back from the Duke to obtain full powers from them and conclude the business, yet they have not only effected nothing, but by their efforts they have incurred the enmity of their neighbours of Veere, who boast that the Scottish Staple has been transferred to Veere. They cannot be easily persuaded of this since they think that the noble Duke would have more sense than prefer the town of Veere to their city, where there are so many and great facilities for the aforesaid nation resorting as to a port where they can buy or sell, that there can be no comparison between it and the town of Veere. Whether the story is true or not, they have resolved to send letters

to the Duke of Albany again, requesting him to bring the negotiations which have been opened to a much desired conclusion. They have written to the King that he may support their cause and commend them to the Duke, for they are aware of the great influence which he has over the Duke. If the matter goes according to their wishes they will pay without delay the three hundred gold crowns which the consul had promised him.

189. *James IV to Louis XII*, [? August 1508].<sup>1</sup> N.L. 282; B.M. 134; R. 115; BRODIE, 657 *places in December 1510*.<sup>2</sup>

Of His Majesty's two envoys one, a kinsman of James [Bernard Stewart], died in Scotland [June 11], and the other was so distressed that there were fears for his life. He was not fit to travel, and he has hastened his return to Louis before his health is properly restored. The state of negotiations here can be put shortly. The French envoy dwelt publicly upon the old alliance and mutual assistance in the past, and explained his instructions both openly and in secret audience. After the return of the Archdeacon of St. Andrews from Louis with expressions of cordial goodwill, confirmed by the French envoy, Master John Sellat, James gave the latter audience. He is convinced of that friendship of which Louis seeks to assure him not only by writ and seal, but in very deed, in so much that Louis seems to have given a real strength to the old alliance. James has thus an earnest desire to be of service. Anything that he can do in the interest of Louis shall not lack the will and the deed. From the French envoy and the archdeacon [of St. Andrews] he has reached conclusions which that envoy will report. H.

190. *Cardinal of St. Mark to Patrick Paniter, Rome, August 17, 1508.* N.L. 57.

Though they have never met, the Cardinal knows by report Paniter's loyalty, uprightness, and competence in

<sup>1</sup> The French Embassy was in Scotland till Aug. 9 (*Exchequer Rolls*, xiii, 123). H.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 178 for a fuller abstract of this letter.

his office—the royal letters amply prove that. Accordingly he wishes to make Paniter his procurator, with the Bishop of Whithorn and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, to take possession of the monastery of Glenluce<sup>1</sup> and do what is necessary in such cases, as the Cardinal's secretary will direct by letter. He hopes that things will proceed satisfactorily under Paniter's authority, and earnestly trusts that he will undertake it. Would he commend the Cardinal to His Majesty, whose honour and advantage will always be an object, as Paniter will gather from the letters of Thomas Nudry, his cousin german (*consobrinus*). H.

191. *Alexander Stewart to James IV, Padua, October 22, 1508.* N.L. 58; B.M. 212; R. 175; G. 269.

He has written repeatedly these last days, and has no reply, and finds his jurisdiction cruelly lacerated: so the best thing to do is to send his man with a memorandum expressing his wishes on the points raised. Letters inform him that the Bishop of Aberdeen has a new suit in the Rota concerning the archdeaconry which His Majesty granted to Alexander's instructor [Halkerstoun]. That cannot have been tolerated in any benefice conferred by royal nomination, and Halkerstoun could hardly litigate in the Rota and remain at his post. He therefore begs that Halkerstoun be freed from this legal complication. That course the King would take of his own initiative if he weighed Halkerstoun's services to Alexander here and in Scotland. Any vacancy within the St. Andrews archiepiscopate he asks for Halkerstoun.<sup>2</sup> The King will be able to confer some of Halkerstoun's benefices upon members of the household,

<sup>1</sup> The *commendam* of Glenluce to the Cardinal was not given until Feb. 17, 1508-9 (Vat. Transcripts, Register House). It is possible, therefore, that August is a mistake for February. H.

<sup>2</sup> James IV had an indult to nominate for thirty benefices (R.S.S., i, 1596) which was in operation by Dec. 1505 (*ibid.*, 1172) with James Betoun as executor. There are more than twenty nominations under the Privy Seal up to Nov. 20, 1510. Special exception of the diocese of St. Andrews first appears on Jan. 1, 1509-10 (*ibid.*, 1978). This letter evidently relates to the royal exercise of the papal indult. H.



and Alexander would have Halkerstoun in his own jurisdiction, for none could be more loyal and attentive. It seems hardly advantageous, proper, or reasonable that the servants of others should be given Alexander's lesser benefices, while his own go without a bare living. Would the King see the collation of lesser benefices of St. Andrews committed to the prior or the archdeacon for the benefit of Alexander's household men only; and would he give the preference to the bearer for any vacancy of moderate value. He has taken endless trouble, and Alexander begs for his early return with an answer on all these matters.

Subscribed by his very humble servant Alexander Stewart. H.

192. *Sanuto Diaries, November 14, 1508.* CAL. VEN. i. 909.

In these days the Jaffa galley returned, and the ship belonging to the Marconi, on board of which, out of 36 pilgrims, 27 had died, including that rich bishop of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> the King's relation, who was treated with distinction by the Signory.

*Italian.*

193. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, October 23, 1508.*  
N.L. 234.

James desires to improve monastic life and material conditions at Dryburgh and he asks for a rescript *in forma juris* and a mandate anent provision for the royal familiar Master James Merchemstoun, whose life and character the King knows well. He wishes delegation to judges in Scotland, where the truth may be best ascertained, and a brief commissioning the delegates to execute the rescript, any inhibition notwithstanding, lest by protracted litigation this distinguished but hard-hit (*concussus*) place may fall on even worse days. H.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Blacader, Archbishop of Glasgow.

194. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, November [8], 1508.* N.L. 235.

The King is writing to His Holiness for the translation of James [Betoun], bishop of Whithorn, to the archbishopric of Glasgow in conformity with the vote of the Glasgow chapter. This distinguished see, the second metropolitan of Scotland, deserves to be recommended to the apostolic attention; and the Cardinal is to preserve its honour and restore its faculties, especially that of alternate conferring of benefices in the province, maintaining, as is fair, its other prerogatives. H.

195. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, November [8], 1508.* N.L. 236; B.M. 91 and 92.

James writes to His Holiness that the see of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal will shortly fall vacant by translation of James, the present Bishop of Glasgow. He is recommending David, Abbot of Cambuskenneth<sup>1</sup> for the see, with the secular provostry of Clyneluden of royal patronage and the Priory of Inchmahome, both previously united to the Chapel. He desires a renewal of the privileges and faculties granted to the Chapel.<sup>2</sup> But as the annexation of Restinot has not yet come into effect he would have the union dissolved and the priory incorporate for the archiepiscopal *mensa* or disposed at the discretion of the archbishop, and any injury made good to the see arising from exemption of churches and parishioners of the diocese and incorporation in the Chapel with testaments, funeral rights, and declaratories of the diocesans thereanent. That in the present decision after mature consideration, the Cardinal will kindly pay close attention to the details mentioned and have them carried out. H.

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<sup>1</sup> A brief letter to Julius II (No. 203) recommends for the abbey Andrew McBrek, the King's chaplain and almoner. H.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. 91 ends here.

196. *James IV to a Cardinal, Edinburgh, November 8, 1508.* N.L. 237.

On the death of Robert [Blacader], Archbishop of Glasgow, the Dean and Chapter unanimously chose James [Betoun], Bishop of Whithorn, as his successor. James has therefore recommended that His Holiness should give his consent to the transfer of Betoun to Glasgow, and at the royal request, renew to the future archbishop the privileges rightly granted. Asks the Cardinal to use his influence to bring this about.

197. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [November 24, 1508].* N.L. 225.

James writes to His Holiness to say that the abbacy of Dunfermline, held *in commendam* by James [Betoun], Bishop of Whithorn, will shortly be vacant by the bishop's translation to the archbishopric of Glasgow. He has commended James Stewart to have the abbey conferred upon him (*in majorem usque etatem deinde in administrationem*), with dispensation for defect of birth (*ex solutis*) and age. The boy has been sent away from home to study letters.<sup>1</sup> He promises, if he lives to grow up, to make a good man, young as he is now. James has asked the Pope that the ordinary, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, should be coadjutor and successor in the event of cession or decease. He hopes that the boy may develop in character and learning so as to become a competent abbot. H.

198. *James IV to Julius II, [? November 24, 1508].*  
N.L. 227.

Since the see of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal will be vacant shortly by the translation of James [Betoun] to Glasgow, James commends to His Holiness David [Arnot],

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Moray was sent to Padua and to his brother the archbishop in Aug. 1508 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 140). There is a letter to Julius II (N.L. 226) to the same effect and in similar terms: also a letter to the cardinal about the dispensation (*ibid.*, 226A), which is dated Nov. 24.

Abbot of Cambuskenneth, for the succession, with the provostry of Clincluden of royal patronage and the priory of Inchmahome previously united to the see. James desires that the Priory of Restinot should be restored to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the ordinary, with the testaments, mortuaries and funeral rights of the familiars of the court, incorporate in the Chapel Royal (*unacum testamentis et mortuariis ac funeralibus familiarium curie regie capelle nostre etiam incorporate*). H.

199. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [? November 1508]. N.L. 232 ; BRODIE, 93 *places at end of June* 1509.

The King is writing to His Holiness to explain that under Alexander VI Whithorn was dissociated from its metropolitan of St. Andrews and made suffragan of Glasgow, then under its first archbishop. Controversy has been continuous ever since, St. Andrews desiring restoration, Glasgow clinging to its acquisition. James desires a pacification : restoration of Whithorn to St. Andrews and the assignation of Sodor or the Isles, with consent of St. Andrews, to Glasgow. This is partly to produce happier relations between the Bishop of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal on the one hand and the King's son, Archbishop of St. Andrews, on the other, and that the Chapel may enjoy the favours of the primate : at the same time the Archbishop of Glasgow obtains instead another suffragan. The Cardinal must do all he can : this is the only way of ending a long dispute and assuring the peace of the Chapel Royal. H.

200. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [? November 1508]. N.L. 238 ; B.M. 103 ; G. 278.<sup>1</sup>

James keeps in mind the great benefits received from the Apostolic See through the efforts of the Cardinal, among

<sup>1</sup> Dates 1509.

them the indult to visit the Holy Sepulchre on condition that he should first come to Rome. That would be a diversion of a serious and questionable kind owing to difficulties by land and sea: in fact obstacles are insurmountable. James has sent his familiar chaplain David, postulate of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, to explain to the Cardinal his attitude in the matter, and through him to obtain a faculty to use the most convenient route. He also commends to the Cardinal's attention David's promotion to Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, with the provostry of Lincluden, of royal patronage, and the Augustinian Priory of Inchmahome, vacant by translation of the last bishop to Glasgow. He hopes that the Cardinal will defend the Chapel Royal and its privileges. H.

201. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [? November 1508]. N.L. 240.

The King writes to His Holiness recommending David, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, for the coming vacancy at Whithorn on the translation of the bishop thereof to Glasgow. The secular provostry of Clyneluden,<sup>1</sup> of royal patronage, and the Priory of Inchmahome, both previously united to the Chapel Royal, are to fall to the bishop. His Holiness is asked also to renew privileges and faculties granted to the Chapel. The annexation of the Priory of Restinot to the Chapel, not having as yet taken effect, should be dissolved and the priory incorporate for the archiepiscopal *mensa* of St. Andrews, making good any injury to the see in the exemption of diocesan churches and parishioners and incorporation in the Chapel with testaments, funeral rights, and declaratories of the diocesans thereanent. This is the present decision after mature consideration, and the Cardinal will kindly keep a close eye upon the details mentioned so as to have them expedited. H.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. Lincluden.

202. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [Edinburgh, November 1508]. B.M. 93.

Sends letters to the Pope announcing that the Abbey of Cambuskenneth of the Augustinian order in the diocese of St. Andrews will be vacant by the translation of David the present abbot, to the bishopric of Candida Casa, and therefore commends to His Holiness his chaplain, Andrew McBrek, that he may see fit to promote him to the abbey. Entrusts the whole business to the Cardinal that it may be expedited according to his letters.

203. *James IV to Julius II*, [Edinburgh, November 1508]. N.L. 239.

In same terms as No. 201.

204. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, Edinburgh, December 1, 1508. G. 265.

James writes a second time to the Cardinal to procure the abbacy of Dunfermline *in commendam* for James Stewart, now in his eighth year, with dispensation for his birth *ex solutis* and his minority, and with the Archbishop of St. Andrews as coadjutor and successor, or at least curator until full age is reached. If that cannot be managed, James desires the *commendam* for James Stewart, with mention of his eighth year, without coadjutor and successor, otherwise for Alexander the archbishop as ordinary. The Cardinal might use his influence in the matter. H.

205. *Patrick Paniter to Alexander Stewart*, Jedburgh, December 7, [1508]. N.L. 264; B.M. 102.

His brother, Painter's new pupil,<sup>1</sup> though a king's son, has not caused him to forget Alexander, his only hope

<sup>1</sup> James, Earl of Moray.

(*spes unica*); but the writer has been busy, and moreover, he has been silent to try Alexander's patience and induce him to write oftener. He remembered Alexander's profound silence while he was at home, and was afraid that the serious air of Italy might make him quite dumb.

Alexander knows the political worries in which Paniter used to be involved; now he is exercised afresh about Alexander's affairs. Was he to fight alone and ineffectively, or yield to powerful people and serve the time? He had decided upon action when James Hay arrived from Alexander, and he resolved to go straight to the King. Ambition, pride, and overpowerful authority made the opposition. The King repented of his action, and thought it would be better to unite the Chapel to St. Andrews. The idea prevailed for some days and Paniter expected success, when a veteran knight, returning from a mission, though otherwise loyal to Alexander, turned things upside down by saying straight out that it was not consistent with Alexander's honour. Paniter then set himself to recover ground for St. Andrews and to establish claim upon the alienated Priory of Restinot: from that he turned attention to Dunfermline. Letters to His Holiness request that Alexander should be coadjutor and successor to his brother, or should have the abbey *in commendam*. What a time Paniter had with the opposition! (*Quot tela id ne fiat jaculantur*). He was falsely accused of writing without authority, and it was said that the King favoured James, not Alexander. Royal letters were sent to Halkerstoun, without Paniter's knowledge, that Alexander was to go without Dunfermline. The suspicion that he had betrayed Alexander cost him sleepless nights. He importuned the King until he authenticated letters according to Paniter's wishes, and these are now being sent. If he does not live to do service, will Alexander remember the Secretary's friends, and convict those who say that it is no use deserving well of a boy like him. Alexander is to be worthy of the courageous efforts on his behalf: he should use his opportunities for study of law, bring back in his person a chancellor who will benefit the archbishopric and the council, and remember

his mother and friends, to whom his absence makes day seem night, and life death. H.

206. *James IV to Maximilian, King of the Romans, Edinburgh, December 8, 1508.* N.L. 242; B.M. 80; G. 274.

Robert Bertoun, master of the *Lion*, is reported to have been arrested a few days ago at Veere on information from the Portuguese and treated as a pirate because he had, shortly before, taken a merchant ship of Portugal. He stands in danger of his life, not to speak of the loss of his goods, unless he produces letters from James on the appointed day. Hence this communication.

More than thirty years ago, under James III, the Portuguese fleet took and plundered a King's ship laden with a valuable cargo and captained by John Bertoun, Robert's father. Some of the crew were killed, and the reigning King of Portugal repeatedly declined restitution. James III did not take measures against a friendly king or demand reparation, though he unwillingly granted letters of reprisal to the master and sailors because justice was denied, and for their satisfaction only, stipulating that what was taken in reprisal should come under the royal judgment, to see that they took no more than they had lost. More than thirteen years ago, after the death of James III, the seamen obtained renewal of the letters,<sup>1</sup> which had not been put to execution; but the King more than once suspended them in the hope of reparation. Eventually in July of last year James sent a herald with letters in response to the continuous and loud complaints of Robert and John Bertoun heirs of the injured captain, and intimated to His Majesty that the reprisals must be put in force. Robert Bertoun had this authority for action which has legal ground and does not deserve punishment. If he did wrong, the accuser will obtain speedy justice from James, who expects Maximilian to take a judicial view of the case. H.

<sup>1</sup> The Edinburgh burgh records (*Extracts*, i) show that on Dec. 6, 1508, Barton had a transumpt of letters of reprisal given under the privy seal on June 25, 1494. H.



207. *James IV to Margaret, Duchess of Savoy*, [Jedburgh, December 8, 1508]. N.L. 243; B.M. 129; BRODIE, 13 places on May 1, 1509.

Robert Bertoun is detained in her port of Veere on information of the Portuguese and is in the way of losing not only his goods but his life as a sea pirate unless he can produce by the day appointed before the judicial authorities letters from James to clear him in the capture of a Portuguese vessel.

Thirty years ago a Portuguese fleet boarded and plundered a ship of James III with its valuable merchandise, and at that time the King of Portugal did nothing to satisfy requests for restitution. James IV granted letters of reprisal to John Bertoun, master of the ship, and Robert's father. On the strength of these Robert, his father's heir, attacked the ship in question, as he was entitled to do with impunity. If he was wrong, his accuser will obtain speedy justice in the Scottish courts. James asks the Duchess to bring these facts to the notice of her judges, that the old friendship with the famous house of Burgundy may endure undisturbed. He adds the wish that she might give their common relative Charles, Duke of Gueldres, better guarantee of peace and make their kinship also an association of goodwill. H.

208. *James IV to Anna of Veere and Sir Henry de Borsselen, Lord of Lauderdale and Bailie of Veere*, [Jedburgh, December 8, 1508]. N.L. 244; BRODIE, 188 places in September 30, 1509.

James has heard from Robert Bertoun of their kindness to him and their assistance and advice in this troublesome litigation with the Portuguese. He will try to repay their goodness. The actual facts in the business are that more than thirty years ago John Bertoun, Robert's father, was taking out from the low countries a ship of James III with a valuable cargo for Scotland, when a Portuguese fleet followed and attacked. They captured her, and slew some

who resisted. Repeated claims for restitution made to the King of Portugal were fruitless. The loss was put at 50,000 French crowns, apart from the men and the legal expenses. James III, a peaceful prince (*togatus rex*), never challenged the King of Portugal on the subject and did not consider it important enough to break their friendship; but he granted letters of reprisal to the master and crew up to the amount of their loss. [The letter appears to be unfinished.] H.

209. *Henry VII to Lord Conyers, December 12, 1508.*

BAIN, iv. 1751.

Indenture between Henry VII and Sir William Conyers, Kt., Lord Conyers, appointing him Captain of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed and Lieutenant of the castle, from February 16, 1509, to be held against the Scots and all others, for two months, and thereafter to the utmost of his power. Garrison of the town 230 'hable men defensible arraied'—100 spears well horsed and harnessed, 50 archers, 50 other foot, 20 gunners, 8 constables, 2 clerks. Garrison for the castle—constable, priest, cook, 2 porters, 32 soldiers, and 3 watchmen. If the Scots threaten a siege garrison to be increased by 400 men. Provision made for 5 free masons, 20 rough masons, and 25 labourers to repair and build the town and castle during peace, and for causing the inhabitants of Berwick and the Marches to ditch, quickset, enclose and divide into closures the bounds of Berwick.

210. *John of Denmark to James IV, Nyköping, December 21, 1508. w. i. 22.*

James has been informed of the persistent rebellion of the Swedes and of discussions for their return to obedience. John trusted that the latest agreement at Varberg would be observed, and he went to Malmö to treat, as had been arranged; but the Swedes did not appear, and evidently

have no intention to submit. John is compelled to inflict the punishment delayed in past years, and will go against Sweden in the summer. He asks James for men and ships, to be at Copenhagen by Ascension Day [May 15], and the number to be intimated through Norge King-of-Arms before the middle of Lent (*dominicam letare* : March 18). Norge has instructions for the Queen on a matter affecting Prince Christian of which James should be cognisant and should state his opinion in writing. The men of Lübeck in defiance of agreements, have renewed commerce with the Swedes, so that armed intervention is obviously justified. John begs for a favourable answer. H.

211. *Alexander Stewart to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [1508].

N.L. 162 ; B.M. 46 ; G. 273.

The Cardinal's success in obtaining for him at his age the administration of the archbishopric, a difficult task in view of legal requirements, demands of one to whom requital is impossible an effort to be worthy of the position and to see that neither the Cardinal nor the church of St. Andrews is disappointed. He is setting about the acquisition of learning and character : as to defending the liberty of his church, since his age does not permit, he earnestly begs that the Chapel Royal be not allowed to subvert it or derogate from its ordinary right. There are those who seek exemption by a new privilege, and plot to weaken its jurisdiction. Would the Cardinal please come to the rescue.

H.

212. *James IV to Louis XII*, [1508]. N.L. 213.

Believes that Louis heard last year from Montjoye about the dispute between John of Denmark and Lübeck, in the settlement of which Montjoye himself played the biggest part. The quarrel has broken out again ; the messenger will tell him that the treaties have not been observed. James must help his uncle, and begs Louis to order all suitable measures to be taken on behalf of his ally.

## 1509

213. *James IV to Benedict Hawsang, Holyrood,  
January 25, 1508-9. N.L. 261.*

Received on January 13 his letters written in Danzig on October 8; wonders at the messenger's delay, and hastens to answer the letter in which Benedict informed him that the masts which he had procured for his use are to hand, and asked him if he wanted more. The answer is that Benedict will see from the memorandum given to the master smith of the Scottish (*nostrae*) fleet how many masts are wanted and of what kind. Has sent [the smith] so that Benedict may send over the masts that are now ready as soon as possible, if Scottish ships are not available, in a ship procured for the purpose. Is also writing to the Senate of Danzig for permission to procure and import masts, which he hopes will be easily obtained because of old friendship. Will repay him fully for all his expenditure, as the messenger will inform him.

214. *James IV to Anne of France, Edinburgh, January 31,  
1508-9. N.L. 257; B.M. 84; R.H. 83.*

The King learned from the Archdeacon of St. Andrews<sup>1</sup> that she is in good health. She may be sure that nothing can afford him greater pleasure than the fact that he has been able to meet her wishes. H.

215. *James IV to Louis XII, [? January 31, 1508-9].  
N.L. 290; B.M. 136; R.H. 121; BRODIE, 658.<sup>2</sup>*

The Archdeacon of St. Andrews, who was in France at the time as ambassador, states that Louis remitted to

<sup>1</sup> Gavin Dunbar, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, who was sent to France in June 1508 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 125). H.

<sup>2</sup> Places at end of 1510.

George, Lord Seytoun, a penalty of £1200 imposed in the Parlement of Paris, but he has also reported that the chancellor strangely (*alioquin prudentissimus*) detains the writ of remission, and George is prevented from prosecuting his case in the Parlement. James appeals to Louis to see that justice has its course, and hopes that this letter may be of service to Seytoun. H.

216. *James IV to a Friend, Edinburgh, January 31,*  
[1508-9]. N.L. 254.

The King thanks his very dear friend for letters which he has received from him on several occasions, with information about what is happening in [? Rome]. So far as the Bishop of Ross is concerned, he told the Bishop when he saw him what his opinion was. The bishop reported that a partial agreement (*concordatum de singulis*) had been arrived at between them; he is now doing in [? Rome] (*apud vos*) what remains to be done to secure a just decision. James hopes for complete success.

217. *James IV to Maximilian, [January 1508-9].* N.L. 231.

Some little time ago (*superiores dies*) James wrote to explain how Robert Bertoun, on the strength of letters of reprisal, took a Portuguese merchant vessel on its homeward voyage from England. Bertoun came to Veere, where, at the Portuguese instance (*procurante Portugallo*), he was arrested and his ship with its cargo is detained. James writes a second time to ask that Bertoun, who acted under letters of reprisal, be released without penalty. The King will himself give justice to complainers. If Maximilian proposes to have the case settled over there, however unfair it may be that Scots process should be called in question by allies and friends and Bertoun compelled to answer, when he should have been released with his ship, especially under the caution *de judicato solvendo* which he

offered, James begs for a more equitable course lest he be compelled by denial of justice to resort to other expedients.

H.

218. *James IV to the Cardinal of Amboise, Edinburgh*, [Feb. ?] 1, [1508-9]. N.L. 258 ; B.M. 85.

James learned from the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, lately ambassador to France (*istic*), how much he [James] owes (*quantum vobis debeamus*) to the Cardinal for his advice and influence in promoting his interests. The King conveys his thanks, and will defray the favour when required. He could not feel aggrieved (*nec facile nos gravaverit*) should the Cardinal relinquish the functions or the office<sup>1</sup> (*usui aut honori cesserit*), for, while James is deeply indebted to him, he proposes to make that debt deeper : he hopes to obtain from the Cardinal only what it will be his chief aim really to deserve.

H.

219. *James IV to Louis XII*, [? February 1, 1508-9]. N.L. 250 ; R. 102.

James thanks His Majesty for the horses, which duly arrived, and for the kindness with which, on these two occasions, he saw to the transmission of the beasts, excellent of their kind. He has a look at them every day, and prizes them as the gift of so eminent a prince. He is sending for acceptance four hackneys (*gradarios*), not so good as he could wish, but as good as he could procure for the time, rather well adapted for posting (*cursum*) and hunting. If Louis likes them, James will provide some better specimens.

H.

220. *James IV to [Jean de Ganay], Chancellor of France, Edinburgh*, [February ?] 1, [1508-9]. N.L. 249 ; B.M. 86.

James thanks him for assistance to his envoy, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, by counsel and active intervention,

<sup>1</sup> The reference seems to be to the cardinal's attention to Scottish interests in France.

H.

of which the archdeacon has fully informed him. He was indebted likewise to his predecessor, of whose kind offices he availed himself, and he proposes to treat the Chancellor likewise, and to show his gratitude practically when occasion demands.

221. *James IV to a Friend*, [Edinburgh, February 1, 1508-9]. B.M. 88.

James thanks his dearest friend (*amicus carissimus*) in similar terms for help rendered and favour shown to the archdeacon.

222. *James IV to Ludovic Puteolanus, Secretary to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Jedburgh, February 12, 1508-9.*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 228 ; B.M. 90.

The Secretary's letters of October 23<sup>2</sup> from Rome, intimating the death of the Archbishop of Glasgow [Robert Blacader], reached James on December 9 [December 19, N.L.].<sup>3</sup> The news, it seems, came to the Secretary through Sir Thomas Halkerstoun, household man and procurator of the King, travelling post-haste from Venice to Rome.

The secretary thinks that the Archbishop of St. Andrews is doing quite well at Padua, but that Rome is far preferable for his Latin and Greek. Pronunciation is better ; and besides there is much more of life to be seen and experience to be gained. Certainly it would be easy to profit much with the secretary to help, as Alexander himself wrote. James is grateful ; but the boy is too young for the city. Anything uncouth would cause ridicule, and the King would have him prosecute letters for a time else-

<sup>1</sup> The copy in the National Library (N.L. 228) is undated, addressed *ex palatio*, and gives the date of the receipt of the Cardinal's letter as December 19,

<sup>2</sup> October 24, N.L.

<sup>3</sup> Blacader's death was presumed more than a month earlier, and James Betoun was postulated by the chapter of Glasgow on November 9. This letter should be placed in December 1508 ; February, the month given in B.M. 90, cannot be right.

where. Later he might visit the city, unless the Cardinal of St. Mark thinks otherwise. The archbishop has orders to take the instructions of his promoter, the Cardinal, as to his movements and training.

James desires for the archbishop, owing to the slenderness of his *mensa*, the abbacy of Dunfermline *in commendam* on the translation of James [Betoun] to Glasgow. Would the secretary put that in the King's name to the Cardinal as protector, and ask him to take the royal instructions from Thomas Halkerstoun.

H.

223. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, [? February 1508-9].* B.M. 94; R. 95.

Some little time ago (*superiores dies*) the King asked for the translation of James [Betoun], Bishop of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, commendator for the time of Dunfermline, to the vacant see of Glasgow, David [Arnot] of Cambuskenneth to be surrogate to Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, Sir (*dominus*) Andrew Macbreck, to be Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Dunfermline to be given *in commendam* to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. James is indebted to His Holiness for having awaited his letters regarding Glasgow,<sup>1</sup> which fell vacant at Jerusalem, and secondly, for his fatherly intention to advance the Archbishop of St. Andrews, reported by Sir Thomas Halkerstoun, the archbishop's preceptor. He commends the boy, so indulgently promoted, his jurisdiction, and the obligations of his office to the care of His Holiness. May Alexander grow up good and learned for his service, or may God in His providence take him from this world.

The Chapel Royal, the College of St. Michael of Stirling, with many privileges from His Holiness, has been not only an honour to James and to the Pope who erected it, but a rich augmentation of divine worship. Nowhere are

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<sup>1</sup> Betoun was translated to Glasgow on Jan. 19, 1508-9, and Arnot was promoted to Whithorn on Jan. 29. This letter and the two following letters to the Cardinal of St. Mark are obviously prior to receipt of the news.

H.



divine offices so celebrated, some ministering almost day-long at the college, some following the King, some the Queen: it would be a pity if it suffered offence or loss. James begs that the prerogative, jurisdiction, liberty and exemption granted by Alexander VI and by Julius himself may stand undisturbed, but without prejudice to St. Andrews, There should be no derogation from authority: rather James looks for amplification, as His Holiness may deign to hear from the bishop himself, accepting his instructions as approved by the King and facilitating expedition.

H.

224. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Stirling,*  
[? February 1508-9]. B.M. 95; R. 97.<sup>1</sup>

James is writing again to His Holiness for the translation of the Bishop of Whithorn to Glasgow, the promotion of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth to Whithorn and the Chapel Royal, the abbacy of Cambuskenneth for Sir Andrew Macbreck, and the *commendam* of Dunfermline for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. He seeks the co-operation of the Cardinal, and thanks him for his interest in the Archbishop's progress, of which Thomas Halkerstoun has informed him. Halkerstoun will state the King's news, if the translation to Glasgow has been delayed.

The Cardinal secured special prerogative for the Chapel Royal of St. Michael of Stirling, and will learn from the bishop that nowhere are divine offices more fully celebrated. The King cannot suffer its status to be reduced; and he asks that the constitution given by Alexander VI and Julius II should stand, without prejudice to St. Andrews. The Cardinal will please make a point of maintaining and amplying its privileges, and of supporting the royal request before His Holiness.

H.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N.L. 227, 230.

225. *James IV to his kinswoman, Anna of Veere, Edinburgh, March 3, 1508-9.* N.L. 210; B.M. 81; G. 276.

Her letters of January 8 from Veere were delivered recently, in which she thanked him specially for the kindly hearing given to her envoys; but that is no more than invariable diplomatic usage, and requires no acknowledgment. Admittedly Henry Borsalius<sup>1</sup> was particularly welcome owing to recollections of his father. Her offer of anything that James and his consort would care to have from Veere is gratefully received and her goodness will not be forgotten. H.

226. *Charles, Duke of Gueldres, to James IV, Zutphen, March 9, 1508-9.* N.L. 72.

The King's letters and their bearer were very welcome, bringing news of his good health and his thoughtfulness for the Duke, who can never forget his kindness and must ever look upon him as his protector. James should know of the treaty at Cambrai between the Emperor and France, in which Louis comprehended the Duke, and of the Duke's acceptance, very serious as it was for him (*licet pergrave nobis fuerat*). It would have been proper, in the Duke's opinion at least, that his whole land should be restored, but that was far from being done. He has acquiesced, lest he should lose hope of future recovery. Arbiters have been chosen: Maximilian and Henry for Spain, Louis and James for the Duke. These will decide according to the heads of treaty—copy of the articles affecting Gueldres enclosed. But the Duke learns that James and Henry are due (*debere*) to meet, and begs James to do his best for him towards the recovery of his heritage, unreasonably and unjustly taken from him. H.

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<sup>1</sup> See *infra* March 30, 1509.

227. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, March 23, 1508-9. w. i. 23.*

James was informed of his intention to invade Sweden in summer. Very recently some Swedish councillors came to John at Helsingborg with full mandate to treat. They were induced to undertake more far-reaching obligations, as the terms will show, and John made truce with them. James therefore will not be at expense this summer. If there is renewed breach, the retribution will be all the heavier for postponement, and James will be approached for next spring. Would he purchase at John's expense one or two handy ships (*velis aptius agi et velocius*) to be at Copenhagen at the beginning of summer, prompt payment to follow; and if need be, in 1510, John would like to buy two or three warships. He has asked Louis for aid in the event of a breach, but does not wish to deliver his letters without James's advice: he leaves it to James, either through his own envoy or Norge. His requests will not annoy James, whose unforgettable kindness is an encouragement to make them. H.

228. *Patrick Paniter to Alexander Stewart, [1508-9].*

N.L. 246; G. 273.

Paniter has not forgotten his dearest Alexander (*mi Alexander, animo meo carissime*), but he has refrained from writing in order to try his patience and avoid distracting him from study. He is glad to have his fidelity proved at a time when Alexander's interest was at stake and himself likely to suffer, for he counted Alexander's advantage his own, and in his cause had no fear of anyone. He wishes that Alexander had seen the threats to St. Andrews: the shipwrecked mariner was barely to escape or emerging from the waters was to be denied his own shore. Paniter avoided the opposing forces or broke the attack. The contest is over. The Priory of Restinot is being restored to its former position (*reponitur*): testamentary, burial, and parochial dues generally are intact. Above all,

Dunfermline now has its head.<sup>1</sup> Paniter recollects that when Alexander was leaving he marked it out for him if it became available. Surely those enemies must be convicted who comfort themselves with the belief that Paniter is still cast off from Alexander's service. He cherishes hope because of what he has done: otherwise he will surely be remembered as the servant of an ungrateful patron. H.

229. *James IV to the Prior General of the Dominicans*, [? 1508-9]. N.L. 109; R. 28.

James recalls the spread of monasticism after the death of St. Antony [A.D. 356] and the appearance of the various orders. Scotland, almost at the limit of the world, received Christianity while Constantine was still emperor and Marcus, thirty-fourth Pope from St. Peter, had his seat at Rome. It must have been under divine guidance that this remote land was so early converted. The kings founded houses and assigned revenues. The Dominicans have a distinguished place, and hold in Scotland a provincial assembly. But there have always been those who prefer their own foolish and dangerous courses to the wise and salutary direction of others. Provincial authority tried earnestly and in vain to correct them, and to escape compulsion they betake themselves to the neighbouring province of England, where they are uncanonically admitted by the priors and live as apostates. James seeks the intervention of the Prior General to prevent reception without permissive letters from the superior and to bring about as soon as possible the return of such as have been received.<sup>2</sup> H.

230. *James IV to John of Denmark*, [1508-9]. N.L. 247.

James has sent the bearers of this letter to his dominions

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander had the *commenda* of Dunfermline on Jan. 29, 1508-9. It will be noted that in the preceding letter Restinot is not mentioned among annexations to the Chapel Royal; on June 3, 1508, it was annexed along with Inchmahome (Vatican Transcripts, Register House, iii). H.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 30 for a fuller abstract of this letter.

to procure and bring back ship-masts and war-horses. He has also instructed them to wait upon John, if it can be done conveniently, that they may give him news about James and obtain news about himself in return, and also that he may advise them where they can most readily buy horses, and how to get there and back in safety.

231. *James IV to Christiern, Duke of Holstein*, [1508-9].  
N.L. 248.

James informs Christiern, Duke of Holstein, his dearest uncle, that he has sent his servants, the bearers of this letter, into his dominions to procure and bring back ship-masts and war-horses. He has also instructed them to wait upon the Duke, if it can be done conveniently, that they may give him news about James and obtain news about himself in return, and also that he may advise them where they can most easily buy horses, and how they may get there and back in safety.

232. *James IV to the Proconsul and Consuls of Danzig*,  
[? 1508-9]. N.L. 262.

He wishes to procure ship-masts in their territory, but has been informed that he cannot do so unless he has first obtained permission from the Senate of Danzig. He therefore asks for permission, and promises to grant them a similar favour should the occasion arise.

233. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres*, [? 1508-9].  
N.L. 252 ; B.M. 96 ; G. *Preface*, p. lxxii.

James is sending the bearers in various directions to seek out, select, and purchase horses for transport to Scotland. They have orders, if they visit Gueldres, to approach the Duke for interchange of tidings and to get instructions from him which will render their task easier and safer.

It is hoped that in the near future there will be a meeting between James and Henry VII, probably in the coming summer. If the Duke has anything to gain from it, he should apprise James before then; and it would be most to the purpose if he would send word in writing. H.

234. *James IV to the King of Poland*,<sup>1</sup> [? 1508-9].

N.L. 251; B.M. 98; R. 99.

James is sending the bearers to Poland to seek out, select, and purchase horses for transport to Scotland. He therefore asks His Majesty graciously to permit them to buy horses, at least those already for sale (*saltem venales*), and to bring them back unhindered. In return, will gladly grant his requests, whenever they are made.

235. *James IV to Benedict Hawsang, Citizen of Danzig*, [1508-9]. N.L. 262; BRODIE, 1544.<sup>2</sup>

He has sent his servant, Thomas Forret, to buy some horses for him, he therefore asks Benedict to help Forret to choose the horses, to lend him money to buy the horses should he not have enough, and to arrange for the transport of the horses to Scotland at his [James's] expense.

236. *James IV to Christian of Norway and his Officers*, [1508-9]. B.M. 99; R.H. 93.

The King is sending Andrew Jameson, sailor, to Norway in search of timber specially suited for the masts of ships, and he asks Christian and his nobles (*magnificentias*) to show favour to Andrew, and allow him to choose the masts and take them to Scotland. H.

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<sup>1</sup> Sigismund I.

<sup>2</sup> Places at end of 1512.

237. *James IV to the Consuls, Burgomaster, and Senate of Danzig*, [1508-9]. B.M. 100 ; R.H. 94.

Peter Brewhouse, the bearer, has come to Danzig to seek out and send to Scotland ship-masts, he therefore asks their magnificences to allow him to do so, as James in turn will study to help their fellow-citizens.

238. *James IV to Benedict Hawsang, Citizen of Danzig, Dunfermline Abbey, March 27, 1509.* B.M. 120.

The King's trusty liege, James Makesoun, is setting out for Danzig with his business commissions there and in those parts. James asks for assistance and credence on his behalf. Any undertakings in the King's name which Makesoun gives will be fulfilled by James. H.

239. *James IV to Julius II and the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, March 30, 1509.*<sup>1</sup> R.S.S. i. 1849.

Two letters subscribed by James are noted on behalf of Master George Leremonth for the Priory of Pluscardin by the resignation of Prior Robert. H.

240. *James IV to the Bailie of Veere,*<sup>2</sup> *Edinburgh, March 30, 1509.* R.S.S. i. 1850.

A letter subscribed by James is noted on behalf of James Makyson, sent to procure certain commodities at Veere and elsewhere and having a credence on the King's business. H.

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<sup>1</sup> This, like the following letter, is dated 1508 ; but the regnal year and the place in the register suggest 1509. H.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Borselen, bailie of Veere, was to be Scottish Conservator on Feb. 24, 1509-10 (R.S.S., i, 2016). In Dec. 1507 he had, in recognition of his services to Scots overseas, a charter of the lordship of Lauderdale, which James III had bestowed upon his father, Sir Paul (R.M.S., ii, 3165). H.

241. *James IV to John of Denmark*, [end of March 1509]. B.M. 117; R. 107; BRODIE, 301 *places end of December*.

James is sending James Mackieson, one of his intimate servants, to inform John of his affairs and to communicate privately some confidential matters that he has in mind. He is very anxious to have John's views, and begs that they may be conveyed through Mackieson. H.

242. *James IV to Julius II*, [c. end of March 1509]. N.L. 265; B.M. 104; R. 100; BRODIE, 92 *places end of June*.

James wrote recently for the integrity of the primatial and legatine authority of St. Andrews; and that authority was expressly reserved by His Holiness in the provision for Glasgow, as he has learned from the Cardinal of St. Mark. The present Archbishop of Glasgow, without, as he informed James, any intention of injury to St. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> obtained thereafter royal letters to His Holiness that his province, suffragans included, should be freed from the primatial and legatine authority. On admonition from his confessor, an Observant, James has no intention—and never has had any—of impairing the jurisdiction of St. Andrews, especially under a youthful archbishop, whom his promoters are bound to protect. His Holiness, therefore, should not take it that he is to derogate from the superiority of St. Andrews and burden the King's conscience by the exemption of Glasgow. The reservation should stand and be ratified by papal decree, with restitution of any loss sustained on whatever pretext. James expects His Holiness to accede, partly for the sake of the young archbishop whom he promoted, partly to relieve the conscience of the King to whose care His Holiness entrusted the lad.

H.

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently on the ground that Blacader had exemption.

H.



243. *James IV to his Kinswoman, Elizabeth of Denmark, Edinburgh, March 31, 1509.* B.M. 106 ; G. 277.

The messenger delivered her letters, giving news of her health and expressing strong affection for her son. James perceives, too, that Christian is her one and only solace, and that a mother would fain have him back at home. James has more than a kinsman's regard for Christian, and treats him with a goodwill which may, he trusts, leave no regret over his visit to Scotland. But he cannot oppose a mother's wishes, and he will see to a passage for Christian when he cares to go, that he may be a comfort to her advancing years.<sup>1</sup> H.

244. *James IV to Engilbert de Clevis, Chamberlain and Councillor of Louis XII, Edinburgh, April 1, 1509.* N.L. 90<sup>2</sup> ; B.M. 104 ; R. 104.

Robert Sinclair, who is in the pay (*stipendiarius*) of the French King, reminded James recently of his close bond of blood with Engilbert and their common ancestry. Although he knew, it was pleasant to have the fact recalled, for the firm friendship of his relatives and his kinship with nobles and magnates clearly established must be most welcome to any prince, and nature generates a special goodwill between those of the same line. Engilbert, mindful of the connection, uses his great authority to advance and defend the Scots, and his treatment of Sinclair elicits the royal gratitude and a desire that the favour may persist. He may ask, nay demand, what he will and what James has to give in Scotland : their relationship brooks no refusal. Sinclair, whom he personally commends to Engilbert, will give news of the realm, and has been assured that he has in Engilbert one whose great influence in France is sought on his behalf. H.

<sup>1</sup> But Christian was still in Scotland in July 1512 (*Treasurers' Accounts*, iv, 355). H.

<sup>2</sup> Undated.

245. *James IV to his kinswoman, the Countess of Nevers, Edinburgh, May 1, 1509.* N.L. 241; B.M. 121; BRODIE, 12.

Robert Barton recently carried to her the letters of Louis XII that the Portuguese ship which was his and which was driven ashore at Tréport in the county of Eu, should be restored to him with the goods taken out of her. James writes with a request that she put the letters to execution in view of the friendship between them, lest Barton be compelled to renew his complaint to Louis and to seek more drastic remedy. He does not expect that she will allow matters to go so far. H.

246. *James IV for Christopher Galiache, St. Michael's Castle [? chapel] of Stirling, May 14, 1509.* N.L. 298 B.M. 124; BRODIE, 29.

James, addressing all kings, princes, dukes, etc., states that Christopher Galiache [or Galiace] of San Severino, being in Scotland asked for the honour of knighthood. Gladly acceding, the King has created him *equus auratus*, and signifies the same under his greater signet. H.

247. *John of Denmark to James IV, Viborg, [c. May 24],<sup>1</sup> 1509.* w. i. 24.

James knows how badly Lübeck behaved to John at the end of summer: he should be told that the latest performance of these men was an open announcement that their ships would sail to any port they pleased. Many were ready for Sweden, despite the agreements with John and the imperial prohibition against support of the Swedes. By misrepresentations the Emperor's letters were obtained forbidding interference with the maritime trade of Lübeck. John replied to the letters by pointing out the untruth of the allegations, and undertook to disprove them, if

<sup>1</sup> Wegener refers to a letter to the same effect but differing in expression dated at Viborg on May 24. H.

required. Relying upon the kindness of James, he appeals to him for counsel and assistance. H.

248. *John of Denmark to James IV, [Viborg, May? 1509].*  
w. i. 25.

Expresses eternal gratitude to James for the couches (*lectulos*) which he sent him; intimates that his envoy has bought horses, to which John adds a gift of six, and that he has gone on to Poland to transact the business entrusted to him.

249. *Julius II to James Betoun, Rome, June 1, 1509.*  
R.O., R.T., ser. 1, no. 1, f. 133; BRODIE, 55.

Licences him, as long as he remains Archbishop of Glasgow, to depute a priest, with water blessed by a bishop, to reconcile churches, churchyards, and other ecclesiastical places polluted '*sanguinis vel seminis effusione, seu alias qualitercumque.*'

250. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, June 11, 1509.*  
B.M. VESP. f. iii, 36; ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i, p. 63;  
NAT. MSS. OF SCOTLAND, part iii, no. 9; BRODIE, 69.

James has received the loving letters of his dearest brother and cousin, written with his own hand. The bond of kinship makes him welcome Henry's expressions of goodwill. He promises to 'bere the sam good hart' to Henry, as Henry will discover should he put him to the test. *Signed*, 'with the il hand of your cossyng.'

*Scots.*

251. *Henry VIII: Confirmation of Treaty with Scotland, Westminster, June 29, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 257;  
BRODIE, 88.

Since it was expressly provided in the Treaty concluded between Henry VII and James IV, October 31, 1502, that

their heirs and successors should, within six months of the death of either of these kings, transmit to the survivor a confirmation in full of the Treaty, sealed with his Great Seal and signed with his sign manual, he therefore appends his seal and signature to the annexed copy of the Treaty.

252. *James IV to Julius II*, [c. July 10, 1509]. N.L. 266 ; B.M. 126 ; R. 109 ; BRODIE, 105 dates July 10.

James thanks His Holiness for reserving the primatial and legatine authority of St. Andrews and confirming it, as also for the maintenance of the privileges granted to the Chapel Royal, which has led the bishop, chapter and canons to found in honour of His Holiness a solemn annual<sup>1</sup> mass with insignia of arms (*cum armorum insigniis*). James never intended prejudice to St. Andrews or derogation from the right of the Chapel Royal, as was made clear in his letters. Indeed, he earnestly desires that the diocese of Whithorn, with the bishop thereof and the Chapel Royal, should be freed from subjection to the Archbishop of Glasgow and brought directly under the Apostolic See, or should become again suffragan of St. Andrews, from which Alexander VI withdrew it at the royal petition.

H.

253. *David Arnot, Bishop of the Chapel Royal, to James Cortesius, the Palace, July 10, 1509*. N.L. 267 ; R.H. 113 ; B.M. 125 ; BRODIE, 108.

The bishop, addressing Cortesius as *amicus consultissimus*, says that he has learned from his letters to the secretary [Paniter] how much trouble he has taken to obtain the papal authorisation (*insignatura*) for the rights of the Chapel : he thanks him for his share in thwarting the Archbishop of Glasgow [Betoun]. The secretary hopes that Cortesius received soon after writing the royal letters in which the King's mind was set forth. Meanwhile, Glasgow

<sup>1</sup> Reading *annuum* for the *animum* of Ruddiman.

H.

has interjected an appeal from the declaration of privilege (*a declaratoria privilegiorum*), a copy of which is being submitted, the bishop understands, to Cortesius as commissioner in the case at Rome. The adversary is watching to impede by a sudden inhibition exercise of the jurisdiction granted; and if he trusts to revoke action by the bishop as taken subsequent to appeal and inhibition, Cortesius will use the King's letters with His Holiness, obtaining what he can, particularly a brief permitting exercise of the privileges granted and entry upon possession pending appeal without risk of unlawful action. He should follow his own judgment in strengthening the case. James Merchestoun, on behalf of the bishop, is on his way to Bruges. H.

254. *James IV to Ludovic Puteolanus, Secretary to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [c. July 10, 1509].* N.L. 268; B.M. 105; G. 268; BRODIE, 106.<sup>1</sup>

His letters arrived on the eighth of this month, congratulating James upon the statement of his views in the matter of the exemption of Glasgow and the privileges of the Chapel Royal. James and his son, the archbishop, are indebted to Ludovic for continuous service, as Thomas Halkerston has very clearly indicated. James confesses his obligation to him as a private individual, and will make a point of requital. He is grateful for news about the war and events generally. Ludovic is to continue as he has begun: Halkerston will tell him how the King regards his services to his son and to the Chapel Royal as rendered to himself. H.

255. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, July 10, 1509.*  
N.L. 239; BRODIE, 107.

Recommends Andrew McBrek, the King's almoner, for the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, vacant by the translation of Abbot David [Arnot] to the bishopric of Candida Casa.

<sup>1</sup> Places July 10, 1509.

256. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [July 10, 1509]. B.M. 93.

Is writing to the Pope to recommend that on the translation of David [Arnot], the present abbot, to the bishopric of Candida Casa, the abbey should be conferred on Sir Andrew McBrek, the King's Chaplain and Almoner.

257. *Julius II to James Beaton, Rome, July 13, 1509.*  
R.H. TRANSCRIPTS, iii, 212; Archbishops of St. Andrews, iii, pp. 29-30.

Grants disposition of livings in his diocese falling vacant in February, April, June, August, October and December, provided they are not affected by general reservation. Indult to be valid during Beaton's incumbency; he is enjoined not to use other general faculties about certain months, which have been granted to other prelates.<sup>1</sup>

H.

258. *James IV: Commission to Andrew Forman, Edinburgh, July 19, 1509.* RYMER, x, 376; BRODIE, 114.

Confident of the faith and discretion of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, he commissions him as ambassador, with full power to arrange a personal meeting of James and Henry, to see to the confirmation of the Peace, to accept the oath of Henry and to deliver the oath of James, also to treat of redress for all acts of violence committed by Scots or English on the Borders, and of measures to be taken for establishing peace on both sides and eliminating or reducing such acts of violence in future. Promises to abide by whatever he does, and in token appends the Great Seal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beaton was afterwards in doubt regarding the effect of the indult, and obtained from Julius a grant *de novo* (Register House Transcripts, iii, 228).

H.

<sup>2</sup> Impressed on white wax, and hanging from a strip of parchment. (Note in *Rymer*.)

259. *John of Denmark to James IV, Sönderborg, July 20, 1509. w. i. 25.*

Lately the men of Lübeck have gone so far as to imprison John's unoffending merchants resorting thither, and have actually sent out a large number of ships in support of his rebels. He has taken their chief vessel with three in company. This success John Gotschalck is commissioned to report along with other matters. John knows for certain that the Lübeckers, always his enemies, intensify their hostile designs in various ways. He asks confidently for two thousand men (*satellites*) whom he should have without fail at Copenhagen with arms and ships at the beginning of next summer, and requests an answer by the bearer.

Given under the signet.

H.

260. *John of Denmark, to James IV, Copenhagen, July 24, 1509. N.L. 12; BRODIE, 117.*

Has told him how his affairs are progressing, and that he is in need of sailors. He therefore asks James to allow the bearer, Henry, to go home with a ship and with his household (*familia*), at the beginning of next summer, to devote himself to his sovereign's affairs.

261. *Julius II to James [Betoun], Archbishop of Glasgow, Rome, July 25, 1509. R.O., R.T., ser. 1, f. 135; BRODIE, 124.*

Formerly granted authority to James, King of Scots, to nominate to the then Abbot of Dunfermline, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Provost of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, thirty persons for ecclesiastical benefices, which authority he was afterwards said to have revoked, and therefore renewed it by brief. Declared that the authority of Betoun, now Archbishop of Glasgow, who held Dunfermline by apostolic grant and dispensation, and was deputed Bishop of Galloway and of the Chapel Royal before his translation, remains unimpaired.

262. *James IV to Andrew Forman, Edinburgh, July 25, 1509.* R.S.S. i. 1915.

Protection to Bishop of Moray for forty days after his return from abroad.

263. *James IV to Henry VIII, Holyrood, July 30, [1509].*  
B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi, p. 20; PINKERTON, vol. ii, p. 432;  
BRODIE, 129.

He reminds Henry that his trusted counsellor, Andrew, Bishop of Moray, who loves the observance of perpetual peace, and the maintenance of 'good lufe and cheirte' between the two sovereigns, and between their two realms, acted several times as ambassador between James and the late King of England, handling 'all grete materis.' He sends the bishop now to effect 'a final conclusioun, Reddress, and Reformacioun' of all the disturbances 'on baith the bordouris' that threaten the perpetual peace, and to establish good rule there in future. Henry is requested to give the ambassador that firm credence which he would give to James in person, both when he discusses the 'attemptates and ruptious' on the borders, and when he reveals other great matters. 'Writin under our Signete.'  
*Scots.*

264. *James IV to Ludovic of Puteoli, [c. July 1509 ?].*  
N.L. 269.

Has often heard from his treasurer about Ludovic's attention to his interests, and now praises him for leaving nothing undone in the absence of the Cardinal. Thanks him besides for the information about what is happening in Italy, and asks him to write often. Wants to know why, in the provision of the bishopric of Ross (*in expeditionem Rossensis episcopatus*), the chancellorship of Dunkeld was not given to his principal secretary, Sir Patrick, in accordance with his letters. Wonders also at the promotion of



his subjects, who, contumaciously, contrary to his letters, have obtained the reward of their audacity. Asks for papal dispensation for Paniter, that he may carry out his duties as secretary without any scruple of conscience arising from the signing of death-warrants. Begs him to strive to obtain that favour about which James has so often written.

265. *James IV to Perottus, Senator of Montpellier, Holyrood, August 2, 1509.* N.L. 256; R.H. 111; BRODIE, 305; B.M. 123.

James has learned how much he did for Cuthbert Hume, both from Cuthbert's own letters and from Evangelist Passar. He confesses his indebtedness to Perottus and his brother, Philip de Pratis, Consul of Alexandria, for their services. To facilitate provision for creditors and Cuthbert himself circumstances demand that he should go to Bruges in Flanders, a centre for Scottish merchants, or come to France (*istuc*)<sup>1</sup> at whatever place Perottus may arrange. James will see that Cuthbert's friends make speedy payment and redeem him (*redimant*). This will be more conveniently effected in proportion to the proximity of the place to Scotland, which would give his people (*amici et parentes*) more certainty that he is alive. H.

266. *James IV to Erhard Wintergust, Edinburgh, August 25, 1509.* R.S.S. i. 1927.

Letter of passage for Erhard Wintergust, Alexander Mathie, and Stephen, trumpeters and musicians of Frederick, hereditary Prince of Norway.

267. *Lyon King-of-Arms and John Sanchar, Hanworth, August 29, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 261; BRODIE, 153(1).

Lyon King-of-Arms (Henry Thompson) and John Sanchare, M.A., priest in the diocese of Aberdeen, Apostolic,

<sup>1</sup> Brodie, 305, says Scotland. Evangelist Passar was a burgess of Edinburgh (R.M.S., iii, 872). H.

Imperial and Royal Notary, attest that on August 29 Henry VIII took the oath to observe the Treaty of Perpetual Peace, but publicly protested to them that it was not binding unless the King of Scots took exactly the same oath, though through his ambassador he had promised to do so, and though his ambassador had taken a solemn oath that he would keep his promise. They were present, and saw, heard, and noted down everything that happened.

268. *Andrew Forman, Hanworth, August 29, 1509.*

RYMER, xiii, p. 261 ; BRODIE, 153(2).

Promises and swears, 'by these Holy Evangelies and Canon of the Holy Masse, by Me bodily Touched' that his sovereign will 'in the Perill of his Soule' keep every article of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Amity, made first with Henry VII on January 24, 1502, and renewed by Henry VIII.

Signed : Andro of Murray.

269. *Henry VIII, Otford, September 7, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 263 ; BRODIE, 161.

Constitutes Sir Robert Drury, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and Master John Batemanson, LL.D., commissioners to take the oath of the King of Scots.

270. *Henry VIII, Otford, September 7, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 263 ; BRODIE, 161, ii.

Constitutes Drury, Constable and Batemanson, commissioners, with full powers to treat with the King of Scots or his deputies about all disputes, thefts, homicides, robberies with violence (*attemptatis*) and everything arising out of them, committed by Scots or English on the Borders of the kingdoms, or elsewhere on land or sea or fresh water, and to hold one or more additional diets, should it be necessary.

271. *Emanuel, King of Portugal*,<sup>1</sup> to *James IV, Sincia* [*? Cintra*], *September 18, 1509*. B.M. 111; R. 103; BRODIE, 171.

Emanuel has a report that some Scots are at sea with an armed fleet to do damage to the Portuguese and have in fact snapped up certain vessels, on the allegation that Bartholomew Didaci of Portugal once took a ship belonging to them for which they have letters of reprisal. Emanuel is surprised that James allows this and, if the letters have been granted, that the old order of law between the realms in such cases has been so ill observed. He should have been informed and asked for justice, and only on denial of justice (which is not his way) would the letters have been in order. As no request has been made, he is naturally annoyed, especially since this very old sore should not have been allowed to fester without his knowledge, and in past years the matter was fully discussed in Scotland without decision for reprisals. James is requested to disarm the ships and restore what has been taken. Emanuel will see to full justice. His servant, Eduard Fernandi, is being sent to James as commissioner on the business. H.

272. *Julius II to James Betoun, Viterbo, September 22, 1509*. R.O., R.T., ser. 1, no. 1, f. 141; BRODIE, 173.

Betoun, on his translation to be Archbishop of Glasgow, promised on oath, as the custom is, to visit Rome personally or by proxy, every two years. The Pope accedes to his request to have the term extended to four years, as it was made two in error.

273. *The Marchioness of Brandenburg to James IV, Tangermund, September 29, 1509*. N.L. 74; BRODIE, 179.

Thanks him for his kindness; will try to repay him, and will not easily submit to be outdone. Wishes her dear

<sup>1</sup> Emanuel describes himself as *rex Portugallie et Algarbiorum citra ultraque mare in Africa dominus Guinee et conqueste navigationis ac commercii Ethiopie Arabie Persie atque Indie*. H.

kinsman a long and happy life. Her little son Joachim, her little daughter Anna, and she herself are, by God's grace, safe. Begs him, if her father, the King of Denmark, takes action in the affair of her brother, Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, to give him his energetic support.

274. *Julius II to Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Rome, October 17, [1509].* R.O., R.T., ser. 1, no. 1, f. 123; BRODIE, 207.

Grants his request for licence for life to say the divine office and daily and nightly hours after the manner of the Holy Roman Church, and not in the fashion to which he is bound by the constitutions of the order of St. Augustine, through his cathedral church of St. Andrews being of that order.

275. *Julius II to Patrick Paniter, Rome, October 18, 1509.* R.O., R.T., ser. 1, no. 1, f. 145; BRODIE, 208.

Formerly gave him a dispensation from taking Holy Orders while holding the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of Kilmany, St. Andrews diocese, or other benefices, and prolonged it for other two years, now almost expired. He is now Archdeacon of Moray. As he represents that his work for the King as First Secretary prevents his taking holy orders, the Pope extends for another year the period within which he is required to take such orders.

276. *James IV to Frederick, Duke of Holstein, [October 1509].* N.L. 304; BRODIE, 303 *places at end of 1509.*

On October 13 received from his Chancellor and Advocate his letters written on August 31, giving information about his state of health and the happenings in his dominions. Learns that his Duchy is troubled by the King of Denmark, and that without help from outside he is powerless. Has

given careful attention to his requests, but circumstances forbid his satisfying them. He is engaged in a very great enterprise; the Duke will hear more fully from his envoys of everything that he is attempting.

277. *James IV to the Consuls and Senators of Dieppe, Edinburgh, November 10, [1509].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 271; BRODIE, 233.

Has heard from his servant, Robert Bertoun, how much they had helped him, and had furnished him with a safe and sure place in their town for storing the timber to be used for building a ship there. Thanks them, and hopes to render a like service to them. Asks them to continue in their kindness to him, and allow a master shipbuilder to work for him in Dieppe, and to provide, in place of the deceased John Symon, one who, attentive to (*satisfaciens*) their honour and his duty, would maintain the reputation of their town. In general (*alioquin*) asks for information about the building of the ship in Dieppe.

278. *John of Denmark, to James IV, Sönderborg, November 22, 1509.* N.L. 20; BRODIE, 247.

James is well aware of the hostility of the Lübeckers to his predecessors. Last summer they attacked Sweden by sea in great strength, to force the Swedes to break the treaty which they had made with him. Thereupon he went into Holstein, hoping that his brother would help him, but as his brother had made a treaty with the Lübeckers, he was completely destitute of brotherly help. At length he came to an agreement with the Lübeckers that there should be a truce between his Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Stormaria and Lübeck, but he and his kingdom were excluded from the truce. He had offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, but this was refused. He therefore asks James to seize the ships and goods of

<sup>1</sup> Date 1509 in margin, in later hand.

any Lübeckers who come to his kingdom, and to urge the King of England to do the same. If any of James's subjects lie in wait at sea next summer for the Lübeckers, they will be allowed to keep any plunder which fortune may give them. He begs James to take into his grace James Sliig, a confessed homicide.

279. *John of Denmark, Sønderborg, November 23, 1509.*  
N.L. 10.

The King grants letters of marque to those who are willing to wage war in the Baltic or the North Sea in the following by plundering his enemies the men of Lübeck and any others who give them aid. Captains availing themselves of these letters may resort to and anchor in Danish harbours and may barter the goods that they have captured, provided that they give up a fourth part for the King's own use.

280. *James IV: Confirmation of Treaty with England, Edinburgh, November 28, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 267; BRODIE, 252.

Swears by the Gospels and the Canon of the Mass 'by me bodely twched' to observe every article of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Amity, concluded first with Henry VII and now ratified and confirmed by Henry VIII and delivered to him, and, to the best of his ability, cause it to be observed by his subjects. In witness, signs with his own hand.

281. *John Batemanson, and John Sanchare, Edinburgh, November 29, 1509.* RYMER, xiii, p. 268; BRODIE, 255.

Attest that on November 28, 1509, in the presence of his prelates and nobles and the notaries, the King of Scots received from Sir Robert Drury, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and Dr. John Batemanson, a parchment containing the form of oath for observing the Treaty of Perpetual Peace,

which he read and repeated carefully and solemnly (*omnibus melioribus modo et forma quibus potuit*) as was apparent to the notaries, and he solemnly swore, with his hand on the Holy Gospels to observe in every article the Treaty of Perpetual Peace. Witnesses were the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Moray and Candida Casa, the Abbot of Arbroath, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argyll, Lennox, and Arran, Patrick Paniter, Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and Moray, Sir John Musgrove, Sir Marmaduke Constable and his son, William Constable, and John Fabeane.

Batemanson, Apostolic and Imperial Notary, puts his accustomed sign and signature to the public instrument written out by another hand while he was otherwise occupied, as does John Sanchare, who has revised the record written by another hand, and adds his accustomed sign and signature.

282. *Polydore Vergil to James IV, London, December 13, 1509.* B.M. 101 ; R. 139 ; BRODIE, 275.

As he is not known to the King by any service or office, he will explain briefly his reasons for writing. When he was a raw beginner at Padua he wrote a little book of *Adagia*, and then three little books, *De inventoribus rerum*, and published them at the request of the Duke of Urbino, a student of Greek as well as of Latin. Such as they are, the books have their readers. Coming to England on business of the Papal Treasury, he began to study its beauties, great resources, and the remarkable characteristics of the people, reading and comparing the most ancient annals. He found so much that was memorable and important regarding kings and other eminent persons as to marvel that Greek and Latin writers, particularly Caesar and Tacitus, who were in the island, had so little to say. Unfortunately the annals are so various, confused, ambiguous, and lacking in order—which history cannot tolerate—that the great deeds were unknown not only to

the foreigner but to the native. Always enjoying literary studies when leisure permits, Polydore thought it would be worth while to write the history of the Britons and then that of the Angles. He has nearly finished his perhaps ambitious task. Dealing with the island, he has given equal attention to the Scots in their appropriate place; but the account lacks order because there was no writer to guide him. He has often spoken on the matter to Sir Gilbert, the King's chaplain, and asked for at least the names of the kings, but without success. Would His Majesty kindly send any annals, if they exist, or a list of the kings in order, and particularly the achievements of himself or his people for insertion in the work. Polydore has not the accomplishment or the erudition to adorn the narrative, but on the final revision the King will find that nothing of honour and renown has been omitted through stupid carelessness.

Subscribed *servulus Polidorus Vergilius Urbinas, archidiaconus Wellen.* H.

283. *Charles, Duke of Gueldres, to James IV, Zutphen, December 22, 1509.* N.L. 73; BRODIE, 279.

Rejoices to hear from his chaplain, Master Henry Wret, of his good health and prosperity. He has lately sent James a copy of the parts concerning himself in the treaty between the Emperor elect (*Cesarem Romanorum electum*) and the King of France, in which he was comprehended. This treaty has been kept with difficulty by himself and his subjects, but alas! they have suffered intolerable hurt through the invasion and violence of their adversaries, and since frequent invasions are not to be endured, he and his subjects are struggling to the limits of their strength against them, as the said Master Henry will explain more fully. Therefore asks James that, mindful of his cause, he should make it his own, and do something that would be most acceptable to him. May the Son of the Virgin guard him from all danger.



284. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, December 24, 1509.*  
N.L. 274 ; B.M. 112.

Recommends John Innys for the Cistercian Abbey of Deir, which James, the present abbot, proposes to resign.

285. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, [Edinburgh, December 24, 1509].* N.L. 275.

Is writing to the Pope requesting His Holiness to confer the Abbey of Deir on John Innes.

286. *John of Denmark to James IV, December 28, 1509.*  
W. i. 32 ; N.L. 9 ; BRODIE, 285.

John writes again, in case his letters describing the growing hostility of Lübeck have not been delivered. James probably knows of the outrages perpetrated by these men upon John's predecessors ; and now they have enlisted others to aid them. They entered Sweden with a strong force, and tried to rescind the new contract between John and the Swedes, invading and burning. John resorted to Holstein, counting upon aid from his brother. To show his desire for a judicial settlement he offered arbitration before the Archbishop of Lund, the Bishop of Röskilde, and the senates of Hamburg and of Lüneborg, with James or one the electors as oversman (*superintendens*). A meeting was arranged, but the Lübeckers did not deign to appear. Before going to Holstein he found that a compact between his brother and Lübeck deprived him of Frederick's aid. Eventually a truce was to be observed between the Duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, Stormaria and the men of Lübeck, John's realms excepted. James is to arrest Lübeck ships and goods, and to see that they get no better treatment in England. Any Scots prepared to waylay them have John's authority to appropriate the spoils and should begin operations with the summer. He desires to have the *Margaret* and three ships besides, manned and equipped

for war, at the Norwegian port of Marstrand by Easter, with directions to take orders from John or his son Christian (Cristiern). Andrew Barton and his brother<sup>1</sup> should have James's permission to operate during summer with their own ships: assistance from Scotland at this juncture is a matter of urgency.

[A letter to England (W. i. 45) on the same narrative, requests (1) a safe-conduct for John Gotskalek to Scotland, (2) English privateers on similar terms, (3) two or three ships equipped for war to be at Copenhagen immediately after Easter and to take orders from John or Christian. Henry VIII is reminded of his father's alliance with John.]

H.

287. *James IV to Julius II*, [c. December 1509].<sup>2</sup> N.L. 233 ; B.M. 122 ; R. 108 ; BRODIE, 299 *places end of December*.

The King's ancestors in Britain, while their rule was still extensive (*dum regnum ampliter tenerent*), founded and richly endowed many churches, among them the Benedictine monastery of Durham, now the seat of a famous bishopric, and other great monastic establishments which the English now hold. The Priory of Coldingham, a point on the border next to the English fortified town of Berwick, and occupied by Benedictines from Durham, threatened Scotland with plots and betrayals. A hundred and thirty years ago the Scottish Council decided for reasons of state that the priory should be attached to the Abbey of Dunfermline, that Scottish monks from that house should be sent and recalled at the abbot's discretion, and that the prior should be chosen from that convent and should be accountable to it. Latterly, however, the priory has ceased to be under the control of Dunfermline. It is vital for the realm that the prior should be trustworthy and powerful. Recently His

<sup>1</sup> John's writ of September 1510 (W., i, 35) grants to Robert Barton the spoils of his operations in that summer.

H.

<sup>2</sup> The archbishop's annates for Coldingham were paid on Feb. 23, 1509-10 (Brodie 3616). A letter from Rome on Jan. 17 refers to this request. (See No. 296.)

H.

Holiness gave Dunfermline *in commendam* to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the King's son. James asks that Coldingham, vacant by the death of John [Hume], the last prior, should be annexed to Dunfermline or given to the archbishop for life, with reservation of maintenance for the monks and for the burdens incumbent upon the place. It is not desirable that the archbishop as commendator of Dunfermline should find an ill-disposed prior at Coldingham or the King an enemy to the realm. H.

288. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh*, [1509]. N.L. 84; BRODIE, 302.<sup>1</sup>

David Mortuun, a merchant, of Scottish origin but living in Denmark, died two years ago, leaving two sons, Robert and Peter. A complaint has been made that Thomas Lummisden, an inhabitant of the town and port commonly called Copanhevyn, has seized almost the whole of their inheritance. James urges the King to attend to the case as quickly as possible, so that the goods may be restored without delay to the lawful heir. May the Most High Judge be his guide in all things.

289. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh*, [1509]. N.L. 287; BRODIE, 297.<sup>2</sup>

Begs that Damianus de Falcutiis having resolved to resign the Abbey of Tunland, it should be bestowed, after his resignation, on David, Bishop of Candida Casa, that by the exercise of pastoral care, he may reform the discipline and repair the ruins.

290. *James IV to Julius II*, [1509]. N.L. 288; BRODIE, 298.<sup>3</sup>

Damian de Falcutiis, formerly Abbot of Tunland, lately resigned his abbacy to the Pope. But a pension of 200 gold

<sup>1</sup> Places at end of 1509.

<sup>2</sup> Places at end of 1509.

<sup>3</sup> Places at end of 1509.

ducats, reserved to Damian from the revenues of the monastery, was by negligence or injustice not paid to him, although his procurators appealed to the bishop both before and after the resignation. Begs His Holiness to direct the payment to be made as arranged, lest Damian should be oppressed by poverty.

291. *James IV to Louis XII*, [1509]. N.L. 291; B.M. 114;  
R.H. 105.

Patrick Guffane, an indweller of Dieppe and by birth a Scot, is transacting business of James in France. The King asks Louis to protect and favour him, and to see that he is not impeded by any, treated with violence, or cheated.

H.

292. *James IV to John of Denmark, Stirling*, [1509].  
R.H. 115.

Last year Thomas Henrysoun, a Scottish subject, betook himself to Danzig in the way of trade and committed his goods from there to a ship of Danzig, Armaun Ronne master. She was taken by Danes. James is sure that John had no intention that Scots should be despoiled: he therefore requests that Henrysoun's losses be made good. H.

293. *James IV to [the Duke of Holstein, Holyrood, 1509]*.  
N.L. 304; BRODIE, 303.<sup>1</sup>

Received October 13 by the Chancellor and the Advocate his letters of August 31, requiring assistance for his Duchy of Holstein against Denmark. Is prevented by many great affairs from complying with his demands, but will not fail him when he has an opportunity. *Ex palatio*.

<sup>1</sup> Brodie places end of 1509.

294. *James IV to [Julius II] [1509 ?].* N.L. 272 ;  
BRODIE, 292.<sup>1</sup>

The King of France has told him that the Pope is not only preparing an expedition against the Infidel, but proposes to lead it himself, and to arm French soldiers for the purpose. Because Louis is suffering from gout and cannot easily undertake this task, he advises James to be ready in time. He himself, obedient to His Holiness, devotes himself entirely to this task, will follow, into whatever regions he summons him, and will gladly shed his last drop of blood in the cause of Christendom. Asks if the Pope means to attack the Turk next summer, so that his fleet may be got ready quickly, and furnished with masts and arms, preparations that are now being made negligently under slow-going workmen (*sub artifice cauto*), because the Pope has so far delayed James's visit to the Holy Sepulchre (*nobis prope sepulcrum invisere hactenus detulebat*). His Holiness should remember that James must come from the uttermost ends of the earth, which will make the undertaking difficult, as he will learn from his servant and ambassador, Thomas Halkerstoun, Provost of Crichton.

## 1510

295. *Julius II to Patrick Paniter, Bologna, January 1, 1509-10.* N.L. 32 ; BRODIE, 317.

Paniter has asked that if he has obtained or shall obtain a benefice to the holding of which the condition of being in priest's orders or of perpetual residence is attached, he may be excused the fulfilment of these conditions for a space of two years from the date of his obtaining the benefice. The dispensation is granted on condition that the accustomed charges on the benefice are met and that the cure of souls is not neglected. Signed Sigismundus.

<sup>1</sup> Brodie places at end of 1509 for convenience only, being unable to give definite date even for the year.

296. *The Cardinal of Volterra (Francis Soderini) to James IV, Rome, January 17, 1510-11.* N.L. 67; BRODIE, 338.

Sir Thomas Adie, his procurator in the Roman Curia, had informed him of James's wish that the Priory of Coldingham, in the diocese of St. Andrews should come into the hands of his son, the Archbishop-elect of St. Andrews. He straightway laid the supplication before the Pope, from whom the secret things (*condiciones archanaque*) of his kingdom are not hidden. The Pope answered that a fairer arrangement would be to give (*commendare*) it to the archbishop elect when it fell vacant, and that it had already been promised to him in that event.

297. *James IV to Charles, Duke of Gueldres, Edinburgh, [January], 1509-10.* N.L. 289; BRODIE, 356.

Received his letter by Henry Wood (Dec. 22, 1509) intimating that though he was included in the league of the Kings hostilities commenced against him, and that he would not submit to these injuries, but however hard-pressed, go to meet his fate. James desires to help him to the best of his power.

298. *James IV to Patrick Blackadder, Edinburgh, February 2, 1509-10.* R.S.S. i. 1998.

Protection and respite to Master Patrick Blackater, Archdeacon of Glasgow, to go to France 'to vesey the schulis, and to uthir partis beyond the sey for the doing of his erandis quhilkis he has thare ado.'

*Scots.*

299. *James IV to all Royal Officers, Edinburgh, February 20, 1509-10.* R.S.S. i. 2009.

Respites and 'frely galyis our lovit Colyn Canyart sumtyme dwelland in Flanderis' to come to Scotland and remain there to 'wirk in oure con3e.'

*Scots.*

300. *Julius II to James IV, Rome, February 24, 1509-10.*  
N.L. 34; B.M. 116; BRODIE, 372.

Announces the recovery for the Patrimony of St. Peter of the towns and places in the Romagna occupied by the Venetians. The Doge, Leonardo Loredano, sent six envoys of the highest rank to him, to ask humbly for pardon and absolution, wherefore Julius, considering that the Church never refuses to receive those who return to her in penitence, released the Doge, governors, and the whole people of Venice from all the censures and penalties contained in his decree monitorial, and restored them to the community of the Faithful, and to participation in the sacraments of the Church. This he has done all the more gladly because he is confident that the position and maritime strength of Venice will enable its Doge and people to render most valuable service to the cause of Christendom. Has decided to tell this to James, that he might understand that he had done nothing inconsistent with the duty of a good shepherd.

301. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, February 25,*  
1509-10. N.L. 245; BRODIE, 375.

James [Betoun], formerly Bishop of Candida Casa and the Chapel Royal, obtained many valuable privileges from His Holiness, especially the complete exemption of the Chapel Royal and the churches annexed to it from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and the grant of that jurisdiction to the King and his ministers (*nos nostrosque familiares*), and this at his personal request (*sua dumtaxat instantia*), without letters from the King. But the former reverend bishop, now the very reverend Archbishop of Glasgow, who strove to exalt the Chapel Royal when he was head of it, has now turned against it, and does not blush to impugn those privileges which he himself had obtained. Implores His Holiness to decree that the privileges granted to the Chapel Royal are to remain intact, to declare that any privilege that might have been granted at the personal request of the bishop, without letters from

the King, should stand firm and inviolate, and to impose a just silence on his adversary, who should not be displeased now with what pleased him before. Refers him for fuller information to his servant, Thomas Nudry.

302. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, February 25, 1509-10.* B.M. 118 ; BRODIE, 374.

To the same effect. Asks the Cardinal to use his influence to defeat Betoun's intention, and refers him to Thomas Nudry.

303. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 25, 1509-10.* B.M. 119 ; BRODIE, 376.

The Cardinal of St. Mark (*reverendissimus protector*) will inform him of certain matters submitted to him by Thomas Nudry, of James's household, whose cause, of the archdeaconry of Whithorn, the King commends to His Holiness.

304. *John Malyson, Edinburgh, April 6, 1510.* R.O., R.T., ser. 1, 52B, f. 428 ; BRODIE, 539.

John Malyson, Vicar of Stobo, in the diocese of Glasgow, creates James de Cortesius, *scriptor apostolicus*, Thomas Nudry, Archdeacon of Galloway, and Leonard de Bertinus, followers of the Roman Court, his proxies for the resignation of the vicarage.

Certified as authentic by John Jaksone, Vicar of Kippen, apostolic notary, who was present. July 24, 1510.

305. *Julius II, Rome, April 15, 1510.* R.O., R.T., ser. 1, no. 62(104) ; BRODIE, 431.

Certified that he has this day appointed John Innes, monk of the monastery of Deer in the diocese of Aberdeen, to be abbot of the said monastery, void by the resignation of Abbot James.



306. *Andrea Badoer to the Signory, London, April 20, 1510.*<sup>1</sup>  
SANUTO, x. 313 ; VEN. CAL., ii. 63 ; BRODIE, 434.

A Scots priest, the friend of King James, whom Badoer formerly knew as Scottish Ambassador to the King of England, has come from Scotland. He said that his King was the friend of the Signory ; Badoer rejoined that he was the friend of the King of France. The Scotsman asked about the death of the Signory's commander-in-chief, the Count of Pitigliano, and what annual stipend he received, saying that his King would be a good general. This priest had gone to Flanders, but would return speedily, and convey to Scotland briefs raising the excommunication. The priest said his King wished to come and see Venice. . . .  
*Italian.*

307. *Andrea Badoer to the Signory, London, April 30–May 11, 1510.*<sup>2</sup> SANUTO, x. 458 ; CAL. VEN. ii. no. 66.

Mentions the King of Scotland's wish to be the Signory's captain-general. He could bring 10,000 fighting men, and would come with 150 ships on pretence of going on a pilgrimage, and would, on completion of the undertaking, attack the Infidel, free of cost to the State. Badoer has arranged a secret conference with him on the Borders. . . .  
*Italian.*

308. *Andrea Badoer to the Signory, London, May 11, 1510.*<sup>3</sup>  
SANUTO, x. 459 ; VEN. CAL. ii. no. 66 ; BRODIE, 455.

. . . Again mentions for the captainship the King of Scots, who is a man of valour, and anxious to do himself honour. . . .  
*Italian.*

<sup>1</sup> Received in Venice May 14, 1510.

<sup>2</sup> Received in Venice May 25, 1510.

<sup>3</sup> Received in Venice May 29, 1510.

309. *John of Denmark, to James IV, Copenhagen, May 15, 1510; N.L. 13; BRODIE, 462.*

James's chaplain Henry has at last arrived saying that he had been instructed to find out what success John had had in his dealings with Lübeck. John sends him back along with Norge, King-of-Arms, to explain how his affairs are progressing. Henry has asked John to send letters to James favouring his suit for Longforgan (Langforgum). John therefore asks James to do his best to secure him in the undisturbed possession of this benefice.

310. *John of Denmark to Andrew Barton, Copenhagen, May 19, 1510; w. i. 43.*

John certifies that Andrew Barton reported the capture during the past summer in the Baltic of a merchantman laden with pepper and other commodities. Barton is acting in his service (*familiaris*) and has promised to take judgment before him. John requests that he should not be detained or molested by any one on the pretext of this ship.

Given under the signet.

H.

311. *James IV to —, Stirling, May 22, 1510.*  
R.S.S. i. 2070.

As the Abbot of Melrose has 'for the proffit of the place and plesoir of the King' agreed with his rival, Master David Brown, about his claim to the abbey, and as Brown has abandoned all his rights and claims, for which the abbot has paid him certain sums to reduce the tedious and costly pleas, the King takes the abbot, abbey lands and goods under his protection.

312. *James IV to Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, [c. May 1510]. N.L. 286; B.M. 115; R. 106; BRODIE, 484 places in May.*

Yesterday he received her letters of April 18 from Bruges, stating that Andreas Marrex, Arent de Bladel, and Eurax

Brachost, her merchants,<sup>1</sup> were on their way from England when they were plundered by pirates who said they were acting under Andrew and John Bertoun, and expressing surprise at the conduct of Scots, always on friendly terms with his people. She has delayed consent to the demand for reprisals in the hope of restitution. But the old relations of treaty and commerce have not been violated. John Bertoun, it is found, was not then at sea; and James learns that Andrew had his own ship, with no other in company. The Bertouns say they never saw the merchants in question. James will get to the bottom of the affair. If the injured parties prove their case, the justice which Scots expect from her courts shall be done. James is sure that she will not take drastic action on mere rumour, without cognition or pursuit in the Scottish courts. H.

313. *Henry VIII: Border Commission, Westminster, June 1, 1510.* RYMER, xiii, p. 276; BRODIE, 486 and 519(1).

Being studious to observe fully the Treaty of Perpetual Peace, and to repair any breach of it, he constitutes Sir Robert Drury and Sir Marmaduke Constable his ambassadors, with full powers to treat with the King of Scots, his ambassadors, deputies, or other representatives having sufficient power and authority, and with them to hear, discuss, settle, and terminate all disputes, all cases of theft, homicide, raids (*attemptatis*), losses and injuries, with power to exact compensation or to grant pardons, with powers also to survey, delimit and divide all the land and property called the 'Batable Land,' bordering on or within the kingdoms of England and Scotland, to establish boundaries and landmarks, and also to conceive and excogitate new ways, means and rules for repairing breaches of the Peace and Alliance, and for maintaining it. Grants them powers also to arrest, imprison, fine, and punish all rebels and contumacious persons, and, if necessary, to

<sup>1</sup> The National Library MS. (286) adds the name of Bartholomew Merchens. H.

hold an additional diet for the more speedy achievement of the purposes mentioned. Promises, on the word of a King, to accept *ratum et gratum*, anything that they may do in his name in carrying out this commission or any part of it.

314. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Stirling Castle, [June 21, 1510].* N.L. 277 ; BRODIE, 503 dates June 21.

He has written to the Pope asking that his Treasurer, George [Hepburn], Abbot of Arbroath, should succeed the late Bishop John as Bishop of the Isles and Commendator of Icolmkill, and that he should hold Arbroath *in commendam*. For the increase of his authority over his flock, and in recognition of his noble birth and dignified office, asks that he may be allowed to change the monastic for the episcopal habit. Is confident that the Cardinal will use his influence, which is very great, to secure this concession.

315. *James IV to Emanuel, King of Portugal, Glasgow, June 21, 1510.* N.L. 303 ; BRODIE, 504.

Received on June 12 from Edward Ferdinandi, who brought the pleasing news that his sovereign was in good health, his letters written on September 17, 1509. Thanks him for his declaration of friendship. Emanuel is astonished that certain Portuguese ships have been intercepted by his subjects and letters of reprisal granted, but he should remember that the dispute has dragged on for a long time, and the attack on his subjects was made, he believes, not by one vessel, but by the whole of the main Portuguese fleet, as the Senate of Burgundy had decided. All demands for restitution being fruitless, letters of reprisal were granted to his injured subjects by his father, but they were revoked by himself several years ago, to allow the matter to be settled in a friendly fashion rather than by force, till his subjects murmured against him, and complained that he forbade reprisals for their injuries. Therefore three years ago he sent a herald to Emanuel, who both delivered letters and explained the whole business, but he came back empty

(*vacuus*), with no definite reply. A short time ago a calumny started by the Portuguese compelled the exhibition of the letters of reprisal that had been given earlier, although if they had complained to James they would have found how highly he esteemed their sovereign. As requested in his letters, he revokes the reprisals for a year, trusting that the dispute will be settled in an amicable fashion. He sends as his representative Philip Gualteroti, a Florentine merchant living in Bruges, who has suffered no little loss from reprisals. Finally, hopes that the dispute will be settled within the year; if not, though he hates reprisals, he will use the weapons of the law (*legum presidia*), not wantonly, but under compulsion, in defence of his subjects. Everyone in Scotland is entitled to obtain justice, nor does anyone here ask in vain for a judge. *Ex civitate nostra Glasguen.*

316. *Margaret of Scotland to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, July 11, 1510.* W. i. 63; N.L. 229; B.M. 145.

His most welcome letters were delivered by the Danish King-of-Arms. She keeps James in mind of John's royal concerns and will always strive to do so, though it is not necessary, for he has them as much at heart as his own, and, if he had received timely notice, would have explained the issues (*exitus edocuisset*) clearly, as may perhaps hereafter be found. She is doing what she can in John's service.

Subscribed by Margaret.

H.

317. *James IV to the Lord of St. John's, Stirling, July 24, 1510.* R.S.S. i. 2015.

Respite to the Lord of St. John's, and 24 of his household, to pass to Rome and Rhodes.

318. *James IV to Maximilian, Emperor Elect, Stirling Castle, August 1, 1510.* N.L. 279; B.M. 132; R. 112; BRODIE, 547.

His Majesty's letters of April 6 from Augsburg reached James on July 15, informing him that the King of Denmark

has taken up arms against the men of Lübeck, faithful adherents of the Emperor, cut their communications with Sweden, and captured their merchantmen, so that they are forced to go over to the Danish side, and he himself is compelled by his position to reckon with the situation. He appealed to James for an effort to prevent injury to the Empire and persuade Denmark to accept the even-handed justice he was prepared to give. It has always been a primary object with James to respect the Imperial Majesty, cultivate friendship with good princes, and heal enmities; and he has never ceased from that course of action in the quarrel between his uncle of Denmark and Lübeck. He had an orator from Louis XII sent thither: more than once he himself despatched envoys to confer on a settlement. They stated that definite conditions had been reached: now the report is of failure and resort to arms. Which side had the better justification he does not yet know amid all the recriminations. To avoid a charge of partiality as a close kinsman he has not sent help, though he might have been excused for aiding an uncle and an ally to maintain his authority and defend his realm. Lübeck acts with too high a hand, and recently would seem to have closed the sea to the Scots, for which James thinks it will suffer. There are stories of torture, slaughter and drowning by the Lübeck fleet. He expects tidings of disaster, and is bound to succour his men. He does not cease to appeal to his uncle, who, however, replies that he offered to submit his cause in the proper quarter, but that the enemy is regardless of pact or oath. James will certainly consider His Majesty's interest, the honour of Denmark, and the common good. H.

319. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh,*  
[August 1, 1510]. N.L. 280; BRODIE, 548.

Has commended to the Pope and the Cardinal for the bishopric of Sodor or the Isles George, Abbot of Arbroath, and has also recommended that he should hold the Abbeys

of Arbroath and Iona *in commendam*, and that because of his noble birth, high office, and to avoid the contempt of the people of his diocese, he should be allowed to wear the episcopal habit. Once more asks the Cardinal to secure the concession, *ut supra* (i.e. August 1, 1510. N.L. 279).

320. *Louis XII to James IV, Blois, August [1510].*<sup>1</sup>  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Fonds Français,  
no. 5501, f. 373-5.<sup>2</sup>

Letter sent by Louis XII to the King of Scots to advise him of the hostile activities of the Pope, directed against himself and his temporal and spiritual power.

His kingdom and territories have never been subject to the Pope, who cannot interfere with them, and therefore the Pope and his predecessors have not been accustomed to provide to benefices, except in favour of those on whose behalf the King of France has already written, as is done in Scotland, and as his predecessors have always been careful to do. Nevertheless, he took the opportunity of securing recognition of this practice from Julius while he was still Cardinal, at the time of his election to the Papacy, as His Holiness has admitted.

Although by the treaty made by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Aragon, and himself, he was assigned lands and lordships which had for long belonged to the Venetians and other states, and over which the Papal See had no authority, yet His Holiness, in concert with the Venetians, with whom he had recently been at war, had invaded the lordship of Genoa by land and sea, in which lordship he had never had any rights, on the pretext that Louis had not been faithful to the agreements made between him and the people of the lordship of Genoa, which is an open question, and should not be a matter for complaint, and

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<sup>1</sup> Dated August 1509.

<sup>2</sup> Sixteenth-century copy.

whether it is a matter for complaint or not, should not be submitted to His Holiness.

What is more, His Holiness has recently exerted himself to break the alliance between Louis and the Swiss, that he may unite them to himself and the Venetians, and similarly to disturb and destroy the alliance and friendship between France and her other allies. He is also making war on the Duke of Ferrara on the subject of certain saltworks, which he claims to be his, and which the Duke maintains, belong to him, and are within the Empire.

With regard to ecclesiastical affairs, His Holiness wishes to dispose of the cathedrals, abbeys and the most important benefices in the kingdom, the patronage of which belongs to Louis according to the privileges of his kingdom and of the Gallican Church, without taking notice of several letters that Louis had written to him, wishing by these means to weaken the King's temporal and spiritual authority, which are things of great importance to all the kings and princes of Christendom, who would not wish His Holiness to act as he has done to Louis, which Louis thinks James for his part would not permit.

Louis has determined to take every good and reasonable measure possible to resist the activities of His Holiness. He proposes, for the protection of their liberties, to assemble the princes, lords, and notables of his kingdom, and has decided to invite James as his brother and ally, informing him at the same time of what will be discussed at the assembly. Will inform him also of the policy to be followed in such enterprises, letting it be known that the princes of Christendom maintain better justice, order, and policy in their kingdoms and territories than the Pope does in his temporal possessions and in the Church.

It seems to Louis that to counteract this fomenting of discords one should encourage peace and unity, as indeed one ought and can, and not those activities which completely pass the bounds of reason (*qui sont si deraisonnable que plus ne peut*).

Signed 'Loys.'

*French.*



321. *John of Denmark to James IV, by Robert Barton, Copenhagen, September 4, 1510. w. i. 39.*

John takes advantage of a reliable messenger. After Norge returned from Scotland, the men of Lübeck procured a force from the Hansa towns, notably Rostock, Stralsund, Lüneborg and Wismar, and invaded John's territory with fire and sword, inducing the Swedes to break their last compact. Some Swedes raided Skaane a few days ago, lost their leader, and took to flight. All this compels John to seek the largest number of troops and ships that James can send, the fleet to be at Copenhagen before Easter at latest and the size of the force to be intimated. H.

322. *John of Denmark to James IV, by Robert Barton, Copenhagen, September 4, 1510. w. i. 39.*

Deeply involved against Lübeck, John learns that Maximilian has forbidden the princes of Germany to assist him and has ordered them to support Lübeck, ignoring the fact that John was always ready to submit his case to these princes judicially or otherwise. Would James write at once to Louis XII and seek an appeal to Maximilian not to deprive John of his natural allies or support Lübeck, because John has never wronged the King of the Romans; and would he enable Louis to convince Maximilian of the undue provocation which Lübeck does not cease to offer. H.

323. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, September 20, 1510. R.S.S. i. 2128.*

Requests safe-conduct for Lord of St. John's and 16 persons.

324. *John of Denmark on behalf of Robert Barton, September 1510. w. i. 35.*

Declaration that the bearer, Robert Barton, has fought at sea this summer against the King's enemies, and has

captured ships and merchandise, and that all these actions have been authorised and ordered by the King.

325. *James IV to Louis XII*, [Autumn 1510]. N.L. 255 ; B.M. 107 ; R. 101 ; BRODIE, 584 *places Sept.* 1510.

George Halkerstoun, merchant of Edinburgh, is getting certain silver vessels of various designs made in Paris, and proposes to have them sent to Scotland. It is stated, however, that a public edict forbids the export of silver vessels beyond a specified weight. The vessels are made and James asks for the requisite licence irrespective of weight or size, the edict notwithstanding. H.

326. *James IV to John of Denmark*, [September 1510 ?] N.L. 214 ; BRODIE, 586.

Requests permission for Walter Paterson, inhabitant of the town of Leith, to go to any part of John's territories and buy any merchandise he wishes from his subjects, especially rye and flour and any other kind of foodstuff, and take it without hindrance back to Scotland.

327. *James IV to the Hanse Towns*, [September 1510 ?]. N.L. 379 ; BRODIE, 586.

Declares to all and sundry, and especially to the inhabitants of the Imperial Cities, commonly known as the Hanse Towns (*terrarum et civitatum Imperialium de Hansa vulgariter nuncupatarum*), and to his own magistrates and subjects that since he has granted, and by these presents grants, to Nicholas Matesoun, dwelling in the town of Stralsund (*Trasende*) permission to bring to Scotland foodstuffs, arms, and any kind of merchandise, he therefore exhorts them to take the said Nicholas into their favour, to encourage the inhabitants of their territories and towns to bring similar goods to Scotland, and to forbid any of

their people to injure the said Nicholas or any other merchants coming to Scotland, under pain of his royal displeasure, compensation for loss (*restitutionis damni*), and satisfaction of the injured parties. *Datum sub signeto nostro secretiore*.<sup>1</sup>

328. *James IV to Louis XII, [Autumn 1510] or 1507.*  
N.L. 198; B.M. 139; R. 117; BRODIE, 583 *places*  
*September 1510.*

A wet summer has played havoc with the crops in Scotland or made them exceptionally thin. Such corn as has grain is so diseased that the present year promises to be one of extreme dearth of bread unless supplies can be imported. James therefore applies to Louis as kinsman and traditional ally for written permission to George Halkerstoun to purchase two hundred bushels (*modios*) of wheat meal in France and assist James in the circumstances.

H.

329. *George, Abbot of Arbroath, to Puteolanus, Secretary to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, October 4, [1510].*  
N.L. 278; B.M. 113; BRODIE, 588.

The abbot had, on August 31, the secretary's letters given at Rome on August 10 and learned the difficulties regarding his promotion,<sup>2</sup> particularly in obtaining the episcopal habit. The secretary is not confident, as such a grant is unusual, but strenuous efforts and an open purse may procure the rochet (*rochetum vero cum summo labore et patula insuper bursa exorare spes est*). The abbot believed that the business would be entrusted to the Cardinal and was being solicited according to the King's second communication now sent. If he is not allowed to change his habit, he must accept the rochet with the monastic colour (*cum monachali colore*) as Thomas will inform him.

H.

<sup>1</sup> Calendared also under No. 487.

<sup>2</sup> George Hepburn was nominated for the bishopric of the Isles on June 21, 1510.

H.

330. *John of Denmark to James IV, Kalundborg, October 12, 1510.* w. i. 40.

Writing to James by George Bysemester and referring to his former letters by Robert Barton, John says that he expects heavier attacks next summer, and begs James to render all the aid in his power. He is to send men and ships to Copenhagen at the beginning of summer; and John is very anxious indeed to know upon what number he may confidently rely. H.

331. *James IV to Andrew Forman, Edinburgh, October 15, 1510.* B.M. 129; R. 110; BRODIE, 593.

The King gives licence by the present letters to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, commendator of Dryburgh, Pittenweem, and Cottingham<sup>1</sup> in England, to impetrate personally or by proxy, in or outwith the Roman court, any archbishopric bishopric or prelacy to be vacant in Scotland, raise bulls and executorials and commit the same for execution at his discretion, with power to impetrate any benefice to be vacant in Scotland for Master John Forman, precentor of Glasgow, as he sees fit and to the best advantage of the said John, and to order execution, without danger of accusation in terms of the statutes of Parliament or other provisions in the contrary.

Given under the privy seal and subscribed by James. H.

332. *James IV to the Marquis of Mantua, Edinburgh, October 22, 1510.*<sup>2</sup> B.M. 155; R. 128; CAL. VEN. ii. 85<sup>3</sup>; BRODIE, 598.

James was grieved to hear of his serious misfortune. It was said that the Venetians had refused redemption, but

<sup>1</sup> The 'Coldingham' of the text is a well-known blunder. H.

<sup>2</sup> The date is from the Venetian *Calendar*, ii, 85. H.

<sup>3</sup> Abstract of original letter, which was signed by James and counter-signed by Paniter.

the word is now that His Holiness has restored him to freedom, upon which he is to be congratulated. James has sent the Bishop of Moray in the cause of peace, and to reconcile Louis XII with Julius II and the Venetians. He would be glad to know what hope the marquis has of an expedition against the Infidel and to have him support the Scottish envoy. As a kinsman James felt a sympathetic regret at the way in which fortune treated the marquis.

H.

333. *James IV to [? the Cardinal of St. Mark], October, 1510.* B.M. 152 ; R. 125 ; BRODIE, 599.<sup>1</sup>

James sends in his interests Andrew, Bishop of Moray, commendator of Dryburgh, Pittenweem, and Cottingham in England, a man intimately acquainted with his policy and affairs. He is concerned with important Scottish business, and is an exceedingly successful diplomat, on his way to Julius II to obtain what James devoutly desires. He has instructions to communicate, and James recommends that he be consulted in order that his correspondent may show him favour and promote his mission. What he says in name of the King may be accepted.

H.

334. *James IV to Pope Julius II, Edinburgh, [October 1510].* N.L. 305 ; BRODIE, 600.<sup>2</sup>

James had acknowledged earlier the sending to his kingdom of an indulgence to those contributing to the building of the basilica of St. Peter and the appointment by the Pope of commissaries to administer it. The hospital of the B.V.M. in his burgh of Montrose in the diocese of Brechin, was founded by former kings for the benefit of the poor : the chapel of the B.V.M. at Fetteresso, famous for the number of miracles wrought there, is visited by multitudes of the faithful. He begs the Pope to grant an indulgence to those of the faithful visiting either place, so

<sup>1</sup> Dates October 22, 1510.

<sup>2</sup> Dates October 22, 1510.

that their salvation may be ensured and the poor more liberally provided for, as will be explained fully by his ambassador, the Bishop of Moray.

335. *Dr. Leonardus Bartinis, Scriptor Apostolicus, to Patrick Paniter, Rome, December 9, 1510. N.L. 7; BRODIE, 638.*

Lately sent him certain letters, with a confessional, to Sir David Spens, Rector of Flisk; now he sends other letters for the same David, and another confessional. Asks him to see that they come into the hands of the said David. Has written about those thirty ducats of his. Asks Paniter to interest himself in his case. Robert Brown, who is making a prolonged stay in Rome, has spent twenty ducats in gold of the Camera, belonging to himself, on behalf of David Brown, in the suit about the monastery of Marros, and had shown the greatest energy in his kinsman's cause, in the hope that if the suit were successful the money would be repaid, and that he would get some reward for his labour. But although this David had often been asked, he always insisted that there was no agreement, and that he showed him the same gratitude that he showed to every one else. It is a notorious fact that he has already made an agreement with the abbot, and has received benefices and money. It would be good for him to think that he will die sometime or other, and not to treat all men in the same fashion. Robert is a good man, and it is a pity that his money and exertions should be wasted in this way. Asks of his own accord that Paniter should insist on David paying his debt to Robert. If [David] refuses him, remember that he is bound to Bartinis for one hundred ducats in the event of an agreement being made, and he does not believe that the general discharge which he effected through Thomas Nudry protects him both because there had been no agreement at the time of the discharge, and because the discharge could not cover something that was not intended.

336. *Andrea de Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Blois, December 21, 1510.*<sup>1</sup> *Lettres de Louis XII*, ii. p. 84 ; BRODIE, 645.

There has arrived an ambassador of the King of Scotland, a bishop, who has been well received in Blois, and has been despatched and goes to Rome to see the Pope. The King of Scotland is eager for a firm union of the princes of Christendom and for war against the Infidels, and if the Pope will not do his duty, he will be ready, with the Emperor and the King of France, to challenge him (*l'interpeller*) before the Council.

*French.*

337. *Andrew Forman to Louis XII [Blois, December —, 1510].* Flodden Papers, pp. 6-10. James IV's Requirements for his Crusade.

338. *James IV. to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, [1510 ?].*  
N.L. 230 ; B.M. 97 ; R. 98 ; BRODIE, 1542.<sup>2</sup>

James is very grateful for the permission given to John Mathieson to select horses and procure anchors and ropes. On the strength of Ferdinand's letters he authorised Mathieson to publish the indulgence of St. James of Compostella anywhere in Scotland, although there had been a strong rumour there of indulgences for the building of St. Peter's in Rome. This detained Mathieson at home, and prevented him from procuring horses in Spain. Would Ferdinand renew permission to the officer who is the bearer

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of passage from a long letter (*Lettres II*, pp. 81-85). This information is repeated in a second letter, December 29, 1510, with the addition that Forman professes to be acting on behalf of both James and Henry, and that James wishes to command the fleet. (*Le Glay : Negoc. entre la France et L'Autriche*, i, 373.) H.

<sup>2</sup> Places end of December 1512.

to obtain at least a dozen horses of whatever sort, and among them some mares : James will be ready to oblige if Ferdinand desires Scottish horses, hunting dogs, or anything that the realm has to offer. H.

339. *Patrick Paniter to Augustine Camynade* [December 1510]. R.H. 127 ; B.M. 143<sup>1</sup> ; N.L. 205 ; BRODIE, 663.<sup>2</sup>

Augustine bitterly deplores his ill-fortune, and hates this ancient kingdom that has been an unkind mother to him. His adversary boasts that as soon as he appeared Augustine was ejected from the court *ac triennium sibi perpetuum supra vota impensum*. The remainder of that sort behave so shamelessly that the writer thinks them not worth a reply. Since he had specially assisted, and had heard gleefully how much the writer had done for him he should judge the matter by the speech [of the writer on his behalf] (*orationem ipse dijudica qui et proprius astiteras et quanti fecerim exultans audieras*). Thinks that he should endure patiently his having to return a second time in vain. He is asking a great deal. The case remains exactly as it was and will probably be decided in favour of their merchant (*Nunc ut olim res integra est et in eam partem futura ubi noster steterit mercator*). If the city decides against him it is certainly acting unjustly and making a serious mistake, nor can they expect thanks in his country (*istic*) who give an unwise decision against its advocate.

340. *James IV to Dominic de Balisquis*,<sup>3</sup> *Constable of Spain*, [1510 ?]. N.L. 253 ; R.H. 95 ; BRODIE, 1543.<sup>4</sup>

James obtained permission from the Prince of Castile and Aragon and King of Sicily to procure horses, but he

<sup>1</sup> Brodie points out that the transcriber of B.M. 143, in a note, expresses his suspicion of the accuracy of the original.

<sup>2</sup> Places in December 1510.

<sup>3</sup> Velasco

<sup>4</sup> Places end of December 1512.



has not used the licence until now because the bearer, Andrew Matheson, was preoccupied over the indulgences of St. James in Compostella (*sancti Jacobi in Compostella indulgentias in hoc regno pie movens* [*? premovens*] *steterat occupatus*). Meanwhile the King has sent men to present in his name three Scottish hackneys (*gradarios equos*) for trial [the text becomes corrupt and the remainder is unintelligible].

H.

341. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [1510].<sup>1</sup>

B.M. 138 ; BRODIE, 655.

Gilbert Edmonstoun, husband of Elizabeth Craufurde, was godfather to the child of Robert Bertoun and Elizabeth Jamesoun, his wife, and the same Elizabeth, wife of Robert, was in her turn godmother to a child of the said Gilbert and Elizabeth. After the death of Gilbert and Elizabeth (*de morbo sublatis*), Robert and the aforesaid Elizabeth Craufurde duly contracted matrimony. But since there is grave doubt whether they can be lawfully married, and to separate them for ever would cause grievous mischief, they implore the Papal Court to grant them absolution and a dispensation, which James is confident the Cardinal will procure.

342. *Patrick Paniter to the Senate of Middelburg*, [1510].

B.M. 141 ; BRODIE, 662.

He has informed the King of the matters complained of in their letters and in those of Augustine. Their opponent, with the hope of prevailing through the support of many people and the strength of a long-established connection (*antiqua necessitudine*) has submitted articles making generous concessions, and strives for success by making

<sup>1</sup> See No. 148 for corresponding letter to Pope.

the most liberal promises. He therefore advises the Senators, if they are in earnest, to strive by deeds (*effectu*) rather than by words, and proceed in the way that will be most honourable to both parties, as they will be advised fully by James Merchemstoun, who supports them to the utmost of his power. They are to look on Paniter as one of their own townsmen (*istius oppidi inquilinus*) who will do his duty in guarding their interests.

343. *James IV to Julius II*, [1510]. B.M. 156.  
BRODIE, 654.

Writes that the Pope may reserve to Sir John Dinguell, clerk of Moray, for his great and devoted services to himself (*magno et assiduo apud nos servitio versato*), all benefices within his kingdom in the gift of archbishops, bishops, and others, and also of the Cistercians—even if specially reserved (*extra tamen Romanam curiam*), that might fall vacant on the first of any month (*quovis mense primo vacatura*).

344. [*James IV to Ludovicus Puteolanus*], [1510 ?].  
N.L. 292 ; BRODIE, 656.

He is to learn from the Cardinal of St. Mark if the Abbey of Glenluce has been resigned in the Cardinal's favour. Robert, the present Abbot, disregarding the King's letters, took steps to have it granted to him *in commendam* along with Melrose, but said that he would resign it to the Cardinal at the King's command. He wonders that the Cardinal has made no mention of it in his letters. He cannot believe that the abbot would disregard his orders. Wishes this trifling gift to the Protector of Scotland to be taken not as a full reward, but only as a souvenir. Asks him to bring the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of St. Andrews to the notice of the Cardinal, and begs that nothing be done to the prejudice of the Chapel Royal or the bishopric of St. Andrews.

345. *Louis XII to de la Mothe* [1510 ?].  
Flodden Papers, pp. 4-6.

Instructions as to what he is to say to the King of Scots regarding his Crusade.

*French.*

## 1511

346. *Julius II to James IV, Bologna, January 30, 1511.*  
N.L. 8 ; BRODIE, 668.

Persuaded by the merits and virtues attributed, on reliable authority, to Patrick Paniter, clerk of the diocese of Brechin, and the King's principal secretary, he has lately commended to him the Preceptory of Torphichen, of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in the diocese of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of the late Sir William Knollys who died outwith the Roman Curia, as is fully contained in other of his letters *sub bulla plumbea*.

Given at Bologna under the Fisherman's ring *die penultimo Januarii millesimo ducentesimo* (sic) *decimo primo, Pontificat, nostri anno octavo.*

347. *James IV to [the Duke of Albany], Edinburgh*  
[February 5, 1511]. B.M. 153 ; BRODIE, 688.

Knowing his authority in the affairs of princes and his political sagacity (*rerum prudentia*) writes to him to favour, advise, give credence to, and assist, the Bishop of Moray, his permanent ambassador in those parts.

348. *James IV to the Prior General of the Dominican Order,*  
[January 1511 ?]. N.L. 297.

Acknowledges letters written in Rome (*Alma Urbe*) on January 21, and delivered to him by Nicholas Lotanallus, Florentius de Lebennay and Nicholas Gomor, deputies, according to their own account, of the Vicar-General of Holland, whom James was asked to aid and protect in

performing their task as commissioners in Scotland of taking the necessary measures to reform the discipline of a decayed religious order, as is fully declared in the letters. It should be known that nothing was dearer to his ancestors than religion and whatever pertains to it. Nevertheless, for his sake he received the so-called commissioners, and gave them letters authorising them to hold a conference with the Provincial of Scotland and the Prior of the Province (*comitatu*) of Aberdeen, and reform their errors. Hemmed in by a hostile crowd of lay folks, they made their way, not without disturbance, to the residence of the Provincial. The rioting did not stop even in the church (*nec ante aras furor parvum est*). The King referred the dispute to the prelates of the kingdom; concord was again established, and a meeting arranged. But a dispute arose between the commissioners and the Provincial, as a result of which they tried to deprive him of his office, although he had done a great deal of good, and like a mighty athlete had won back and augmented the rights, possessions, and revenues of the order, although he comes of a noble family and suffers a special kind of ignominy through the loss of his office—a thing that has never before been known in this kingdom.

349. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 5,*  
1510-11. N.L. 36; BRODIE, 684.

James has sent Andrew, Bishop of Moray, to the King of France, that he may do his duty as a son to the Pope, and to the Pope, that he may behave like a gracious father to the King. He believes that the bishop has already told him how he had fared with the King. Yet, lest the Christian Commonwealth should suffer any harm, he has asked Louis to send James (*sic*) Duke of Albany, his uncle, as an ambassador to Julius. He prays the Pope to act like the shepherd of his flock, so that the most Christian soldier may attack not him, but the faithless enemies of Christ.

350. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 5, 1510-11.*  
N.L. 38 ; BRODIE, 685.

James had sent Andrew, Bishop of Moray, to the King of France, to urge him, by obedience to the Pope, to make good his right to the name 'Most Christian.' This ambassador is new at the Papal Court. He has had much experience and success in conducting long and arduous negotiations with princes. James heartily commends him as one upon whom privilege may be fittingly bestowed, and whose statements about the public and private affairs of the kingdom should be taken as if they came from James himself.

351. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, [February 5, 1510-11].* N.L. 307 ; BRODIE, 686.

Has sent the Bishop of Moray to the King of France, to whom he is bound closely as an ally and a kinsman, that he might persuade him to do his duty to the Holy See, by behaving like a son to the Vicar of Christ, and he begs the Pope to be a gracious father to him. But he believes that his ambassador has already told His Holiness the result of his conversations with the King.

Lest Christendom should again suffer harm, he has persuaded King Louis to send his uncle, the Duke of Albany, to His Holiness, so that a prolongation of the dispute may not lead to a breach in the unity of Christendom, but that instead the disputants now accept the just conditions which each had refused. Therefore asks His Holiness that, as befits a good shepherd, he should care for even a sick lamb, and should divert the enmity of Louis (*Cristianissimum militem*) from himself to the Infidel, a marvel which will happen only if His Holiness commends that policy of which he will hear from the Duke of Albany, speaking in James's name, and also from the Bishop of Moray.

352. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], Edinburgh, February 5, 1510-11.* N.L. 40 ; BRODIE, 687.

He sent Andrew, Bishop of Moray, abroad lately to deal with matters concerning him. He has instructions for the Cardinal, who is asked to promote the business entrusted to him and to take what he may say as proceeding from the King's own mouth.

353. *James IV to the Marquis of Mantua, [Edinburgh, February 5, 1510-11].* N.L. 309 ; BRODIE, 689.

Greets the Captain of the Forces of the Church (*Militantis ecclesie capitaneo*). Sent letters to him earlier by the Bishop of Moray, who is now with the Pope. Desires him to use his influence, which is very great, in favour of his ambassador, reposing as much confidence in him in both public and private matters as he would in James himself, and aiding him in his attempt to reconcile the King of France with the Pope, so that the soldier of Christ may take up arms against the perfidious enemies of Christ.

354. *James IV to the Duke of Savoy, Edinburgh, February 5, 1510-11.* N.L. 308 ; BRODIE, 691.

Believes that Pope Julius had been anxious for a crusade ever since his accession. Has heard that the King of France is of the same mind as was the late King of England as long as he lived. He himself had resolved to follow so famous leaders, and he knew that the Duke had the same intention. But a new dispute has thrown everything into confusion. It is the duty of Christian princes to maintain the peace and reconcile the King of France to the Pope. Has sent the Bishop of Moray as his ambassador. His cousin, the Duke of Albany, is on the same mission (*eodem obligatur*). He commends both to the Duke.

355. *James IV to Maximilian, Emperor-elect, Edinburgh, February 5, 1510-11.* N.L. 35 ; B.M. 151 ; R. 124 ; BRODIE, 690.

James is fully aware of His Majesty's purposed expedition against the Infidel, which he has understood that Julius II contemplated from the outset of his reign. Louis XII was agreeable, and Henry VII, while he lived, supported the design. Following such leaders, James is a devoted adherent to the cause of Christendom. Alas, differences have arisen to alienate Louis from Julius ; and now those who should have promoted Maximilian's expedition are about to attack one another unless God in pity reconcile head and members, shepherd and flock. Maximilian has a special function of appeasement, to bring home to Louis his duty to the Apostolic See, to urge upon Julius a gracious regard for his sons, that Christian arms may be turned against the foes of Christ. Though James has sent to this end the Bishop of Moray, commendator of Dryburgh, Pittenweem, and Cottingham in England, yet he has thought it not inapposite that his cousin, the Duke of Albany, should be despatched to strive after a settlement under Maximilian's auspices. Would Maximilian interest himself in a matter vital to all and receive the Scottish orators on behalf of James. H.

356. *James IV to the King of Hungary, Edinburgh, February 7, 1510-11.* N.L. 39 ; BRODIE, 694.

James has heard that he wished to take part in a Crusade against the enemies of Christ, which he learned, had been favoured also by the present Pope, the King of France, and the late King of England. He, too, had meant to follow so great leaders. But a dispute had arisen between the Pope and the King of France, and those who should have organised the crusade would now fly at each other, unless the high God, taking pity on their plight, reconciled the head to the members, and the shepherd to the flock. It was the duty of the King of Hungary to act as mediator,

to bring back the King of France to his duty to the Apostolic See, and persuade the Holy Father to be gracious to his son. He has sent Andrew, Bishop of Moray, as ambassador for that purpose, and also his uncle, the Duke of Albany. He hopes that the whole dispute will be settled easily through the King's influence, and begs him to devote his mind to furthering the common safety and to give credence to his ambassadors.

357. *James IV to a Cardinal, Edinburgh, February 9, 1510-11.* N.L. 41; BRODIE, 697.

He asks him to assist and favour Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and promises him such recompense as is in his power.

*Latin copy headed 'Duae speciales litterae ad cardinales maiores,' and ending with 'Ad collegium Cardinalium.'*

358. *James IV to a Cardinal, Edinburgh, [February 9, 1510-11].* N.L. 306; BRODIE, 697.

An abbreviated and undated version of the above.

359. *James IV to the Cardinals, Edinburgh, February 12, 1510-11.* N.L. 42; B.M. 154; R. 126.

James refers to the project of an expedition against the Infidel and to the unhappy dissension between Louis XII and Julius II.<sup>1</sup> The cardinals are called to use their high influence in the cause of Christendom, bring Louis to do his duty to the Apostolic See and urge His Holiness to show favour towards a son. Andrew, Bishop of Moray, goes to Louis and then to Julius. He will state the intention of James to do all in his power. He is intimately acquainted

<sup>1</sup> In the same terms as in the letter to Maximilian. The whole letter follows similar lines. The date is given by a copy in the National Library MS.



with counsels of state and has proved to be a successful diplomat. James begs the cardinals to use their wisdom and sense of justice for peace and the unity of Christendom against the Infidel.

H.

360. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Edinburgh, February, 12, 1510-11.* N.L. 294; N.L. 361; B.M. 130; BRODIE, 701.

The Holy See gave his ancestors an indulgence for eight months so that he could commend to the Pope and the College of Cardinals suitable persons for vacant benefices, who were straightway provided. The Cardinal knows that it has been his custom heretofore to write only about a specific benefice actually vacant, and not about benefices in general to be vacant in the future. Therefore asks him to give credence to no letters except his own special letters, dealing with a specific benefice, written in Latin sealed with his accustomed signet, and duly countersigned by his secretary. Any others, granted as a result of impurity or through negligence, he should reject.

361. *Louis XII to Andrew Forman, [Blois], February, 1510-11.* Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 110, 111; BRODIE, 708.

Has received his letters, and has heard what he had told the bearer to say, as well as what the bearer had said in his favour, from which he becomes more and more assured of his eagerness for peace, and for a good, holy, and profitable expedition against the Infidels. Forman can see clearly, from the conversations that he has had with Louis, that he has always wished to live in complete peace and amity with the Pope, and that it is not his fault that the differences that have arisen between them have not been settled. Louis will continue to work for concord, and to make any reasonable concession compatible with his honour and his engagements to the Emperor, without whom he cannot make any treaty. He has sent the

Bishop of Paris to Mantua (*Mantoue*) to meet the Bishop of Gurce,<sup>1</sup> who he has been informed is there, and in concert with him enter on negotiations for the peace with the ambassadors of the other princes who are concerned (*à qui le fait touche*). Thinks, therefore, that Forman should go there to give his help, since neither he nor the Emperor can do anything without the participation of the other. To show his goodwill to Forman, he has written to the Bishop of Paris instructing him to inform Forman on his arrival in Mantua of the state of the negotiations for peace, since he has complete confidence in him, and since, as he has always told Forman, he is a lover of peace. He does not like this dispute with the Pope, at whose hands he has suffered to the limit of his endurance. It is with the greatest regret that he has done what Forman sees him do ; it is solely for the preservation of the honour of France and her allies (*et faire ce que vous voyez, le tout pour la conservation de mon honneur, de mes estats, et celluy de mes amys*).

*French.*

362. *Julius II to Louis XII, Rome, [March 1511].*<sup>2</sup>

*Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 114-16 ; BRODIE, 748.*

Articles sent by the Scottish ambassador [Forman].

(1) Louis to withdraw his protection from the Duke of Ferrara, as he was bound to withhold his protection from any contumacious papal vassal. (2) Proposal of Bishop of Nice (*Niciensis*) to be adopted, that if the Pope is to make peace and spare the Duke of Ferrara, Louis must compensate the Pope for the expense that he has incurred because of the Duke. (3) Both Louis and the Duke must surrender the papal territories which they have acquired. (4) If this does not please Louis, he is to convey his own proposals

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gorz, near Trieste.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 1510 in *Lettres* ; Brodie places at end of April 1511. Described more fully in endorsement 'Memoir of articles sent to France by the Scottish ambassador with Pope Julius II, for peace between the Pope and Louis XII.'

to the ambassador, for submission to the Pope. The ambassador will assure him that he hopes for a good peace, because he knows that the Pope is disposed to be friendly to him. (5) The ambassador (*dominatio vestra*) must not forget to tell Louis in writing that it is his duty to be on good terms with the Pope, that he will certainly have a son, and that the Pope is willing to ask God for this. (6) Louis should allow a crusade to be proclaimed in his kingdom and other dominions in aid of the Christian princes wishing to proceed against the Turk, and especially in aid of the King of Scots, who now appears fully prepared for this holy enterprise. (7) Louis should allow the Pope to institute proceedings for the recovery of the annates and other payments extorted by him in his lifetime.

363. *The Bishop of Gurce to Andrea da Borgo, Parma, May 2, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 205-6; BRODIE, 753.

Informs Andrea da Borgo of the breakdown of peace negotiations with the Pope, of his departure from Bologna with the Bishop of Paris and the Scots ambassador, and of his intention of returning to the Emperor.

The Bishop of Paris came with him from Modena (*ex Mutina*), and because they were followed by the Scots ambassador, coming from Bologna, who asked them to wait here because he had some not unpleasing news to give them, they waited and heard the ambassador yesterday, but as what he brought was of little weight (*absque fundamento magno*) they are leaving to-day.

364. *Etienne de Poncher, Bishop of Paris, to Louis XII, Piacenza, May 3, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 206-8.

Writes for further instructions. Has received letters written by Louis on April 29 and 30, has delivered to the Bishop of Gurce a letter written by Louis, and has also, in accordance with the King's wishes, written him a cordial

letters of thanks. He remains here two or three days longer, waiting for news of the Scottish ambassador, and also, at his suggestion, to keep in touch with the Bishop of Gurce, who is not far away. Asks if, in the event of the Pope's being willing to agree to what he (Poncher) had said to the Scottish ambassador regarding peace with Ferrara, and also to what the Bishop of Gurce had said regarding the peace with Venice, Louis would desire him to go to the Pope to conclude the negotiations for the peace with Ferrara. Thinks that the Bishop of Gurce would gladly go back to the Pope, if Julius would grant what he had said to the Scottish ambassador he would. If the Bishop refused to go, Poncher would, if Louis desired it, go alone. Doesn't have any great hope of the Scottish ambassador getting any concession out of the Pope about the peace. Will stay here till Tuesday, as he has promised the Scottish ambassador and the Bishop of Gurce.

The Scottish ambassador informed him that the Pope had told him that he had not sent the Bishop of Ventimiglia to Genoa to make trouble, but he admitted that he knew that he had gone there for that purpose. He was glad of it, because it would withdraw the French troops from Ferrara.

*French.*

365. *Andrew Forman to the Bishop of Paris, Bologna, at 10 a.m., May 5, 1511. Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 219-21; BRODIE, 756.*

Thanks him for his warm welcome at Parma. On Saturday, May 3, at twenty-two o'clock, he found himself in the presence of the Pope, who received him most kindly and listened to him attentively for two hours and more. He submitted to the Pope the articles which had been drawn up in the presence of the Bishop of Gurce and his correspondent. After the Pope had listened to them carefully, he said that at the arrival of the Bishop of Paris the whole business would be settled (*le tout se appointeroit bien*)

and that at least he would not be to blame, and that he would be glad if a settlement, consistent with his honour and that of the Papacy, should be found for the questions of the Comacchio saltworks, his expenditure, and other matters contained in the memorials. He said that when the Bishop came, he would tell him several things to the honour and profit of Louis, which ought to please the King, and asked him to bring the Count of Carpy with him, who Forman has heard is a supporter (*bon serviteur*) of the King. Does not see how his coming cannot be useful, and therefore thinks that he should come at once; assures him that the Pope has told him that he wishes a good peace with the King, and that the Bishop of Paris is extremely eager (*tient tousjours la main*) for it, and it is not a small thing to have him for a friend at the Papal Court. The Pope also told him that the bishop would be welcome, and promised to receive him with honour and good cheer. He writes the very words that the Pope used; the Bishop can be trusted to do what seems best in the circumstances (*vous estes bon & saige pour y faire selon qu'il vous semblera*). He should warn Forman of his coming, so that he can meet him and accompany him, and should also tell him how many horses he wants. There is no one here who does not want him to come; the Bishop of Nantes has written to him to the same effect. With regard to the business of Ferrara, he has told the Pope what the bishop told him—that nothing will induce Louis to withhold his protection. So the Pope has been told everything. With regard to the affairs of the Empire, he thinks that if Poncher speaks of them to the Pope, he will effect as much as the Bishop of Gurce would have done if he had been there. As the disputes between the Pope and Louis will be settled, nothing else can go wrong. He has sent off this letter at the earliest possible moment (*à toute diligence*).

*French.*

366. *Louis XII to Andrew Forman [Abbey of St. Cher]*,<sup>1</sup>  
May 6, 1511. *Lettres de Louis XII*, ii. pp. 221-22 ;  
BRODIE, 758.

Thanks him for his letters and for the pains that he has taken to do him service. It is not his fault that a good peace has not been made in Christendom and the armies which are in it now turned against the Infidels. The Pope has always, as he must have seen, refused not only to hear, but even to receive the Bishop of Paris as his ambassador ; therefore Louis is certain that if the Bishop goes now, he will bring back only words. So far there has been only trickery, no opening of negotiations for the aforesaid peace. He is therefore constrained, to his great regret, to do the best that he can [for himself], as Forman will hear more openly from the Bishop of Paris.

*French.*

367. *Louis XII to the Bishop of Paris, St. Cher, May 6,*  
1511. *Lettres de Louis XII*, ii. p. 223.

Has read his letter reporting the account given by the Scottish ambassador to the Bishop of Gurce and himself of his interview with the Pope, and the answers that he had given to Forman. Approves of the decision of the Bishop of Gurce to go back to the Emperor by short stages and of his own decision to stay at Piacenza. Believes with Poncher that the Pope's speeches are meant only to deceive and amuse. Nevertheless, that he may leave no part of his duty undone, Louis instructs Poncher and the Bishop of Gurce, if they believe the Scottish ambassador's story that there is a sure prospect of a good and honest peace, and if they think that they should, either in company or separately, have an audience with the Pope to do as they think fit.

*French.*

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<sup>1</sup> Brodie points out that the accompanying letter to the Bishop of Paris (*Lettres*, ii, 223) is dated at the Abbey of Saint Cher, May 6.

368. *Julius II to James IV, Bologna, May 6, 1511*

B.M. 180 ; R. 138 ; BRODIE, 760.

The King's letters had aroused high expectations of his orator, the Bishop of Moray ; but after he arrived and began to deal with the King's business and that of the Apostolic See, he made a far stronger impression. His trustworthiness, wisdom, diligence, and ability have been most satisfactory and point to a much more distinguished position. In deference to the King's desire, for the honour of Scotland, and on account of the bishop's personal merits, Julius has decided to make him a cardinal at the next creation, an intention which he has considered it his paternal office to indicate hereby.

Given under the fisherman's ring.

H.

369. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Côte St. André, May 17, 1511. Lettres de Louis XII, ii. p. 227.*

The latest news is that the King will in no wise consent that the Bishop of Paris should go to the Pope, as the Scottish ambassador wished him to do, since there was nothing but deceit in the whole business.

*French.*

370. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, May 21, 1511.*

B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 26 ; BRODIE, 773A.

Requests safe conduct for Andrew, Bishop of Moray, now beyond sea for treating of universal peace, with 100 'servi-touris,' to pass and repass at pleasure.

*Scots.*

371. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Grenoble, May 31, 1511. Lettres de Louis XII, ii. p. 250.*

(In the course of a long news-letter, pp. 247-53, reporting victory of French forces over those of Pope and Venice.)

<sup>1</sup> Passage from a long news-letter (*Lettres*, ii, pp. 224-31).

At the moment the King seems inclined to peace with the Pope, but on condition that he approves of the Emperor abiding by the Treaty of Cambrai. This was the King's reply to the Scottish ambassador, whom the Pope sent here with a very friendly letter. The ambassador alleges that the Pope will abandon the Venetians, but that he refuses to help the Emperor against them.

*French.*

372. *Maximilian to James IV, [May 1511].* N.L. 333 ;  
BRODIE, 783 *places in May 1511.*

Hoped to have better news than that which he is about to communicate to his brother and kinsman, namely, that he has been compelled to renew the war in Italy against the Venetians, with the resultant fire, slaughter, and other inconveniences of war, with a very great shedding of Christian blood, into which he, who desired rather to turn his forces against the Infidel, had been dragged against his will by those enemies of himself and the Pope for the recovery of his goods and his rights. That James may understand clearly the cause and origin of the whole business, the story must be told somewhat more fully. James knows with what insolence the Venetians have already advanced over the whole world, oppressing unduly whomsoever they could and sowing discord between Christian princes and potentates. Besides these lands which they occupied aforetime, they have, in the time of the present Pope, treacherously seized Rimini and Faenza, and certain other towns and territories, in such a fashion that even they were ashamed, and restored a part, though only a small one, of the spoil. Therefore at the instance of the Pope, he, as protector of Holy Church, exhorted and commanded them to restore their plunder, but neither by letters nor by ambassadors, even though they were princes and his own kinsmen, and cardinals, sent for this purpose to Venice could he persuade them to be content with their own territory, since they were excited overmuch



by the lust for conquest. Finally, heaping evil upon evil, they refused to allow him to pass to Rome for his coronation, though there was no way except through their territories, barred his passage by armed force, and killed many of his followers. In addition, they attacked other places which his subjects had occupied for a long time, and took them from him by force or fraud. In spite of so many and so great injuries, he consented to enter into a three years' truce with them, which they shamelessly broke not once, but many times. In the meantime he was asked by the Pope, along with the Kings of France and England, and, as he thinks, the King of Scots, to look to the safety of the Church, and he therefore entered into a league in the imperial city of Cambrai with the Kings of France and Aragon, which all other princes, especially the King of Scots, were free to join, for the recovery of the territory occupied by the Venetians, and then for an expedition against the Infidel, to which the condition was annexed that none of the parties should withdraw from the alliance until each had recovered what he sought. When hostilities began the Venetians were routed with great slaughter by the French, and lost what they had treacherously acquired. He recovered something from the Venetians, but barely a third of what had belonged to him, therefore he entered Italy to arrange matters and to recover what rightfully belonged to him, so that he would then be able to embark on a crusade, as had been agreed. That he might not be a burden to the province he entered it with the smallest possible force, but the Pope, who so far had favoured the league, forgetting his promises, began to plan the expulsion from Italy of the allies, to all of whom he gave the common name 'barbarian.' Therefore he withdrew his army, admitted to his presence the ambassadors of the Venetians, whom he had excommunicated and anathematised a little earlier, and whom he had promised through Constantius Comminatus, Duke of Achaia, never to pardon unless they made full restitution, showing them favour, and consulting with them about the expulsion of 'the barbarians'—Maximilian and the other allies.

Seizing the opportunity, the Venetians, who had abandoned Padua, occupied it afresh, carried off the leading citizens to Venetian prisons, and hanged four of the most important of these innocent and respectable old men, just as the Jews fixed our Saviour Christ, innocent as he was, on the Cross; others they tormented in a filthy prison, and amongst them thrust women and children, sparing neither age nor sex. In an attempt to break up the league, the Pope first made liberal offers to Maximilian if he would abandon the King of France, and join him in driving King Louis from Italy. When he failed, because Maximilian thought nothing more important than to keep faith with everyone, especially with his allies and kinsfolk, he tried another plan. He pardoned the Venetians, and with their fleet tempted Genoa to rebel—Genoa, an imperial fief, subject to King Louis, who was invested with it by Maximilian. By means of a heavy bribe he induced the Swiss to invade the Milanese, and began through the aforesaid Constantius Comminatus to treat with Maximilian for a peace with Venice, yet it was nothing but deceit. In the interval he made war against the Duke of Ferrara, on the pretext that the Duke made salt in Commachio, which he claimed to hold of Maximilian as an imperial fief. Nevertheless, as the League of Cambrai was still in being, he sent letters and ambassadors to the Pope, asking him to refrain from starting a fresh war in Italy, and instead compose existing disputes, and effect a friendly settlement with the Duke of Ferrara, through the mediation of his allies and other Christian princes, as he had persuaded the Duke and the King of France to do. But the Pope absolutely refused, and bending his whole mind to the expulsion of the allies from Italy, he started a war in which Maximilian was attacked on every side, and the King of France attempted in vain to make the Pope and the Venetians abandon their purpose. The Pope, with no regard for his dignity, dressed not like the Vicar of Christ, and the successor of Peter, but as differently as possible from a priest, exulting in sieges, assaults, slaughter, and all the cruelties of war, entering through a breach in

the wall when he could not enter by the gates, drawing both the spiritual and the temporal sword, caused a very great shedding of Christian blood, and this not for the Christian religion, nor in his own defence, nor against infidels or heretics, but in a war against Christians, against a prince who was his vassal, and whom he had decorated a little before with the dignity of Gonfalonier of the Church, and against the vassals of Maximilian and the Holy Roman Empire. But when the Pope saw his wicked enterprises fail everywhere, he again opened fraudulent peace negotiations, asking Maximilian to send Matthew, Bishop of Gurce, promising him a sure and certain peace, with satisfaction of all his demands. Though Maximilian knew that everything was counterfeit, still, to justify himself before God and the world, that the whole world might know that he was not responsible for the failure to end war among Christians and to stop the shedding of Christian blood, than which there was nothing that he detested more, with the consent of the Kings of France and Aragon, he sent the Bishop of Gurce to the Pope, having charged him to request the Pope to fulfil the terms of the League of Cambrai, which he had not so far done, then to compose all the outstanding disputes between Maximilian and his allies on the one hand, and the Venetians on the other, then to compose the differences between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara, and consequently with the King of France, and lastly to make a fresh alliance with the Pope and all other states and princes to take measures for an expedition against the Infidel. He was very glad of this invitation, believing that it afforded an opportunity for all Christian princes to combine against the Infidel. Finally, if the Venetians persist in being an enemy to peace, the Pope himself must help Maximilian against them, as he is bound to do by the Treaty of Cambrai, and thus enable him more easily to reduce them to reason. Hopes above all things, to avoid the shedding of Christian blood. Desires that the sincerity with which he has acted in this business may be evident to all.

373. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, [May 1511].*

N.L. 101 ; BRODIE, 782.<sup>1</sup>

Thinks he has told him how the grain harvest had failed. The fields had been cultivated with the usual care, the blades had grown thick, the stalks bore heavy ears, and an excellent harvest was expected. But just as in human affairs there are often sudden changes for the worse, so the expected grain harvest, because of a blight, has disappointed the farmers. The dearth is so great that the royal household cannot be nourished as usual unless the import of corn from abroad is permitted. Hence he appeals to Louis to allow him to import two or three hundred bushels of corn or flour (*frumenti aut siliginis*) from his territories, so that his household may be nourished in the ancient fashion, and may give him thanks.

374. *Andrea Badoer to the Signory, London, June 7, 1511.*

SANUTO, xii. 274 ; BRODIE, 788.

. . . The King of Scotland has sent for him to speak with him for the good of Italy and Venice, and he has no means of going thither. Is in want and begs increase of allowance. *Italian.*

375. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Grenoble, June 17, 1511. Lettres de Louis XII, ii. p. 269.*

(Extract from letter, pp. 267-72.) The answer of the Pope concerning the diplomatic activities (*la pratique*) of the Scottish ambassador has not yet arrived. Because of the delay people begin to think that they do not amount to much (*n'y soit pas grant fondement en laditte pratique*).

*French.*

376. *Henry VIII: Border Commission, Knole, June 22, 1511. RYMER, xiii, p. 301; BRODIE, 799 and 804(34).*

Commission, in same terms as in Commission of June 1, 1510, to Lord Daere of Greystock and Sir Robert Drury.

<sup>1</sup> Places at end of May 1511. Hannay conjectured April 1508. See No. 167 for his abstract of this letter.

377. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Grenoble, June 23, 1511.* Letters de Louis XII, ii. pp. 272-78.

The answer of the Pope to the Scottish ambassador arrived on June 20 in the following form—a letter acknowledging the letters sent by Louis, and asking him to give complete credence to the Scottish ambassador. Speaking for the Pope (*sur laditte credence*) the ambassador made polite speeches in general terms, but as to the peace with Ferrara, the Pope remains of the same mind as before the victory. As to the peace with Venice, the Pope did not give any definite reply, except that he did not wish to return to the Treaty of Cambrai, and was not bound to do so, but that he was well disposed towards the Emperor, and hoped to see him arrive at a settlement with the Venetians. In short, the ambassador's project has had no solid result.

The servant of the ambassador, who had come back from the Pope, said that as he was leaving, the Spanish ambassador told him [Forman?] that the agreement between the Emperor and Venice was a good one, that it was practically half completed (*quasi demy faict*), that he hoped it would shortly be concluded, and that an agent of the Emperor was with the Spanish ambassador working for this settlement.

Neither the King nor his Council are at all pleased with the Pope's replies.

As for the Scottish ambassador, the King has despatched him to-day with good, sharp answers, assuring him of the indissoluble union of King and Emperor, declaring that if the Pope does not want peace now, he will not get it when he does want it, and begging the Pope not to present him with any reason for entering Italy, for he will make his next invasion a fight to a finish (*car s'il passe il en voudra venir à un bout*). He said much the same thing to the Spanish ambassador, for him to write it to his master, who is rumoured to be supporting the Pope in his obstinacy, to be opposed to any peace which is not made by himself on his own terms, and to want Venice to be preserved.

In conclusion, there is no longer any great hope for this Scottish project.

*French.*

378. *James IV to [the Duke of Gueldres?], Holyrood, July 8, 1511.* B.M. 146; R. 119; BRODIE, 810.

Informs the illustrious Prince, his dearest cousin, that his subject, John Haboch, gold washer, has been for some months in Scotland,<sup>1</sup> and has been most industrious, though the project has not been a success owing to the character of the place. Now he has sought leave for home to see his wife and children. James is deeply indebted to his correspondent for furnishing the labour of his men. Haboch will tell him what minerals there are in Scotland, gold especially. H.

379. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Valence, July 25, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, ii. pp. 285-6.

News from Italy. The reply expected from the Scottish ambassador about the Pope's decision about the treaty of peace, has never arrived, at which there is astonishment, since he arrived in Rome on July 12. It is thought that the Pope was waiting for the result of a plot with certain citizens of Bologna, to encourage which the Pope had sent 500 men-at-arms and 5000 infantry. When the papal troops got within five miles of the city, the plot was discovered, certain gentlemen of the city fled, and the French garrison sallied out and attacked the papal forces, killing 500 infantry, and scattering the cavalry, who fled to Imola and Faenza.

It is believed that after the Pope has heard this news, he will consider seriously the proposals submitted by the Scottish ambassador.

*French.*

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<sup>1</sup> The word is *isthic*, which seems to be an error for *hic*. The King of Denmark is addressed, according to Brodie, but that cannot be: James always addresses John as his uncle. The Duke of Gueldres is suggested by *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 342-3. H.

380. *Henry VIII: Safe Conduct, Knole, July 26, 1511.*  
RYMER, xiii, p. 305; BRODIE, 824 and 833(65).

Moved by certain special considerations, and in response to a request made by the King of Scots in a letter, he, with the advice of his Council, grants a safe-conduct to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, John, Lord Drummond, Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass, Sir William Scott of Balweary, Sir John Ramsay, and Master James Henryson, permitting one or several or all of them to pass through England or his other territories, with a hundred persons or less in their company, and as many horses, with their goods, jewels, gold and silver coined and uncoined, budgets, wallets, fardels, letters, and all other gear, by land or sea or stream (*aquas dulces*), on horseback or on foot, to stay here by day and night, and do their business during the period of their safe-conduct—subject to their good behaviour.

381. *James IV to the Procurator at Antwerp of the King of Portugal, Edinburgh, July 30, 1511.* B.M. 147; R. 120; BRODIE, 828.

On July 15 his letters of June 24 from Antwerp were delivered by the messenger. A whole year has passed, he writes, and no commissioner has come to Antwerp to attempt a settlement of the long-standing complaint against the Portuguese, the procurator having authority to treat, though he maintains that no wrong was done by Portuguese to Scots or, if there was, that it was perpetrated under another king. In any case he desires a written declaration from James that the treaties of peace remain inviolate.

The King's view is as follows. The complaint originated not from a private vessel or casually, but from the deliberate action of a Portuguese fleet issuing from Sluys. Unprovoked they killed, wounded and made booty; and the Council of Burgundy condemned the deed. After vain application for restitution, reprisals were granted under James III. James himself repeatedly suspended the

letters in order to obtain a friendly settlement. Four years ago he sent a herald to Portugal, without result and without definite answer. Last year (*superiore anno*), when Eduard Ferdinandi was treating in Scotland, there was a fresh revocation. But nothing was done. The parties failed to appear or were otherwise occupied. When the year lapsed, the reprisals came again into force. Yet on receiving the procurator's letters James has forbidden hostile action until a written order comes from him. He trusts that the whole business will be settled under the procurator (*isthic*). Meanwhile he will select men desirous of an equitable agreement to meet at Bruges, hear the case, and reach an end, or report to James so as to terminate the controversy. His aim is peace with all, and especially with Catholic princes; and that aim he will pursue as far as they permit. H.

382. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, August 1, 1511.*

B.M. 128; R. 121; BRODIE, 836.

At the request of James His Holiness made the Chapel Royal of Stirling a bishopric and granted many privileges, in particular conferring all manner of jurisdiction over the King, his household, the annexed churches of royal patronage and their parishioners. The ordinaries are interfering seriously, and are trying to nullify the apostolic indult. Would His Holiness give order for the maintenance of privilege, and declare that the Chapel Royal covers not merely the Castle of Stirling and the College of St. Michael there, but also the palaces in his kingdom; and would he of his own motion, from certain knowledge, and by plentitude of power renew and amplify the grant, advocating and quashing the suit which has been instituted, so that the Chapel may commemorate His Holiness by the suffrages of the canons, as the King's envoy, the Bishop of Moray, will indicate in terms of the articles which the King himself has authenticated. H.



383. *Julius II to Andrew Forman, Rome, August [3], 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, iii. pp. 2-4.

Answer made by the Pope to the Scottish ambassador to the articles which he delivered in presence of the Cardinals of Clermont and Nantes, and of Madame Felice, the wife of Sieur Jehan Jordain, who has often, at the Queen's suggestion, spoken to the Pope about the peace. The Pope wishing to live in peace and unity with Louis, as security offers one of his nephews as a hostage. In accordance with the Treaty of Cambrai, he will not help the Venetians, and if the Emperor wishes to recover Treviso, he will help him, because he cannot do otherwise, but he takes no pleasure in the shedding of Christian blood, and in his desire to settle the differences between Christians, he is offering to lend the Venetians 50,000 ducats. Is willing to invest the Duke of Ferrara with his dukedom in favour of Louis. As to the money he has spent, he will hold Comacchio till he is reimbursed; Forman and the Cardinals say that he means to occupy it permanently.

He is sending the Governor of Avignon to Louis as his ambassador with further details.

*French.*

384. *Andrea da Borgo to Margaret of Savoy, Valence, August 7, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, pp. 5-13.

On August 3 told her of all that had happened, and sent a copy of the reply brought by the servant of the Scottish ambassador. At Vespers that day the Pope's ambassador arrived, and since then he has been in conference daily with the King and his Council. The King stands by the articles which he gave to the Scottish ambassador when he left here, and begs the Pope to accept them.

*French.*

385. [*Paniter*] to [*Thomas Nudry*], *Edinburgh, August 13, [1511].* N.L. 360; B.M. 197; BRODIE, 843.

Greets the Prothonotary. Received from an envoy who had come *magna diligentia* the letters that he had written

to the King at Ancona on May 24. The King himself read and praised the letters, and, as the Prothonotary asked, will remain constant in his obedience to the Church of Rome. The Prothonotary recalls a suit which the writer had instituted for the Preceptory of Rhodes in Scotland, conferred on him by papal provision, in spite of the claim of [George Dundas]. This provision, the Prothonotary said, he had procured in the Rota in the time of Alexander VI. But now he has run into another danger: judgment against him has been given, in defiance of the canons and laws, and of the Lateran Council. On this account asks that, as he has done good service to the Pope and the Catholic King, the Prothonotary should send letters from the Catholic King in support of his appeal to the Bishop of Durham, Secretary of the King of England (*invictissimi et serenissimi regis*), by which means he does not doubt to win the favour of the Pope.

386. *James IV to Julius II, Linlithgow Palace, [August]*<sup>1</sup>  
1511. N.L. 339; BRODIE, 1539.

Thanks him for his fatherly kindness to his ambassadors in Rome (*istic*), and especially to the Bishop of Moray. Was fully informed by him of both the first and the second set of conditions presented by His Holiness to the King of France, and understood clearly what the difference was, what additional dispute broke out, and why His Holiness was not satisfied. But it seems to him that this would not have happened if wiser counsels had not been shunned. It seems to him that the soldier of Christ will perish by the sword (*ferro Christi miles intereat*), and thence—alas!—the long-hoped-for expedition against the Infidel, which His Holiness had eagerly desired from the beginning of his pontificate, would not only be delayed, but would become for long well-nigh impossible. Who would not say that it is the height of impiety to hinder an enterprise which, headed by the Pope himself, supported by a united Christendom,

<sup>1</sup> Brodie places at end of 1512.

has every hope of success. Wishes with all his heart to attempt something again with the King of France to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, preserve the strength of their religion, and effect the taking up of arms against the Infidel. Therefore if there is a desire for a cessation of hostilities and a settlement of disputes, and for James's influence to be used, His Holiness should first grant him authority to treat for peace, and when that has been granted he will be able to give advice all the more easily because of his relationship and friendship with Louis, if indeed there is any need of an adviser. He is confident that Louis will accept fair conditions, which will restrain by peaceful means those who now resort to violence. He will devote body and mind to working out this plan, if His Holiness will give the command. He confesses that he is much indebted to His Holiness for his fatherly care, and for honour and rewards far beyond his merits. He would be proud if peace resulted from his exertions, and if His Holiness showed himself a kindly father, and the King of France an obedient son. He hopes that through his exertions something will result that will be of great service to Christendom, that the Almighty will favour their cause, and, taking pity on the distress of his creatures, turn the arms of the Christians away from their own necks against the enemies of their faith and religion, and lead His Holiness from confusion to peace.

387. *John of Denmark to James IV, 1511.* w. i. 44.

John wrote by Robert Barton an account of his troubles with the Swedes, Lübeckers, and their supporters. Hostilities still go on. He begs for permission to Andrew Barton with his own ship and any others he can get to come to Copenhagen at an early date. If Barton is too busy in James's service, John would like to have his ship, crew, and the requisite arms. He advises James against the expedition abroad (*peregrinatio*) which he knows is contemplated, and that for the sake of themselves and their realms in view of the uncertainties of the time. The masts

for his ships which James asked for have been provided in Norway and are coming as soon as possible by John's own vessel.<sup>1</sup>

H.

388. *Julius II to Andrew Forman, Rome, September 25, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, iii. pp. 40-47.

Instructions given to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, ambassador of the King of Scotland and of the Pope, who is about to start on his mission to Louis XII.

To bless and greet the King in the name of the Pope, and present his credentials, and, in company with Angelo, Archbishop of Torre,<sup>2</sup> papal ambassador at the French court, negotiate and conclude a peace with Louis on the following terms :

(1) The restoration of Bologna to the Papacy, which must not be made conditional on the Pope's adhesion to

<sup>1</sup> An undated letter from Flensburg accompanies the masts (W., i, 45). Andrew Barton went to Denmark in the spring of 1511, but left without King John's permission (No. 412). His end is described by Hall (p. 525, edition of 1809). He 'so stopped the kynges stremes that no merchautes almost could passe, and when he took thenglishmenes goodes he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at every havens mouth.' Henry, in response to the complaints of the English merchants, despatched the Admiral of England, Sir Edmund Howard, and his brother, Lord Thomas, against him. Some time about the end of July, they sighted and pursued his two ships, his flagship, the *Lion* and her consort, the *Jenny Pirwyn*, in the Downs. Lord Thomas steered for the *Lion* and overtook her, whereupon 'there was a sore battail: thenglishmen wer fierce, and the Scots defended them manfully, and ever Andrew blewe his whistell to encourage his men . . . but in conclusion, Andrew was taken, which was so sore wounded that he died there. The Admiral, in the meantime, had overtaken and captured the *Jenny Pirwyn* though 'the Scots as hardy and well stomacked men them defended.'

On August 2 the captured ships, with the survivors of their crews on board, were brought into Blackwall. The Scottish sailors, after being kept in confinement for some time, were pardoned and repatriated. Brodie notes 969 (7) on 4th November, 1511, Henry's pardon, in pursuance of the treaty, of all spoiliations, depredations etc. to all the subjects of the King of Scots. There is no copy, however, in any of the letter-books of the letter from James to Henry, recorded by Hall, 'requyryng restitution, according to the league and amitie,' or of the letter which 'the kyng wrote with brotherly salutations to the kyng of Scottes, of the robberies and evill dooynges of Andrew Barton, and that it became not one prince to lay a breache of a league to another prince in doying Justice upon a pirate or thiefe, and that all the other Scottes that were taken had deserved to dye by Iustice, if he had not extended his mercie.'

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres*, iii, p. 41, note, Sassari in Sardinia.

the League of Cambrai, which he cannot join, since Maximilian is in arms against him.

(2) The restoration of Bologna, which has always been a papal city, is an essential condition. If anyone alleges that it has not always been so, Forman is to answer that it did come under the control of tyrants, but the Pope did not liberate it from that control that it might fall into the hands of Louis.

(3) For the sake of peace he will, on certain conditions, release the Duke of Ferrara from the papal interdict and restore him to his dukedom.

(4) If the King objects that the surrender of Bologna and settlement in Ferrara will leave the Pope free to interfere in the affairs of Milan, the ambassador, to remove that doubt, shall promise that the Kings of Aragon, England and Scotland shall guarantee that the Pope will make no attempt, by arms or otherwise, directly or indirectly, against Louis, should Bologna be restored and a settlement arrived at in Ferrara, and conversely, shall guarantee the Pope against an attack by Louis.

(5) While there is nothing that the Pope desires more than peace and a general alliance of all the Christian kings and princes as the necessary condition of an expedition against the Infidel, at the moment such a peace seems impossible. Nevertheless, peace ought to be made now between Louis and the Pope; soon, at the Lateran Council, called by His Holiness, at which all the kings and princes will be present or will be represented, an excellent opportunity will be afforded of concluding such a general alliance.

(6) Should the King complain that Julius denies him ecclesiastical privileges enjoyed by his predecessors, the ambassador is to say that Julius always loved Louis with a fatherly love, and that before these dissensions, which were no fault of his, he had allowed greater privileges to Louis than his predecessors had done, and had always tried to meet his wishes. The ambassador is to explain that when peace is made, Julius will not only restore the former privileges and indulgences, but will actually increase them.

(7) As to the schismatic Cardinals, the ambassador will explain to the King that ample time has been allowed, by the edict monitory, for them to return to their obedience. Still, he is ready to take them back into his favour and pardon them, at the request of the King, on condition that they sue for pardon, return to Rome, and obey his edict. Concerning the Cardinal of Auxerre (François Guillaume de Clermont) he enjoys his former liberty, except that he cannot leave Rome without permission from the Pope.

Finally, the ambassador, with his accustomed prudence, good faith and skill, will show all possible diligence in this business, along with the Archbishop of Torre, that he may gain a reward from God, and from men no small praise, for plenary authority has been given him by the Pope under the Fisherman's Ring.

389. *Julius II to Andrew Forman and the Archbishop of Torre, Rome, September 25, 1511.* Lettres de Louis XII, iii. p. 48.

Grants full powers to them to negotiate and conclude a peace with Louis, and promises that he will assent to and observe faithfully any terms that they may make.

390. *Julius II to Louis XII, Rome, September 25, 1511.*  
Lettres de Louis XII, iii. p. 49.

Acknowledges receipt of his letters, along with certain articles, recently received from the Archbishop of Torre, papal ambassador at the French court, from which he conceives the hope that Louis is somewhat mollified, and is prepared to consent to honourable terms. To discover if Louis, as becomes the Most Christian King and Eldest Son of the Church, means to accede to his wishes and refrain from distracting Christendom, he sends the Bishop of Moray, Scottish and papal ambassador, along with his own papal ambassador and nuncio, to negotiate and conclude a peace according to the articles which he has now entrusted to the bishop. If Louis examines them carefully,

he will see that the Pope has been as careful of the honour and interest of Louis as of his own. Louis will hear more from Forman, who from the conversations that he has had with the Pope, knows that his heart is set on peace. Louis can have absolute faith in Forman.

Countersigned Sigismundus.

391. *Henry VIII : Commission to Dr. West, Westminster, November 3, 1511.* RYMER, xiii, p. 309 ; BRODIE, 927 and 969(2).

Being aware of the honesty and fidelity of his trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Master Nicholas West, Doctor of Laws, Dean of Windsor, he constitutes him his ambassador, with full power to treat with the King of Scots, his ambassadors and deputies having sufficient powers *ad hoc* about absolution, pardon, respite, remission, and general settlement (*acquiescentia*) of all and sundry disputes, law-suits, differences, complaints, injuries, offences, thefts, slaughters, losses, and any other acts of violence whatsoever, and everything arising out of them, committed by the subjects or vassals of either monarch in violation of the treaty made by Henry VII and King James, and lately confirmed by himself and James. Grants him full power also to deliver to James his letters patent, signed by his own hand and sealed with his seal, and to ask, require, and receive similar letters from him.

392. *Louis XII to [Pierre Cordier] Blois, November 8, 1511.* Flodden Papers, pp. 10-17.

Instructions to the Ambassador to the King of Scots.  
*French.*

393. *Maximilian to James IV, Innsbruck, November 15, 1511.* N.L. 332 ; BRODIE, 943.

Wrote some months ago to inform James that he had suffered so much from the Venetians that he had been

compelled against his will to take up arms and make a large-scale expedition against them (*gravius in eos insurgere*). For the Venetians, forgetful of the benefits bestowed on them by Maximilian and his ancestors, lifted up the horn of pride against him to such a degree, that when he set out for Rome to receive the Imperial Crown in the customary fashion, they refused him entrance to the territory through which lay his only route to Rome, though he had sought permission by every peaceful means, through the mediation of a Cardinal and an Electoral Prince who was his own kinsman, cut off and cruelly slaughtered some of his men, and invaded and occupied some of his hereditary possessions. Nevertheless he consented to enter into an agreement with them, which they did not observe. Foreseeing that there would be no limit to their lust for dominion, but that it increased like a fire when wood is heaped upon it, he entered, alone with the Pope and the Kings of France and Aragon, into a league for curbing their madness, which by God's help was done. In the meantime the Pope, on the pretext of recovering certain possessions of the Church, attacked some of Maximilian's feudatories and subjects, and proceeded from intrigue to open war against the King of France. In spite of the losses which he had incurred in the war with Venice, Maximilian left nothing undone to effect an amicable settlement of these new disputes. The King of Aragon, however, persuaded by the Pope, in the hope of winning back possessions belonging to the Church, entered into a league against the King of France, Bologna, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, who are the Emperor's subjects and vassals. Believes that he advised James of all these events, from which he saw that a disastrous war, involving the whole of Christendom, would result. It is impossible that such a savage war, waged by two such powerful Christian kings, ruling over so vast dominions, should not spread to the farthest boundaries not only of their own kingdoms, but of every other Christian state. This will allow the Infidel to launch an attack, heavier than was ever before attempted, upon the true Christian



faith. He prays that ruin, and the extermination of many, may not follow. Is doing his utmost to compose all quarrels among rulers and states, to unite all Christians in love and kindness, and to arm them all against the Infidel. With this purpose in view, he begs James to give as much help as he can to the cause of Christendom, to join with the King of France and Maximilian in attempting a peaceful settlement of these new disputes, and to send as soon as possible some sagacious and responsible person as ambassador, invested with his authority, who would co-operate with Maximilian in composing all existing differences among Christian princes, and especially between these two very powerful kings, and in planning an expedition against the enemies of the Faith, than which nothing could be more acceptable to Almighty God, and which will win for them both great glory and eternal fame.

394. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, December 5, 1511.*

B.M. 149 ; R. 122 ; BRODIE, 974.

Henry VII and James made a peace which was confirmed by His Holiness<sup>1</sup> under apostolic sanctions and strengthened by the marriage with Henry's daughter. But for some years before his death Henry did not fulfil the obligations of treaty or affinity, and followed arbitrary counsels, failing to refrain from or forbid manifest injury. By insidious attack the English removed strong men whom they had not been able to take by force of arms and whom they caught unawares (*per pacis occasionem incautos*). Peace became even worse than war. Reluctance to move against his father-in-law, but much more effectively his oath and the apostolic sanctions, imposed restraint upon James. Now Henry VIII, sworn to his father's treaty, attacks the Scots by land and sea, slaying, capturing and imprisoning ; he does not simply allow these hostilities, he deliberately orders them. James seeks redress, but there is no sign of improvement. Henry and the English having

<sup>1</sup> Actually by Alexander VI.

chosen to make trouble at home, James presumes that His Holiness has freed them both from the incidence of the oath and the sanctions, and regards it as a fair inference that the treaty is to be dissolved by the disagreement of both parties. His Holiness should understand that James has not sought occasion, but is impelled by necessity. H.

395. [*Paniter*] to [*Thomas Nudry*], [1511 ?]. N.L. 295.

Has heard repeatedly what he is doing on his behalf in Rome. Has refrained from answering him, not through pride and distrust, but because he has been extremely busy—an excuse which will be accepted readily by one who is himself not ignorant of hard work. Has heard from him what has been done about the offices of Chancellor of Dunkeld and Archdeacon of Moray and parson of Kinneil. But it is more important that the Preceptory (of Torphichen) should be put in order. Its recent holder, William, died in office; he had not resigned, nor had a coadjutor been appointed. Yet a knight, George [Dundas], succeeded by privilege of ancientry, claiming that William had resigned from the post of lieutenant in the Knights of Rhodes some years before, and receiving, it is believed, a mandate of institution from the Master of the Order in England.

396. *James IV to John of Denmark, Stirling Castle*, [1511].  
B.M. 128 and 179; BRODIE, 1008.

Thomas Henrysoun, a Scottish subject, in the previous year went to Danzig to trade, and put his goods on a ship of Danzig—Hermann Round, master. This ship was seized by Danes and held as a prize. Being confident that John does not mean the property of one of his subjects to be confiscated, he requests him to consent to make good to Thomas whatever loss he may have sustained.

397. *James IV to Margaret of Savoy, Edinburgh*, [1511].  
B.M. 163 ; BRODIE, 1009.

Greets the most serene and excellent Princess, his dearest cousin. Martin of Gorizo, a Spaniard, recently submitted to him her letters, in which she wrote that Martin's ship and its cargo had been seized in Scottish territory, and that in addition the sailors had been imprisoned and harshly treated, and threatening reprisals if Martin's goods were not restored. A short time before he had duly punished the offender, a dire and truculent islander ('*insulanum quendam dirum ac truculentem*') who was already known to have caused shipwrecks. Had indeed exerted himself to obtain justice for her subject.

398. *James IV to Ferdinand of Aragon*, [1511]. N.L. 183 ;  
BRODIE, 1010.

Wishes to have some Spanish horses for his own use, but has learned that the export of horses from Spain is prohibited. Asks Ferdinand, on account of the ancient friendship between their two houses, to grant his request and permit the export of six horses.

## 1512

399. *Julius II to James IV, Rome, January 6*,<sup>1</sup> 1511-12.  
N.L. 26 ; BRODIE, 1014.

James's goodwill to the Pope is shown by his sending Andrew, Bishop of Moray, to promote peace between him and the King of France. The Pope thanks James heartily for what he has done, but points out that Louis does not want peace ; he wants to crush (*concalcare*) him and overthrow (*perfundere*) the Church, and has occupied Bologna and excited a most dangerous schism. Being weaker than Louis in military resources he has called on King Ferdinand, and on Venice, the most powerful military state in Italy, to come to the defence of the Church, and has entered into

<sup>1</sup> Brodie suggests Jan. 7, in view of James's reply, March 16, 1511-12.

a league<sup>1</sup> with them for the recovery of Bologna, the defence of Urbino with his other territories, the extinction of the aforesaid schism and the organisation of an expedition against the Turks. He urges James to join this league, or at least to abstain from helping or favouring Louis, who is still obstinate in his persecution of the Church.

400. *Letters from Rome, January 7-11, 1511-12.*<sup>2</sup> SANUTO, xiii. 205; CAL. VEN. ii. 148; BRODIE, 1020.

The ambassador from Scotland has arrived in Rome. He came through France, and informed the Pope that Louis would surrender Bologna and Ferrara to him if he would detach himself from the alliance with Spain and Venice. The Pope replied that he would not accept the cities on the conditions proposed, much less abandon the League. *Italian.*

401. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, [c. January 10, 1511-12].*<sup>3</sup> B.M. 169; R. pp. 134-5; BRODIE, 1018.

Louis de Poys, a French subject *apud nos agens*, has asked him to recommend that his brother, lieutenant to the Castellan of Dieppe, should remain in his office by the royal favour (*sub gratia Majestatis vestrae*), and should not be dismissed even by one appointed as captain, so that he might enjoy the same honour and authority as an important commander. Asks that the beneficiary may know that his recommendation has been effective. *Ex palatio nostro.*

402. *James IV to all the Magistrates of the Ports and Towns of France, especially Rouen and Dieppe, Edinburgh, January 8, 1511-12.* B.M. 150; N.L. 318; BRODIE, 1017.

Informs all the mayors (*presulibus*), bailies, advocates, magistrates and lieutenants of the ports and towns of

<sup>1</sup> The Holy League, October 4, 1511, to which Henry VIII adhered on November 13, 1511.

<sup>2</sup> Received in Venice, January 16.

<sup>3</sup> For the date see *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 354.

France, especially the consuls and senators of Rouen and Dieppe, that he has constituted John Bartoun, John Balyerd and William Cristall as factors in his affairs, to buy timber for building ships and equipment and engines of war for the ships when they were completed, also wine and corn. They have received letters permitting them to do so from the King of France, and he begs that they may not be molested.

(The N.L. copy is undated.)

403. *Louis XII to Andrew Forman, Blois, January 17, 1511-12.* Flodden Papers, No. V: Abstract, p. 17; Text, pp. 17-19.

Instructs Forman to inform the Kings of England and Scotland that though Louis is eager for the conclusion both of peace between himself and the Pope and a general peace, the Pope will not hear of it. The two kings must exert themselves to bring about the peace, and to induce the Pope to find a neutral place for the Council, in which all the steps necessary could be taken to bring about a universal peace and a successful expedition against the Infidel. The ambassador must strive to the utmost to establish peace and amity between the two monarchs; without it a crusade will be impossible.

*French.*

404. *Louis XII to Andrew Forman, Blois, January 18, 1511-12.* Flodden Papers, No. VI: Abstract, pp. 19-20; Text, pp. 20-26.

Instructs him to thank James for offering to place not only his subjects, but his own person at the disposal of Louis, and for sending Forman to work for peace. The Pope is determined that there shall be no peace. He is to say that the time is not suitable for an expedition against the Infidel; nevertheless Louis makes liberal promises of

help, to come into effect one year after the peace has been established. The essential condition for this is peace between England and Scotland; at the same time James should resist all attempts to draw him into the Holy League. The Council, to be effective, must be held in a neutral place. Commends the Duke of Albany to him.

*French.*

405. *Jean le Veau to Margaret of Savoy, Blois, January 23, 1511-12.* Lettres de Louis XII, iii. p. 127.

The messenger sent by the papal and the Scottish ambassadors to His Holiness with the reply of Louis touching the peace, has returned to Blois bringing the Pope's reply, that he is willing to agree to the peace on condition that Louis consents to enter the league which he has recently made with the King of Aragon and the Venetians. Places are being kept for him, and for all Christian princes, in the hope that they will enter it shortly. This will not lead to peace, for Louis will never consent. As there is no hope at all, the Scottish ambassador left on Monday (January 18) to go back to his own country.

*French.*

406. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, January 29, 1511-12.* N.L. 314; B.M. 158; BRODIE, 1031.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Cordier, doctor of decrees and ambassador of the King of France to Scotland and Denmark (*huc et istuc*), came to him recently and showed him the heads of the articles which were the demands of King Louis. He commends the ambassador; wishes him to know that, going as he does on behalf of the King of France and the King of Scots, he will find himself in a friendly country.

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<sup>1</sup> Seems to be a first draft of N.L. 313. Date from B.M. 158.

407. *James IV to a Friend, Edinburgh, January 31, [1511-12].* N.L. 254.

Thanks his friend for the letters which he has repeatedly received from him, from which he is informed of what is happening in France. But with regard to the Bishop of Ross, who gave him the details of the agreement made between them (*inter vos concordatum de singulis retulit*), James stated his views to the bishop when he came to court. James thinks that he is now busy in his friend's country, with the work that remained to be done; hopes he will complete it in accordance with justice.

408. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, January 31, 1511-12.* N.L. 315; B.M. 183; R. 142; BRODIE, 1041.

James has learned from the Bishop of Moray how His Holiness has ordered ratification of the privileges of the Chapel Royal and has so greatly distinguished his orator. He will not forget his indebtedness. Moray is for the present with the French King, waiting to obtain a settlement. May he succeed, and find in His Holiness a gracious father and in Louis a more regardful son, that the opposing forces may be turned against the enemies of Christ. To gain that end Moray never spares himself. An apostolic brief announced the intention to create him Cardinal. Long experience has proved to James that he is worthy, and he can believe that His Holiness has made the same discovery. H.

409. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, February 3,<sup>1</sup> 1511-12.* N.L. 313; B.M. 159; BECKER, app. i; R. 129.

Pierre Cordier, doctor of decrees and orator of Louis XII, was for some days with James, and submitted his master's

<sup>1</sup> The date is that of the copy inserted by Cordier in his formal account of the embassy (Becker, p. 30). Ruddiman's version (dated Jan. 29) was evidently revised before despatch: another copy gives Jan. 31. Cordier had his commission at Blois, Nov. 13, 1511 (*ibid.*, 31; see *Flodden Papers*, pp. 10-17), had audience of James at Edinburgh, and later addressed the

letters intimating the league of Julius II, the Catholic King and the Venetians against Maximilian and Louis, revealing the injuries and breaches of compact committed by His Holiness, pointing out the imminent danger to the Christian common weal, and urging a general council to meet all these evils. The learned envoy enlarged upon these matters in an acute speech before James and his prelates, justifying the said council on many legal grounds. James awaits the opinion of John and his council upon these difficult questions. He has convened his prelates and barons at Cordier's instance and in his presence with a view to sending envoys to the council. John should write to friendly kings and princes for an agreed policy to be put forward in the general council, in order that unanimity may have its origin in their house, a policy which James will order his representatives to pursue. Trusting to have John's decision, he commends Cordier and seeks for him a friendly reception.

H.

410. *James IV to Andrew Forman, Edinburgh, February 11, 1511-12.* N.L. 317; BRODIE, 1058.<sup>1</sup>

Learns from his letters that he has been some days in London '*legationis officii gratia*' for a league between the

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prelates and nobles. James gave a formal reply through Paniter (*pro-cancellarius*) and named Jan. 13 for a convention regarding the council of Pisa. There was much difference of opinion about the status of the council and whether it might meet without papal authority. The majority thought not, and Cordier produced proofs of its legality before James and the prelates. The King, according to Cordier, promised to do everything to heal the discord between Louis and Julius, and was to send special orators to His Holiness and to the council immediately (*proximo die*). He also volunteered to send troops to aid Louis against the English invasion. The weather delayed Cordier till the end of February. Sir Andrew Brounhill accompanied him to Denmark (*ibid.*, p. 50 and *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 328). Cordier was at Copenhagen by the middle of March, and left Denmark about a month later (*ibid.*, p. 100).

James did not propose to adhere to the council of Pisa. A letter to Leo X (Ruddiman, i, 207) takes credit for loyalty to the papacy on this count.

H.

<sup>1</sup> Dates February 12.



Kings of France and England. In the meantime an ambassador from the King of Spain is coming, first to London (*istic*), then to James, hoping, as his correspondent informs him, to alienate (*abolire*) Henry and James from the King of France. His correspondent has played the part of a good ambassador. The King of France lately sent an ambassador to him with certain articles written in his own hand, expressing sorrow at the dissension between James and Henry, and promising to do his utmost to establish concord between the two. Would fain believe that Louis has nothing to fear from Henry, whom he would like to have as his ally.

411. *John of Denmark to James IV, by John Scott, Kalundborg, February 12, 1511-12. w. i. 48.*

The King with his wife and son is, thank God, safe and sound : he hopes for good news of James. Nielsen Svante is dead, leader of the worst section of the opposition to John in Sweden ; but the war by the Swedes and the Lübeckers continues and may be intensified. John therefore asks James for his men and ships in the approaching summer. The bearer will give news of the struggle, and James shall be informed later as to how things are going.

H.

412. *John of Denmark to Henry VIII, Kalundborg, February 12, 1511-12. w. i. 48 ; BRODIE, 1056.<sup>1</sup>*

In the past year John had the services of one Andrew Barton, sent by James IV to be under his orders. Barton had his remuneration and went off in his ship without licence, taking with him a smaller vessel presented to John by James. Word has come that this vessel has fallen into Henry's hands. Would Henry see to its return. If Barton perpetrated any wrong upon Englishmen it was on his own responsibility and not by John's command.

H.

<sup>1</sup> Dates February 11 from S.P. Hen. VIII, 3, f. 88 R.O.

H.

413. *James IV to Robert Borthwick, etc., [Edinburgh, February 15], 1511-12.* R.S.S. i. 2371.

Respite to Robert Borthwick, 'yettare of the Kingis gunnys' and Master Alexander Borthwick, his factor and procurator, tenants, etc., from his leaving Scotland till 40 days after his return.

414. *James IV to Robert Barton, Edinburgh, February 15, 1512.* R.S.S. i. 2371.

Protection and respite to Robert Bertoun and Alexander Bertoun of Tacis, his nephew, till 40 days after Robert's return from parts beyond sea on the King's errands.

415. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 16, 1511-12.* N.L. 319; B.M. 161; R. 130; BRODIE, 1062.

The Bishop of Moray has reported that he has been many days with the King of France and has good hopes of a settlement: may he be successful in bringing the King to show a son's deference to His Holiness and His Holiness to be gracious to the house of France that has so often deserved well of the Roman Church. James has heard about the appointment of a council, but as yet has no word regarding the attitude and the demands of His Holiness. He expects to learn from his envoy, who has stayed some time in the effort to promote peace and in the anxious desire to serve both His Holiness and Louis. Meanwhile, James has a request to make about a confessional for the cleansing of his conscience which the Archdeacon of Moray will lay before His Holiness.

H.

416. *James IV: Letter Patent, Edinburgh, February 16, 1511-12.* N.L. 151 and 320; B.M. 162; BRODIE, 1061.

Commends to those seeing this letter a courier going to Rome about certain cases relating to his servants that have long remained undecided before certain auditors of the

Apostolic Chamber, and asks their magnificences to allow him to pass freely to Rome, as he would gladly do them a like favour.

417. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 16, 1511-12.* N.L. 321 ; BRODIE, 1063.

Has often written to Rome to ask that the indulgence for the building of the basilica of St. Peter should be sent to Scotland and commissaries appointed. Asks besides that His Holiness will be pleased to grant to his College of St. Michael within Stirling Castle privileges similar to those granted to his ancestors by the Pope's predecessors in favour of other churches in the kingdom. Also asks His Holiness to help the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin, for poor people, near the town of Montrose, in accordance with his earlier letters, as the Archdeacon of Moray will explain.

418. *James IV to the Admiral of France and His Officers, Holyrood, February 24, 1511-12.* N.L. 322 ; BRODIE, 1070(2).

Informs all seeing these letters, especially the Admiral of France and his officers, that his subject, Andrew Barton, a little before his death, caused certain goods and merchandise to be taken from Scotland to the port of Dieppe. These goods Gavin Dalamalle, an inhabitant of Dieppe, took from the Scottish ships into safe keeping, and, as he heard, paid the customs dues for them, and he now has in his keeping the clothes, and gold chain and other jewels of the late Andrew. He wishes them to know that these articles are not pirate loot, but merchandise from Scotland.

419. *James IV, etc.* B.M. 178 ; BRODIE, 1070(1).

The same in substance, but expressed in slightly different terms.

420. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], [February 1511-12].* N.L. 300; BRODIE, 1078.

His servant, Thomas Nudry, Archdeacon of Moray, is handling the case of the Chapel Royal and the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Brings to his notice at the same time two other appeals, one by George Dundas, a Knight of Rhodes, against the same Archbishop, the other by his secretary, who attends to the Cardinal's affairs in Scotland, against the same George about the Preceptory of Torphichen. Asks him to see justice done and to give credence to the Archdeacon.

421. *James IV to [the Marquis of Mantua],<sup>1</sup> [February 1511-12].* N.L. 310; BRODIE, 1079.

Recommends to his Magnificence Thomas Nudry, Archdeacon of Moray, acting in the Roman Curia on behalf of the Chapel Royal and the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Begg him to use his influence with the Pope to advance these affairs, and also to secure a hearing for and a just decision in the Papal Curia of the appeals relating to the Preceptory and the privileges of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland.

422. *James IV to the Cardinal [of Amboise]<sup>2</sup> [Edinburgh, February 1511-12].* N.L. 337; BRODIE, 1076.

His ambassador, the Bishop of Moray, when he at last returned from France, gave him the letter of the Cardinal, his dearest cousin, in which he declared his mind to James and professed equal devotion to him and to King Louis, and also told of the efforts of the ambassador for the pacification of Christendom, approves of the Crusade, and declares that he himself would take part in it. The Cardinal's letters, and the offers contained in them, gave him pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> N.L. 309 is addressed to Marquis of Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> Brodie suggests 'Cardinal of St. George.'

Wishes that the present quarrels might be composed and Christian arms turned against the Infidel, so that he might go to war with the Pope as leader and the Cardinal as comrade. The Cardinal will learn his intentions further from the Archdeacon of Moray.

423. [*Thomas Nudry*] to a Cardinal's Secretary, [*Rome, February 1511-12*]. N.L. 296.

Received on February 1 his letters written in Bologna on December 5, in which he says that there will be difficulties about the promotion to Torphichen. Understands that His Holiness confers preceptories with a very liberal exemption from the duties attached to them (*cum privilegiorum latissima derogatione*). Why then is his provision not sanctioned with a similar exemption? It is indeed absurd that provision should be made if the provision is not sanctioned. And why should a provision be sanctioned in Rhodes which is not admitted in Rome? Neither threats nor bribes should make the Cardinal abandon the case. The King's letters are of no avail. He asks for justice, and asks in vain. Prays the Secretary and the Cardinal to show favour to a man begging for what is just and honourable, whom he would hate to see lose his case.

424. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Holyrood, [February 1511-12]*. N.L. 302; BRODIE, 1077.

Has learned from his servant, the Archdeacon of Moray, Sir Thomas Nudry, how successful the Cardinal has been in furthering his interests, especially concerning the Benedictine Priory of Coldingham, vacant in the previous year, which he obtained for the King's son, the Archbishop and Commendator of St. Andrews, effecting the rejection of an English candidate, for which he thanks the Cardinal; if any recompense is in his power, he will gladly grant it. Commends to his authority, which is very great, the same servant and the business which he has in hand concerning

the Chapel Royal and his son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, also two appeals, one through the Cardinal [of York] for Sir George Dundas, Knight of Rhodes, the other against the same George by the secretary [Paniter], about the Preceptory of Torphichen of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and its privileges, that they may be decided in Rome in accordance with justice which he earnestly begs the Cardinal, who acts as protector of the order when it is necessary, to admit and attend to.

425. *James IV to [a Cardinal], [Edinburgh, February 1511-12].* N.L. 341.

Acknowledges his letters, and the report of the Bishop of Moray. Thanks the Cardinal for the expression of his goodwill to himself and for his kindness to his ambassador. Asks him to continue the friendship thus begun, as he on his side will be careful to do.

426. *James IV to [the Cardinal of St. Mark], Edinburgh, March 1, 1511-12.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 316; B.M. 160; BRODIE, 1084.

Is writing to the Pope to explain that the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary's Isle in the diocese of Candida Casa, a cell of the monastery of Holyrood in the diocese of St. Andrews, was founded by his ancestors on condition that the Abbot and Convent of Holyrood should be allowed to appoint any one of the brethren to the office of prior, and to dismiss him if they thought fit. In the course of time certain persons, hating this yearly change of office, demanded a permanent stipend and succeeded in procuring appointments for life, with the result that, removed from the control of the Abbot of Holyrood, the priory is neglected and threatens to fall into ruin, nor can it easily be reformed by the Prior unless the Abbot has access to the place that is to be reformed. He therefore asks that His Holiness

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<sup>1</sup> As in B.M. 160; N.L. 316 is undated.

will reserve the Priory after the resignation or death of John, the present Prior, and reunite it to the Abbey of Holyrood, or at least, should it be vacant, grant it *in commendam* to the present Abbot George [Crichton] for life, so that the ruined priory may be restored. Begs the Cardinal to use his authority to expedite the case.

427. *James IV to Louis XII, Holyrood, March 6, 1511-12.*  
Archives Nationales, J. 678 : Ecosse 21-30 (original);  
B.M., HAR. MS. 1244, f. 97 and ADD. MS. 30, 666, f. 150d;  
Draft : Flodden Papers, App. II.

Treaty of Alliance offered by James IV to Louis XII.

(1) If at any time either signatory (*nos, heredes, et successores nostri*) requires help in peace or war, against the King of England, his ally shall give him all possible help, in troops, subsidies, and in his proper person, if need be, against all his enemies, within or without his kingdom. The signatories shall, like faithful allies, take concerted action against all other enemies, within or without their kingdoms.

(2) If war breaks out between either signatory and the King of England, his ally shall make war as speedily as possible as soon as he gets the news by reliable letter or word of mouth or general report<sup>1</sup>; on condition, nevertheless, that the truces made (*treugis nihilominus captis*) with the King of England, and still in force, should have been ended, or repudiated, or broken off in some fashion by the English.

(3) Neither signatory shall allow any of his subjects to give help of any kind to the King of England or his supporters, or to any rebel against his ally. If, after a general warning has been given, any subject of either signatory has been found guilty, he will be punished as a traitor and a rebel, with no hope of pardon.

(4) Each signatory shall refuse shelter to the other's rebels, when requested by his ally to do so; similarly each

<sup>1</sup> The second part of Article 2, from 'on condition nevertheless' (*treugis nihilominus captis et pendentibus*), is deleted in the *Flodden Papers* version.

signatory, when requested by his ally, shall cultivate friendly relations with other states, and suppress slander against his ally.

(5) Neither signatory shall enter into a truce with the King of England without the consent of the other,<sup>1</sup> unless (*aut saltem que*) one of the signatories refuses to be included in the truce, in this case the prince [who entered into the truce ?] (*alter princeps*), shall inform his ally, within nine months of the truce thus made being notified to him, that he is included in the truce, but if his ally shows that he must consult his own interests and declares that he does not wish to be comprehended in the truce, then the prince who entered the truce, while abiding by it, shall help his ally in the wars according to the spirit and the letter (*juata vim et formam*) of the treaties previously made, and shall be bound to treat him like a good and faithful ally, in such a manner as to preserve permanently the strength and validity of the old alliances.

(6) Neither signatory shall make peace without the express consent of his ally, unless (*aut saltem que*) he, his kingdom, and his people, are completely (*integraliter*) included.<sup>2</sup>

(7) Should either of the signatories die without leaving legitimate offspring, and should there be a dispute about the succession, his ally shall not favour any of the contending factions, but shall support the lawful heir, and defend him against any adversaries having the support of England.

(8) The Treaty shall be confirmed by the Pope, and neither signatory shall ask absolution from it.

(9) If the Pope, either of his own volition, or persuaded by others, absolves either signatory, his action shall be null and void.

(10) Each signatory shall swear on the Gospels that he will observe every point in the Treaty.

Record of previous Franco-Scottish treaties, from the time of Charlemagne and Gayus, King of Scots.

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of Article 5, from 'unless' (*aut saltem que*), is deleted in the *Flodden Papers* version.

<sup>2</sup> The second half of Article 6, from 'unless' (*aut saltem que*), is deleted in the *Flodden Papers* version.



The King swears on the Gospels, '*per nos corporaliter tacta*,' to keep faith, in the presence of Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, Patrick Paniter, and Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Treaty signed by James, and sealed with the Great Seal.<sup>1</sup>

428. *Patrick Paniter to Thomas Nudry, Edinburgh,*  
[*March 1511-12*]. N.L. 323.

A long time has elapsed since he received his last letters, written on December 6, when the successful establishment of their case was imperilled, as he felt, by the pretext of a pretended resignation through procurators, of Sir William Knollys, but the plea of resignation does not terrify him, since it is false, and is well known to the King and his lords, and can easily be overturned. He sent from London, on December 20, an emissary who undertook to deliver a process of compulsion in Rome. Much can be inferred from the letters of his opponents against the plea of resignation. In them there is mention of the resignation not having been made, and of bulls of resignation sent in the hope that William would resign. They were employing every device to persuade him to resign three years after the pretended resignation. In addition, the receipts for payments made to Rhodes in the last three years make no mention of the reservation of revenues to a Preceptor who had resigned, and he exercised undivided jurisdiction under the whole Preceptory. George Dundas is even mentioned as being present as a witness in a private capacity, as in the collation of a vicarage made to John Megott, chaplain, and in the leasing of lands of the Preceptory, 'made and approved by George Dundas, intruded after the death of William.' Add to these the letters of George, written by his own hand, in which he says that he has succeeded William, the late Preceptor, by virtue of his rank as

<sup>1</sup> De la Motte sailed from Dumbarton, presumably with the Treaty, on March 25, 1512 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 336-38).

Ensign (*vigore ancienitatis*), and other letters in which he states that he was not in possession of the Preceptory, and therefore did not object (*propterea pati*) to the transaction of the Preceptor William with the prebendary of Arniston about the right to the tithes—the case then pending before Antonio de Monte, auditor of the Camera, June 11, 1507, at the instance of William, the Preceptor, George being then his agent and solicitor at Rome. This is another example of the authority of William being exercised continuously between the day of his pretended resignation and the day of his death. If the resignation had been effective, the investiture of vassals, resignations, non-entry of heirs, letting of lands, gift of benefices, holding of courts, and everything else of that nature pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Preceptor, would have been exercised in the name of both, the grant having been made to both at once. If a vacancy was created by resignation, and after it William had no authority (*et post id Willelmo jus nullum fuisset*), and George had entry through his resignation, then all those above-mentioned powers should have been exercised in the name of George, and thence all services, resignations, investitures, leases and gifts would be annulled, which the tenants and vassals declare to be false, and say that they will deny at the cost of their lives. There is no doubt that William was Preceptor by habit and repute, and enjoyed peaceful possession of the Preceptory and its jurisdiction, which Paniter thinks sufficient to establish his claim to it by reason of William's death. Nobody doubts that the claim on the strength of William's resignation will be found to be false, and that it will be evident that William was Preceptor when he died, and that the Preceptory was rendered vacant by his death.

There remains the argument that the Ensign succeeds through seniority on the death of the Preceptor. But since his opponent has denied emphatically that the Preceptory became vacant through the death of William, he should not be allowed to profit from something which he alleges never took place. He has asked his correspondent repeatedly to press for an immediate decision of the case,

and to refuse to let it be dragged out longer. If his case is weak, he would rather lose than win. What shall he give to his correspondent, to whom he owes everything? Let him command his body and mind in any way he likes.

429. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, March 16, 1511-12.*<sup>1</sup>  
N.L. 325 ; B.M. 171 ; R. 135 ; BRODIE, 1100.

On March 2 the papal messenger delivered the brief apostolic given at Rome on January 7. James has never read anything more depressing than this news of imminent war between His Holiness and Louis. Whoever is the victor, Christendom is betrayed to be trodden under foot by the enemies of Christ. May God in pity avert it, and arm all who wear the cross to meet its enemies under the papal leadership, that even as the perpetual dictatorship of a Julius marked the triumph of monarchy so under the rule of a Julius as vicar of Christ the people may rise as one man for the empire of the church : it can surely not be wrong to believe that less Christian blood would be lost in extending and vindicating the faith than in internecine conflict. James has striven for peace through the Bishop of Moray, and striven in vain. His orator crossed the cold Alpine heights to achieve his purpose : he gave his message, as James has learned, to Henry of England : before prelates and nobles he told his story to James himself, the paternal care of His Holiness for all princes and for James in particular, the equity of his conditions for peace. If one way to concord is closed, another should be sought, and Christian forces recalled to duty rather than provoked by hate to blacker crime. No prince should leave ought undone to promote the expedition against the Infidel. James has resolved to urge Louis that he should think of the glory of the French monarchy and of its

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<sup>1</sup> Ruddiman dates the letter March 31, 1511 : the correct date comes from the N.L. copy. See also *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 334, March 16, 1511-12, 'to the post at came fra the Papis Halynes to the Kingis Grace with lettrez xxx crownis of wecht.'

special regard for the Papacy, and study to deserve well of His Holiness. The restoration of Bologna, the return of Ferrara, an end to the new council—if these are not sought by force of arms, he will do his part with Louis, and perhaps achieve more that way, provided that His Holiness recognises a son in the most Christian King.

James thanks His Holiness in the matter of the privileges of the Chapel Royal and his confessional, also for the honour and kindness shown to his orator. He asks, if His Holiness requires his intervention with Louis, that he would transmit his demands. At his behest James will try with whatever success to win Louis over.<sup>1</sup> H.

430. *James IV to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, [Holyrood, March 19, 1511-12].* N.L. 324; B.M. 167; R. 131; BRODIE, 1108 *dates March 20.*

Leonard Lopez, doctor of the laws, protonotary apostolic, and orator of Ferdinand to James, presented on January 8<sup>2</sup> His Majesty's letters dated on November 6 from Burgos. He alluded to the old friendship between the Spanish and the Scottish kings, strengthened by the connection with the English house, indicated Ferdinand's desire to propagate Christianity and his preparation last summer of a strong fleet to invade Africa and subdue the Infidel. Now Ferdinand is called by Julius II to protect the Church and is distinguished by the title of Catholic, so that he ranges himself with it by the duty of obedience and the obligation of feudal investiture, and urges James to lend his aid. Ancestral friendship, always maintained, has a special hold upon James, for by Ferdinand's counsel Henry VII and he laid down arms and made marriage the pledge of peace. Since Ferdinand has this gift for composing quarrels, of which there is need today, James and his advisers have decided to seek his intervention for a troubled Christendom and a reconciliation between Louis and Julius

<sup>1</sup> The last paragraph is described as written in the King's own hand. H.

<sup>2</sup> March 8 in N.L. copy. H.

before resort to arms. He has made it a matter of sacred duty to leave nothing undone, and Ferdinand should do likewise. His aim is restored authority for the Church, more deference on the part of Louis and the renewed loyalty of France to the Apostolic See—an aim better served by peace than by arms, if only Ferdinand gives support. James is resolved that the rights of the Church and the papal authority should be maintained: for that he will watch and toil. To gain that end with the least hurt to Christian interests concerns James and all princes, lest what can be done by conference should be left to be thrashed out by war. Therefore he has despatched the orator in haste to make this appeal. In the name of friendship, for the glory of his name, and to save Christian soldiery for the fight against the Infidel, Ferdinand must strive for peace in Christendom. James invites Henry VIII to follow the course, and hitherto Henry has endeavoured through his envoys to heal the breach. What more there is to say Ferdinand will hear from his orator.<sup>1</sup> H.

431. *Queen Margaret to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, Holyrood, March 19, 1511-12.* N.L. 326; B.M. 168; R. 133; BRODIE, 1109.<sup>2</sup>

Leonard Lopez, Ferdinand's orator, brought his letters of credence on the matters which were to be referred to her, and her brother Henry wrote seeking her assistance for Lopez. She willingly heard the envoy's message, and reported to the King her husband, whose cherished wish, however, is peace between Christian princes, and who continues to urge agreement upon His Holiness and Louis, inviting Henry VIII to follow suit, as Lopez will intimate. Margaret is very anxious indeed to see the affairs of Ferdinand prosperous and successful. H.

<sup>1</sup> Lopez left the Scottish court on March 21, when the King made him a farewell gift of 100 ducats 'and ane purs to them.' The English herald who accompanied him received 20 ducats (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 336).

<sup>2</sup> Dates March 20.

432. *James IV to Leonard Lopez, (Edinburgh), March 19, 1511-12.* N.L. 329 ; B.M. 166 ; BRODIE, 1106.

Instructions given to his beloved Leonard Lopez, apostolic protonotary and ambassador of the Catholic King, March 19, 1512, concerning representations to be made first to the King of England and then to the King of Aragon.

He is to say first that James has listened courteously to his representations and has answered them in detail (*singulis*), and then that James's mind is set on peace between the Pope and the King of France and on the Crusade. He is to mention articles to the same effect from Louis to James that he has read, and is to implore the two Kings to make peace and devote themselves body and soul (*manu et animo*) to the Crusade. He is to announce that his Queen urges James night and day to support the Pope and to maintain his friendship with both Kings.

433. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, March 20,<sup>1</sup> 1511-12.* N.L. 327 ; B.M. 157 ; BRODIE, 1110 and 1030.

William Trumble, rector of the parish of Annan, in the diocese of Glasgow, in making the erection of the Chapel Royal of St. Mary and St. Michael, Stirling, and for the same erection, entered into an obligation in the Apostolic Camera for the payment of the first fruits—£50 sterling—of the canonry and prebend of Ayr in the diocese of Glasgow, and those—£30 sterling—of the canonry and prebend of Crieff in the diocese of Dunkeld. Has learned that a suit has been brought against him. But these prebends were in his gift of old, even before the erection of the Chapel Royal, and when they were vacant the ordinaries had reserved them for his patronage, nor had annates in respect of them ever been paid in the Roman Curia. Writes that His Holiness may cancel the obligations and liberate William from the censures thundered (*fulminatas*) against him, lest this encroachment on his rights of patronage cause serious loss to the Chapel Royal.

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<sup>1</sup> B.M. 157 (Brodie, 1030), is dated January 20, 1511-12.

434. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark, Holyrood], March 20, 1511-12.* N.L. 328; BRODIE, 1111.

Is sending letters to His Holiness recording that in the pontificate of Alexander VI . . . (here follow instructions to scribe to copy the passage '*devota creatura . . . de gratia mandare dignetur*' i.e. 'William Trumble . . . against him,' from the previous letter). Therefore begs the Cardinal to give all possible attention to his affairs. *Ex palacio nostro ut supra.*

435. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, March 25, 1511-12.* N.L. 330; B.M. 172; R. 137; BRODIE, 1116.

Andreas Jenson,<sup>1</sup> a sailor who is John's subject, has been for some months in the north of Scotland at command of James in search of masts for his ships. He has not been successful; and James therefore is compelled to send him over to Norway to transport more suitable masts thence. He writes to explain the man's detention in Scotland and for the King's indulgence on his behalf, as he is on this service. H.

436. *James IV to Christiern, Viceroy of Norway, Holyrood, March 25, 1512.* N.L. 331; BRODIE, 1117.

Informs Christiern, Viceroy (*regi Norvegiae*), his officers and magistrates, that he is sending Andrew Jensoun, mariner, to procure and bring to Scotland wood suitable for making ship-masts. Begg them therefore, for his sake, to allow Andrew to choose masts and bring them to Scotland.

437. *Louis XII to the Bishop of Ross, Blois, April 4, 1512.* Flodden Papers, pp. 27-38.

Instructions for answers to be given to James IV.

*French.*

<sup>1</sup> The 'Duche skipper callit Andro Johnesone' of the *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 296-7. H.

438. *James IV to Julius II, [Linlithgow, April 9, 1512].*  
N.L. 336 ; BRODIE, 834.

Has learned from the Bishop of Moray<sup>1</sup> how the Pope recently received him kindly, and overwhelmed him with compliments (*plurimo honore magnificerat*). In letters to James the Pope had signified his elevation to the cardinalate and has given apostolic briefs to the bishop to this effect, and had bestowed upon him prerogatives and privileges befitting the foremost of his counsellors. The honours bestowed upon his ambassador and counsellor he himself values highly, and he returns thanks for them. He is highly delighted that Forman carried out his duties as ambassador so successfully, as the Pope's letters to him testify. He asks that the Pope will continue his favours (*favoribus prosequitur graciosis*) to one who has shown himself a devoted servant of the Pope and the Papal See. *Valete ut supra* (i.e. Linlithgow, April 9, as in N.L. 334).<sup>2</sup>

439. *James IV to Julius II, Linlithgow, April 9, 1512.*  
N.L. 334.

Protests that although the Pope had lately quashed the suit of the Archbishop of Glasgow against the Chapel Royal and its privileges, yet John Duncan and others resorting to the papal court boldly persist in their attempt against the provostry of Lincluden, incorporated in the Chapel Royal and episcopal *mensa* thereof, and under his own patronage, and in dragging the suit before the auditory of the Sacred Palace. Did not reverence for the Holy See restrain him, he would crush this insolence as it deserved, but, mindful of the respect of his ancestors for the Apostolic See, he appeals to the Pope to put an end to the attempts of the wretches, quash the suit, order silence, and prevent

<sup>1</sup> He returned to Scotland on or before March 28, 1512, on which day fourteen shillings was given to his man 'at brocht ane present to the King' (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 338).

<sup>2</sup> Brodie considers this date too late, and places the letter at the beginning of August 1511.



his rights of patronage without his consent becoming the subject of lawsuits brought at Rome by wicked men. Requests permission to nominate conservators who will protect the privileges of the Chapel Royal.<sup>1</sup>

440. *James IV to Julius II, [Linlithgow, April 9, 1512].*

N.L. 335.

His father founded a College of the Virgin and the Undivided Trinity near the parish church of Restalrig, in the diocese of St. Andrews, built it in the pontificate of Innocent VIII, and endowed it with many privileges, which partly through disuse, and partly through hostile usage, have disappeared. Since his father at his death bound him to complete what he had begun, he begs the Pope to renew and confirm the original foundation, privileges, and exemption, appoint conservators and quash the suit instituted by adversaries. *Valete ut supra* (i.e. Linlithgow, v. id. April 1512 in N.L. 334).

441. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Linlithgow, April 9, 1512.* N.L. 338 ; B.M. 173 ; BRODIE, 1137.

Has received his letters from Rome signed on January 12, in which he writes that the cession of the monastery of Glenluce to Cuthbert Bailye is being prepared, and requests Cuthbert to do everything required to make the cession effective. Has sent for Cuthbert and ordered him to carry out the Cardinal's wishes, and take steps to ensure that he suffer no loss or deprivation of the revenues of his monasteries, but enjoys them to the full. In other letters the Cardinal writes that His Holiness reserved by word of mouth to the Bishop of Moray the church of Dunkeld when it became vacant. James asks the Cardinal to thank the

<sup>1</sup> This letter and the two that follow were probably entrusted to 'ane Ytaliane quhillk come fra the Papis Halynes to the Kingis Grace with lettez,' and who 'at his returnyng' on April 14, 1512, was given 100 crowns 'of wecht,' equivalent to £90 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 340).

Pope in his name, and to accept his thanks for what he has done on behalf of his ambassador. *Ex palatio nostro, Linlithquheue*, N.L. copy.

(Undated : date supplied from B.M. 173.)

442. *Henry VIII to Lord Dacre and Dr. West, Westminster, April 15, 1512.* RYMER, p. 333; BRODIE, 1142 and 1170(15).

Commission, identical with that of November 3, 1511, except for addition of name of Thomas Dacre, Lord Dacre and Greystock, to that of Dr. West.

443. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, April 22, 1512.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 346; B.M. 182; R. 141; BRODIE, 1153.

On Saturday, the vigil of Easter, the Queen gave birth to a son, who was baptised on Easter Day and gives promise of living to succeed. His Majesty should have news of this addition to the strength of his house, and of James's throne, if the child survives.

John will learn from the [Carrick] pursuivant Murray<sup>2</sup> of the council appointed, the despatch of an orator from the French King to Denmark, and the war which menaces James and Louis his ally. James would like to have the speediest answer possible, for haste is needful. H.

444. *James IV to the Queen of Denmark, [April 22, 1512].* N.L. 347; B.M. 192; R. 150; BRODIE, 1154.

James thinks he should give news which she will welcome, the birth of a son and heir on Easter eve and his

<sup>1</sup> This is obviously the correct year, not 1511, as given in Ruddiman's text. H.

<sup>2</sup> Murray was created Carrick Pursuivant on April 29, 1512, on which day he was given £18 to pay his expenses when going with the King's letters to the King of Denmark (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 343). H.

baptism on Easter day. The child, if he survives, will live to be the fast friend of her own children. He will be glad to have tidings of her health and estate through Carrick pursuivant, whom she will be so good as to commend to her husband in the matters of his commission. H.

445. *Instructions for Carrick Pursuivant in his Mission to the King of Denmark, April 22, 1512.* w. i. 64; N.L. 344; R. 146; BRODIE, 1155.

After greeting the King, the Queen, Prince Christian, and the nobles and prelates, he will announce the birth of a male heir on the eve of Easter and his baptism on Easter day, remind him that James sent him letters by the French ambassador about the summoning of a Council and urged identity of policy between Denmark and Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

(1) After allusion to former letters sent through Cordier he is to report strenuous efforts by James for reconciliation and the coming and going of the Bishop of Moray between France and Rome. A new papal treaty with Aragon and Venice is an obstacle. Whatever the outcome, Louis has agreed with James to effect restitution to the church by negotiation rather than force.

(2) Henry VIII has a fleet and army prepared for swift action, and Scotland is menaced. He has not answered demands for the redress of injuries and the death of Andrew Bertoun.

(3) England threatens France with invasion, because the King of Aragon, Henry's father-in-law, takes hostile action by land and sea, and it is believed that he expects armed assistance from Henry [who is now actually waging war].<sup>1</sup>

(4) James has been invited by Louis, their common ally, to indicate in all haste what part they will play if Henry invades France; and he would like to know what John would do in the event of attack upon Scotland, for it is certain not only that all the expense of aiding Louis is

<sup>1</sup> Added in the Danish version.

guaranteed,<sup>1</sup> but that Louis would respond with still stronger assistance against the enemies of Scotland.

(5) James has decided to show his friendship and to bring the old alliance into play, that the royal house of France may remember timely assistance from Denmark and Scotland and be under perpetual obligation to both. John should recollect what he succeeded in getting when English intervention was invoked recently against Lübeck. At a time like this, having made truce with the enemy, he should keep his fleet and army ready, and should let James know by the bearer with what forces and on what terms he would assist Louis, and James if he is attacked.

Carrick is to obtain written answers, and is to remember the oral instructions which were given to him.

Subscribed by James and Secretary Paniter. Endorsed, presented at Copenhagen on Trinity Sunday (June 6) 1512.

H.

446. *James IV to Julius II, Holyrood, April 22, 1512.*

N.L. 343 ; B.M. 176 ; BRODIE, 1151.

Of old his ancestors founded churches and endowed them in accordance with the wealth of the place and the fertility of the soil. But the Cathedral of Lismore, inadequately endowed, in a solitary and sterile region, among a people rude and uncultured, and little visited for many centuries by bishop or canons, has fallen into ruin and at present lies deserted, having neither bishop nor chapter nor safe access nor sufficient food, on account of the poverty (*malignitate*) of the soil. His Holiness united the suppressed monastery of Sagadul<sup>2</sup> to the episcopal *mensa* ; being placed in a more fertile land, it offered a more humane way of life. Wherefore imitating the piety of the Kings of Scots, and moved by the prayers of the present Bishop of Lismore, he begs His Holiness to transfer the cathedral from its unsuitable position and barbarous people to the former

<sup>1</sup> *Reponi* in the Danish version : the Scottish letter-book reads *reddi*. H.

<sup>2</sup> Saddell. In No. 149 he informs the Cardinal [of St. Mark] of his intention.

monastery of Sagadul in the same diocese—a place that is indeed more agreeable—to transfer the canonries and dignities that it had before, and to grant the faculty to erect a cathedral (*basilica*), and endow it with prebends and lands, and everything else pertaining to that kind of foundation.

447. *Louis XII to James IV, [Blois, April 1512].*  
Flodden Papers, pp. 38-43.

The King's reply to the secret credentials of an envoy from Scotland. Instructions to envoy as to what he is to say to James in answer to questions contained in them.

*French.*

448. *Leonard Lopez to James IV, London, April 25, 1512.*  
B.M. 174; BRODIE, 1158. See Appendix (1).

449. *City of Ragusa to Julius II, Ragusa, May 11, 1512.*  
N.L. 368; BRODIE, 1190.

Copy of letter sent by City of Ragusa to Pope, informing him of arrival that day of messengers from Constantinople with letters from the ambassadors of Ragusa there, dated April 21, announcing arrival of Selim, younger son of Sultan, in the city, and bringing news of his deposition of his father on April 23.

450. *Louis XII to James IV, Blois, May 22, 1512.* R.H.,  
Treaties with France, no. 22; B.M., CALIG., B. vi. 27.

Treaty of Alliance, corresponding to Treaty of March 6, but without the clause beginning 'on condition, nevertheless, that the truces'—*treugis nihilominus captis* in Article 2, and with the following modification of the clause beginning 'or at least if'—*aut saltem que* in Article 5: . . . or at least, unless the King of Scots, his kingdom, and his subjects, are included in the truce, unless it should happen that the King of Scots, his heirs, successors, and subjects, do not wish to be included in the truce—and in

the same way the King of Scots cannot and will not enter into a truce with the King of England without our consent, or at least, unless we are included, or unless it happens that we are unwilling to be included in the truce—in this case the prince who entered into the truce (*alter princeps*) shall inform his ally within nine months of the truce thus made being notified to him, that he is included in the truce, but if his ally shows that he must consult his own interests and declares that he does not wish to be comprehended in the truce, then the prince who entered the truce, while abiding by it, shall help his ally in the wars according to the spirit and the letter (*juxta vim et formam*) of the treaties previously made, and shall be bound to treat him like a good and faithful ally, in such a manner as to preserve permanently the strength and validity of the old alliances. Article 10 is a confirmation by Louis of all existing treaties, and especially of those made after the time of Charles IV of France and Robert I of Scotland. He swears on the Gospels, '*per nos corporaliter tacta.*' Signed 'Loys.' Part of seal remains.

451. *Louis XII : Instructions to de la Mothe, Blois, May 24, 1512.* Flodden Papers, pp. 44-47.

Instructs de la Mothe to present to the King of Scots the Treaty of Alliance (May 22), which corresponds word for word with the Treaty (March 6) which James had sent him, except for the omission of the clause '*Treugis nihilominus captis . . .*', which, although it is in the old treaties, would now be of no profit to Louis.

Endorsed—Credentials of de la Mothe, presented June 18, 1512.

*French.*

452. *James IV to John of Denmark, Linlithgow, May 28, 1512.* N.L. 348; B.M. 184; R. 143; BRODIE, 1211.

The last letters recently delivered by His Majesty's servant announce peace with the men of Lübeck and truce

with the Swedes, and offer help to James in return, if he requires it. James is delighted to hear that things have turned out according to His Majesty's wishes, and he is deeply grateful for the attitude towards himself. He has sent his officer-of-arms across to explain the matters now engaging his attention. John will perhaps be good enough to send him back as early as possible with a statement of his views. H.

453. *Secret Instructions to Carrick Pursuivant for Denmark, Linlithgow Palace, May 28, 1512.* W. i. 65; N.L. 345; R. 148; BRODIE, 1212.

(1) James has gathered from His Majesty's letters and the enclosed copies of his letters to Louis, that he will send an orator to His Holiness for himself and friendly princes to obtain a neutral meeting-place for the council—somewhere in Germany as the safer and more accessible locality. James has not much hope, especially when things go from bad to worse and there is war: after his orator left Italy armies were routed, cities plundered, Christian soldiery slaughtered. Yet he has decided again to send orators in the interest of peace and the holding of the council. Accordingly Carrick will ask John to send his orators in company or give a subscribed commission under his great seal with a blank for the envoys to be named. If orators are to be sent, Carrick is to bring with him John's letters ordering concurrence with the Scottish orators.

(2) Since Henry has declared war upon Louis, and has no regard to violations of peace with Scotland, seeking rather to find occasion for resort to arms, Carrick is to find out on what conditions John could assist Louis and what would be his demands in return, so that James may procure agreement.

(3) John is to be asked to specify the number of ships and men, how equipped, what amount of loan and on what terms he would offer in the event of war with England.

(4) Carrick is to indicate *viva voce* the causes of hostility

with England, obtain answer, and return as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup> H.

Subscribed by James and Secretary Paniter, and endorsed presented on Trinity Sunday (June 6), 1512, in the Castle of Copenhagen.

454. *The Cardinal of St. George (Raphael Riario) to James IV, Rome, June 7, 1512.* N.L. 56; B.M. 204; BRODIE, 1230.

Commends his letter asking for a speedy decision in the dispute between George Dundas, Patrick Paniter, [James's] secretary, and James Cortesius. He announces that the Auditors have decided in favour of Cortesius, and asks that he should have peaceful possession.

*Latin copy, with imitation of signatures ' Octavianus ' ; ' Devotus Servitor R. Epūs Osten. Cardinalis Sancti Georgii Camerarius.'*

455. *John of Denmark to James IV, Copenhagen, June 12, 1512.* BECKER, 73; HUITFELD, Dan. Riges. Kronike, ii. 1084.

The news of contention between Christian princes was most distressing. John sent envoys to Rome to avert war and treat with the Pope for peace. A fresh embassy was not fitting before the papal answer came, and could not be despatched without consulting his councillors, of whom only a few were in attendance. As to the assistance for Louis which James sought, John had been involved in war for years and could get no help from Louis or any other prince but James; besides, he was bound by treaty to Henry and Louis, and Louis himself had not asked for aid. With regard to English threats of war, he urges the Scots to seek agreement. If, however, James is attacked without any offence on his part, John will render such aid as is in

<sup>1</sup> Carrick had audience on June 6 (Becker, 73).



his power, provided that due notice is given, for after peace with Lübeck and the Swedes he disbanded his forces, sold some of his ships and sent others on trading enterprises to the west, and had scarcely any armaments available.

H.

456. *James IV to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, Holyrood, July 1, 1512.* N.L. 349; B.M. 185; R. 144; BRODIE, 1269.

James spoke to Ferdinand's orator, Leonard Lopez, of the hateful war between Christians, of his own burning desire to bring about peace, and of how much effort he had willingly expended to gain it. He begs His Majesty to succour Christendom by procuring concord and not leave it at the mercy of force. If Ferdinand will do so and transmit conditions, James will heartily perform his part for conciliation, as his messenger, John Mathieson, will intimate at greater length.

H.

457. *James IV to [a Cardinal], July 1, 1512.*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 350; B.M. 186; R. 145; BRODIE, 1270.

James is writing again to the King of Aragon to spare Christian bloodshed and turn to pacification, having already put the matter fully before him through his orator, Leonard Lopez, who left Scotland some time ago. Though James is sure that the very reverend father will ceaselessly exert his great influence for a settlement, yet duty compels James to appeal to him for the sake of Christendom: let him put His Holiness and Christian princes under a perpetual obligation and look for his reward from the Almighty. The King's messenger, George Mathieson, has instructions for him.

H.

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<sup>1</sup> Date from B.M. 186.

458. *Julius II to James IV, Rome, July 1, 1512.* N.L. 367 ; B.M. 200 ; R. 156 ; BRODIE, 1271.

The letters of the King which Octavian Olarius delivered after his detention for many days in France were most welcome. From them and Octavian's report Julius understood the King's devotion to the Apostolic See and his tireless efforts for peace with the King of France. Of the former there never was any doubt. As to the latter, the papal affairs, when Octavian reached Rome, were going otherwise—thank God—than Louis had indicated to James and James himself supposed. Julius would narrate the series of events, did he not know that James had them from Louis: in any case the Scottish envoy will be able to explain fully and personally. God at length has had regard to his Church and its head, so that Julius hopes, as he had always desired, that on the recovery of their possessions and with glory to James the urgent expedition against the Turks and other enemies of the faith may now become feasible. Urgent indeed it is, for meanwhile much Christian blood is spilt in Italy. The rector and council of Ragusa, who always send reliable news, have written on Turkish affairs, and Julius encloses a copy for James, as he has done for other Christian princes and Louis, and also a copy of his own letters to Louis,<sup>1</sup> to apprise James how necessary and timely it is to turn Christian arms against the infidel. He exhorts James in the Lord to peruse the letters from Ragusa and what has been written to Louis, and persuade that King to a general peace and to a course which will not detract from the glorious achievements of his ancestors. When things are settled in Italy—soon, please God—Julius has resolved to make ready for an expedition regarding which James doubtless needs no great exhortation.

Among the welcome tidings brought by Octavian most welcome of all was the news of an heir, called after his father. Bestowing a blessing in the name of God and the

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<sup>1</sup>N.L. 369 ; B.M. 201. Printed in Ruddiman, i, 159, where it is dated July 2 instead of June 2 (Brodie, 1224). H.

apostolic benediction, Julius prays God and the Virgin to preserve the parents and make the child grow into a good man, imitator of a religious father, to deserve well of the Holy See and the whole Christian commonweal. For his safety and happiness the Pope has offered his prayers and his thanksgivings.

Given under the fisherman's ring.

H.

459. *James IV: Treaty of Alliance, Edinburgh, July 10*,<sup>1</sup> 1512. Archives Nationales, J. 31 and 32 (originals); Bibliothèque de Carpentras, MS. 1773, fol. 324-28; B.M., HARL. MS. 1244, f. 107 and Add. MS. 30, 666, f. 158d; R.O., R.T., 137, f. 63; BRODIE, 1287.

Treaty of Alliance in form of an open letter, containing nine articles.

- (1) As in Treaties of March 6 and May 22.
- (2) As in Treaty of May 22, clause relating to treaties—*'treugis nihilominus factis'*—being omitted.
- (3) As in Treaties of March 6 and May 22.
- (4) As in Treaties of March 6 and May 22.
- (5) Undertakes that neither James nor his successors will enter into any truce with the King of England without the consent of the King of France and his successors; similarly the King of France is bound not to enter into any truce with the King of England without the consent of the King of Scots, his heirs, and successors.<sup>2</sup>
- (6-9) As in Articles 7-10 in Treaties of March 6 and May 22, Article 6 in the earlier treaties being omitted.

In token of good faith, King appends his sign manual and affixes his seal. Witnesses: Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop of Moray, Earl of Angus, Patrick Paniter, Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews. Signed 'James the 4,' Great Seal affixed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> July 8 in Carpentras MS., an almost contemporary copy.

<sup>2</sup> *'Aut saltem que'* clause omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Note in French, in a different hand (Carpentras MS.).

460. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, July 11, [1512].*  
 B.N.: MS., Ancien Fonds Français, 2930, no. 20, f. 39a  
 and 39b.<sup>1</sup>

The Sieur de la Mothe arrived here on June 20,<sup>2</sup> and presented the letters of Louis and the treaty renewed by him, and informed James fully of what his master meant to do to show his affection for him and to help him to secure his rights, and showed him his instructions, signed by Louis. Has seen, heard, and considered everything and has renewed the treaty in accordance with the wishes of Louis and his own affection, except one clause, which he has removed. He requests Louis to delete it when he renews the Treaty, as it seems to exceed what is reasonable (*estre plus trop que raisonnable*), as de la Mothe will tell him more fully. He will also tell Louis of everything that James is doing on his side (*de par deçà*) and of everything that he wants to do. Prays Louis to trust him as much as he would James himself; Louis has in him a faithful servant who spares neither body nor wealth in his cause. *Nostre Seigneur vous tens en sa digne garde.*

Signed: *Vostre bon frere et cousin* James R.

*Frecnh.*

461. *Andrew Forman to Louis XII, Edinburgh, July 12, [1512].* B.N., Ancien Fonds Français, 2933, no. 8, f. 35 and 45.

Louis is aware of the love and affection which the King his sovereign has for him: he has been informed by de la Mothe, and also by James Ogilvy, counsellor and servant of the King his sovereign and cousin, that he is completely devoted to him against everyone, and that Louis can employ him, his realm, and his subjects as if they were his

<sup>1</sup> The original letter, sent in duplicate. 39A is in poor condition, paper being creased and worn.

<sup>2</sup> De la Mothe landed in Scotland on June 18, and left on July 11. There was evidently some fear that he might be intercepted by hostile ships lying off the Firth of Forth: on July 10 Thomas Foret was paid 14 shillings 'to pas to Fastcastele to see the Inglis schippis' (*Treasurers' Accounts*, iv, 352).

own. He has told James of the love which Louis bears him, and of his promise to himself that he would never, in any eventuality whatsoever, abandon James.

He reminds Louis that he asked him what he would do if the English went to war with James, and that Louis had answered that he would serve and help James with gold, silver, ships and men if need arose. After that Louis had asked what part James would play if the English went to war with the French, and he had replied that his master was bound to take his part with or against anyone, as he had written plainly before, and to this Louis had answered that he was willing to help James liberally with money, ships, artillery and everything else that he might need if the English made war as they were doing at present.

Louis should know that the English ambassadors went away very ill content in spite of the great offers they had made. James therefore is waiting only for Louis' declaration of what he will do and in what manner he will do it. James has listened at length to all that Ogilvy said on his behalf, and to the instructions which he brought, which seemed to be very general and to ask too much. It is asking too much of an ally who is at peace now that for love of Louis he should plunge himself, his subjects, and his country into war and risk everything. Louis will understand James's intentions fully from the confirmation which he sends, which seems to be just, reasonable, honest and equitable for both sovereigns, their heirs and their subjects. For no man living would James do anything to Louis that he should not do.

If Louis wants to carry out his intention of starting a good big war in Scotland, he must send as much money as he thinks will be needed for the affair; he must also send artillery and powder, for they have none, but he need send only a small number of men, to show the Scots how to form in battle order and how to besiege fortified places, and the sooner the better. It is a pity if Louis cannot send news to James and James to him. He begs him for the love of God to make himself master of the sea; if he does this, all will go well, God willing.

His very humble, obedient, and loyal servant bids him remember how often he has been deceived by certain great personages, whom he has made rich. Louis must be very kind to the King his sovereign and to the Scots, who have never disappointed him, and never will do so.

To be frank, James is doing what he does only for the love which he bears Louis, and therefore Louis should help him when he is working in his interests. This would make his nobles and subjects co-operate more willingly with him in his exertions on behalf of Louis. If Louis does this, and if it is God's will, he need have no fear that things will not go well in Scotland, for he is assured of having a true kinsman in James, who is indeed akin to him in courage.

James gives full credence to Ogilvy's report of what Louis had said to him, and therefore sends him back to Louis to discuss certain matters concerning both himself and Forman. Asks that Louis should have the same faith in him as in the writer.

So far as Forman himself is concerned, he wishes Louis to know that he served him better than did the Bishop of Gurce, since he served him loyally in Rome and elsewhere, and remonstrated on his behalf with the Pope and several princes. If the Bishop of Gurce had served him well the results would be apparent at this hour. Besides he had demonstrated to everyone that the Pope wanted to make peace with Louis, but that Louis did not wish to enter into a peace without the Emperor. To the argument that the Emperor might make peace without Louis, Forman had answered that Louis would rather be deceived by everyone than deceive a single person.

Requests Louis to send the confirmation here to the King, as he had promised that Louis would do so.

Would have him know that de la Mothe has comported himself very virtuously before the King and has demonstrated the complete affection that Louis has for him. Believes he is running great risks in returning now, as he believes he will tell Louis on his arrival; and besides, he will give an eye-witness account of everything that has happened in Scotland and also of the great things that

James has done to please and serve Louis. Begg Louis to listen to what he will say on Forman's behalf.

Signed ' *Vostre tres humble et obeissant chapelain et serviteur, André évesque de muray.*'

*French.*

462. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, July 18, [1512].* B.M., CALIGULA, B. VI. 64; BRODIE, 1300.

Has received his recommendation in favour of John Carwenale,<sup>1</sup> Henry's familiar clerk and chaplain, once chaplain to Queen Margaret ('oure derrest fallowe'), that he might enjoy the archdeaconry of Dunkeld, promised him at Henry's instance, but disputed by a cousin of the Bishop of Dunkeld. Explains that cases concerning minor benefices may be taken to Rome, that Carwenale when summoned to Rome, failed to appear or to submit the documents issued in his favour by James, and that in consequence sentence was given against him. Carwenale having now appealed to Rome, James has given him letters for his restitution, so with Henry's recommendation he will get speedy remedy, and James may, with a good conscience, restore his benefice to him and keep him in possession of it. The Bishop of Dunkeld is old and does not come to court, and if James dealt with him according to reason and law, he would be accused of causing his death, even though he really died of old age.

463. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, July 18, 1512.*

N.L. 351; B.M. 193; BRODIE, 1296.

His Holiness, to facilitate the granting of benefices to clerks in the royal service, had bestowed on James some years ago the privilege of nominating to certain benefices

<sup>1</sup> On July 17 'Carnewaill, Inglis preist' was paid 20 French crowns 'to pas in England the Kingis erandis with the Kingis lettrez.' He was accompanied by Thomas Bevirlaw, who was paid the same sum (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 353).

in his kingdom vacant or about to be vacant, executors having been appointed who would provide and institute the persons nominated. On the strength of this, executors duly appointed provided and instituted as Archdeacon of Dunkeld Master John Carvenall, chaplain to his Queen and now servant and chaplain to the King of England. Yet Master George Ferne, clerk in the diocese of Dunkeld, coming forward as an adversary, brought up the case before a certain auditor in the apostolic court, and by letters executorial procured on his behalf and against the royal nominee, succeeded in having the King's servant and chaplain set aside. He therefore asks His Holiness to order the appeal of his nominee to be heard and decided according to justice.

464. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, July 18, [1512].*  
PINKERTON, vol. ii, p. 451 ; CALIGULA, B. iii. f. 138.

A request for letters of safe-conduct for William, Earl of Errol, John, Prior of St. Andrews, George, Abbot of Holyrood, Master Patrick Paniter, Secretary, Master Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Clerk of the Rolls, and Master Robert Forman, Protonotary, Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray, conjunctly or severally, with a hundred horses and persons, Scotsmen, Italians or Frenchmen, to be valid for one year. 'Writin under oure Signett.'

Signed, Yowr Brod :  
James R.

465. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, July 18, [1512].*  
B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 66 ; BRODIE, 1297.

Acknowledges the receipt, on July 13, from Dacre's servant, of Henry's letter dated Greenwich, July 6, mentioning the report made by the Dean of Windsor of his and Dacre's kind reception in Scotland, and assuring James that he shares his desire for perpetual peace. Asks Henry



to send him a safe-conduct according to his request thereupon. A letter from Henry to Forman 'quha best knawis oure mynd and has experience in this materis,' would 'glaidly move him' to go as ambassador to England and parts overseas, otherwise he would not willingly undertake such a task nor would James think it necessary to impose it upon him, 'considering his grete pane and charge laitlie takin and sustenit,' unless he could be confident that some good effect would follow. For the same reason asks for safe-conducts for various other counsellors of his. As to the keeping of the perpetual peace at sea, has written to the English Warden to tell him how his 'pure and trew merchandis' have been treated lately; for his part he is ready at all times to make such redress as may be necessary. 'Gevin undir oure signete at Edinburgh. . . . Your brother, James R.'

*Scots.*

466. *James IV to Lord Dacre, Edinburgh, July 18, 1512.*

B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 65; BRODIE, 1297.

Thanks him for news in letters from Kirkoswald received on July 13. Has in vain demanded redress for injuries on sea and land, and now his merchants are imprisoned and sent up to London, and their goods seized by Englishmen calling themselves the Pope's men. Trusts that Dacre, in accordance with his last meeting with the Scots Warden, will make full and immediate restitution. As to the King of France treating Richard de la Pole as King of England, on which Dacre had desired to know his mind, James told him and West that he did not believe that Louis would 'tyne him for ony sic,' but, if Henry pleases, will send Forman to him, to pass afterwards beyond sea. Has sent a request for safe-conducts for various members of his Council, so that he may choose those whom he thinks expedient for the time.<sup>1</sup>

*Scots.*

<sup>1</sup> Henry's replies to James IV and to Lord Dacre (Brodie, 1314 and 1315), written on August 8, 1512, are briefly summarised on pp. lx. and lxi.

467. *James IV to Lord Dacre, Edinburgh, July 18, 1512.*

B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 63b; BRODIE, 1298.

Complains that David Falconar's ship 'is drownit,' and David taken, sent up to London, and 'schrewitly handillit.' At the request of Dacre and Dr. West, Falconar had been restrained from sea on his return from Denmark, on suspicion of being engaged in piracy with Robert Bertoun, but had been lately sent by James to convey de la Mothe in Brownhill's ship, to France.<sup>1</sup>

*Scots.*

468. *Margaret of Savoy to Andrieu Andries, Brussels, July 27, 1512.* R.O., S.P. HEN. VIII, 2, f. 130; BRODIE, 1311(4).

Commands Andrieu Andries, rentmaster of Wester Scheldt, to apprehend Robert Barton and other pirates from Scotland entering the ports of Zealand, for pillaging English merchants and others.

*French.*

469. *James IV to Frederick, Duke of Holstein, Edinburgh, August 4, 1512.* N.L. 356.

Complains that his subject, Benedict Winflet, recently attacked and captured two merchant ships, belonging to David Gurlaw and Edward Cokburn, of Dysart and Leith, and brought them into Hamburg, holding ships and cargo as booty, and after having bound and cruelly maltreated the merchants would hardly let them go—all this at a time when Scotland was not at war with the Duke's subjects or the people of Hamburg. Is therefore sending an envoy to him for information about the Duke's policy—if he wishes his subjects to practice piracy at the expense of the Scots, or if he would rather, as the bond of kinship demands, see that the goods were restored, and the losses made good. He will learn the rest from the envoy, whom he can trust.

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<sup>1</sup> Dacre's covering letter to Henry VIII (Brodie, 1302), written on July 20, is briefly summarised on p. lx.

470. *James IV to the Magistrates and Council of Hamburg, Edinburgh, August 4, 1512.* N.L. 364; B.M. 198; R. 152; BRODIE, 1825.

He writes by reason of loud protests from his Scots merchants. In April of this year they were for Flanders and had almost made land when Benedict Winflet, subject of the King's uncle of Holstein and in the pay of Hamburg, fell upon them in his war vessel, took one ship of David Gourlaw from Dysart and one of Edward Cockburn from Leith, and brought them to Hamburg. Many were wounded, and all lost their possessions, but were glad to get off with their lives. James values his commercial friends. Their great town has the reputation of treating strangers with consideration and justice. The Scottish merchants, guilty of no wrong, relied upon that commercial goodwill; but the Hamburgers, prompted by some motive of private interest, as James believes, have disturbed relations by plundering friendly people. If they allege justification, they should have complained first to James and not deliberately attacked his subjects. His high estimate of official wisdom at Hamburg makes him hope for restitution and the punishment of the offenders. So alone will right prevail, friendship be maintained, and justice be expedited for them in Scotland. He asks that Scots merchants may have freedom to sojourn and plead in Hamburg according to the received law of nations. They may be sure that it is a primary object with him to stand well with Hamburg and the imperial cities, in whose prosperity he is deeply interested, as they would find upon experiment in Scotland. It is fair to expect consideration for the merchants in a notorious case of spoliation, and a respect for right, not force. H.

471. *James IV to Julius II, [July 1512 ?].*

N.L. 270; BRODIE, 835.

Requests that the hospital of St. Laurence of Haddington in the diocese of St. Andrews, founded and endowed

by his ancestors for the use of the poor, be converted into a convent or house of hermit friars of the Order of St. Augustine, *reformandorum seu de Observantia*, with the consent of the present possessor.

472. *Henry VIII to the Earl of Surrey, Croydon, August 6, 1512.* RYMER, xiii, p. 340.

Commissions him to array all his subjects in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, to hold musters at his discretion, and to take command of all the forces therein, men-at-arms and armed men, archers, and other fencible men on horse and foot, and directs all lords, knights and public officials, sailors and soldiers, to assist him, relieving them of all losses and penalties that they might incur through carrying out these instructions.

473. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, August 7, 1512.* N.L. 352 ; B.M. 202 ; R. 165 ; BRODIE, 1330.

James sent across Carrick pursuivant some little time ago (*per superiores dies*) to give news of negotiations with allies, declare his mind, and report John's views. He is awaiting Carrick's return, surprised at the delay and fearing some hindrance or peril, and has written by the present messenger to announce that England and Spain have not only declared war upon Louis, but have begun it by land and sea. Their forces have invaded Aquitaine and Brittany, devastating them and occupying them as far as they can. Louis asked James to send word to John. James strove in vain for pacification, but Henry would not listen: the English fleet actually attacked and slew Scottish merchants sailing from Flanders and France, imprisoned some of them, and took their ships and goods—solely because French seamen with English captives were being received in Scotland. As Henry makes no account of treaty and continues

to inflict fresh injuries, James is forced to take up arms in defence. John is to declare his intimate relations with him and state the part he will play in face of England: he should inform their ally of France what forces he will send and how he proposes to lay the house of France under perpetual obligation. As to himself, James has no doubt that John will make the cause his own and will be a true uncle to a nephew who has always been devoted to his interests.

The Hamburgers, offended it may be by John's war against Lübeck and unprovoked by any wrong from James, are attacking and capturing Scottish merchantmen. If John is on friendly terms with them, James hopes for restitution: if not, he desires common action to punish them, as His Majesty's messenger, John Quhyt,<sup>1</sup> is instructed to say.

H.

474. *James IV to Christiern, Prince of Denmark, Edinburgh, August 7, 1512.* N.L. 353; BRODIE, 1331.

Some little time ago sent Carrick pursuivant to his uncle and to the Prince with certain articles. Is astonished at his delay, and so sends these letters by the present bearer, to inform the Prince that the English and Spaniards have begun a terrible war by land and sea against the King of France, and that no less a peril threatens the Scots from the English, who capture their merchants and their ships. He therefore asks the Prince to write to the King of France, announcing that he is bound to him by ties of kinship, and will support him, and at the same time to write to him, specifying what help he can give to Louis, and so bind the royal house of France in perpetuity to himself and his own house.

In addition, the Prince should know that the Hamburgers, offended, it may be, by his war against Lübeck, had attacked his merchants and their ships, and had given

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<sup>1</sup> 'Hammys Quhet' was given £50 for the expenses of his journey on July 27 (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 355).

H.

shelter to Benedict Winflet, a subject of his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, who had been guilty of piracy against the Scots. If his uncles, the King and the Duke, and his cousin, the Prince, were on friendly terms (with the Hamburgers), he hoped that their goods would be restored to his subjects; if they were at enmity he looked for them to inflict punishment, as they would hear more fully from the messenger, John Quhite.

475. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, August 15, 1512.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 34; BRODIE, 1340.

Acknowledges Henry's letter of August 8, refusing to condescend to a universal peace without the consent of his allies; or to grant safe-conducts to Scots ambassadors to work for it, though they will be welcome to him if they treat of the secret matter disclosed by West to James. He would welcome Forman. Meantime he refuses to answer the questions in James's letter delivered by West, since he expects the Scots ambassadors to deal with them more fully.

As he has overlooked and forgiven the 'inconvenients' committed on his subjects by the English in his attempts to further the unity of Christendom and an expedition in God's service, he thinks that Henry should have been willing to allow the Scots ambassadors to work for universal peace, and to show the King of France that the hospitality which he had granted to Richard de la Pole was contrary to James's interest and possibility.<sup>1</sup> Would have made it plain to Louis that he was acting in concert with Henry. In the circumstances, will not send ambassadors till their mission seems to have a better hope of success. Considers that matters in debate between them at present may be settled before the Warden and Commissioners on the Borders, on very short notice if necessary. Has always been, and is still, ready to make reparation for outrages committed by land or sea. Offered to do so to the English

<sup>1</sup> Of succession to the English crown.

ambassadors in the case of Robert Barton, because he was in Scotland, though in the French King's service. Will have his Wardens ready whenever Henry chooses to have the English Wardens ready. Did not mean to break with him, 'never wes mindit uthirways to yow than youre manifest dedes gave us occasion to be.'

*Scots.*

476. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, August 17, [1512].*

B.N. 2930, no. 23, f. 41.

Announces that on their way back to France with all the documents (*charges*) with which he had entrusted them, the Sieur de la Mothe and his clerk, Master James Ogilvy, were intercepted by the English, and compelled to make for Denmark after their ship had received a shot from a cannon (*une coupe de canon sur la borde de la navire*). Since he knows well that the journey is long and dangerous because of the great wars and disturbances on the frontiers of the countries through which they must pass, and also that Louis may get more reliable information about everything, and also for fear that the letters which they carry may be lost, he sends his clerk and counsellor, Master James Merchemstoun, Provost of Corstorphine and Chancellor of his Chapel Royal, with duplicates of all the documents (*charges*) that he had given to de la Mothe and Ogilvy, and has told him, as he told them, that he is ready, waiting to know the wishes of Louis, as Merchemstoun will tell him fully. He therefore asks Louis to give him full credence, and communicate his wish and purpose through him as soon as possible.

Signed '*Vostre confrère et cousin James R.*'

*French.*

477. *James IV to Julius II, [Edinburgh, August 19, 1512].* N.L. 342; BRODIE, 1346.

Has been informed by his servant, the Archdeacon of Moray, apostolic protonotary, that His Holiness wondered

not a little that he had neither sent commissioners to the Lateran Council, nor had he informed the Pope of his intentions (*desuper*). Therefore writes this letter to inform His Holiness that he received no notice of the Council nor summons to it by papal brief or nuncio, or by his own ambassador writing in the Pope's name. If His Holiness had entrusted the business to anyone, he would find that he issued orders to an obedient son, as the archdeacon will inform him fully.

478. *James IV to [the Cardinal of St. Mark], Edinburgh, August 20, 1512.* N.L. 359; B.M. 196; R. 151; BRODIE, 1347.

James is writing to say that he has received no notice of the Lateran Council, either by apostolic briefs or by nuncio, although he has heard that princes have had invitation. He has not abandoned the traditional policy of loyalty to the Apostolic See, and more than once he has asked Henry VIII for safe-conduct on behalf of orators on the subject of the Council and in the cause of peace. As his letters indicate persistent refusal, and the eminent persons competent for the mission decline the dangerous voyage, James has abandoned the project. In addition, he suffers serious injury from the English: their ships plunder and capture Scots, on the pretext of service to Julius II, as if James were at war with him, whereas accommodation has been his distinguishing aim. Their purpose seems to be to provoke James to armed resistance and so bring him under the papal displeasure by anticipating his excuse that they themselves have not kept faith with His Holiness. He has tolerated much to show his devotion to His Holiness, who should not alter his old opinion or listen to detraction without sending a trusted servant to report. Moreover, James has it from his chief secretary, who is prosecuting at Rome his claim to the preceptory of Torphichen, that the Cardinal of York has opposed him strenuously, contrary to canons and conciliar



decrees, and has given information to His Holiness as if he had instructions from the Scottish King. James has given no commission in the case. Would the Cardinal ask His Holiness to order decision according to law, so as to avoid appeal elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> or settle the matter more creditably at his own discretion. The Archdeacon of Moray, the King's procurator at Rome, will give further information.

H.

479. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], Edinburgh, August 20, 1512.* N.L. 357; B.M. 194; BRODIE, 1349.

Learns from the Cardinal's letters lately sent to him, and from his servant, the Archdeacon of Moray, who was with the Cardinal, that he had not only undertaken the business entrusted to him in the King's letters, but had carried it all to a successful conclusion. Asks him to give credence to his guest and the King's servant (*suo commensali et domestico nostro*), to whom James has entrusted his sealed letters to the Pope about the concessions for the Chapel Royal and the College of Restalrig, and the Indulgences.

480. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, August 20, 1512.* N.L. 358; B.M. 195; BRODIE, 1348.

Has heard from the Cardinal of St. Eusebius, that, in accordance with the requests which he made recently in his letters, His Holiness has granted indulgences to the Chapel Royal and to his hospital, and has renewed the privileges and exemptions of the College of the Holy Trinity and of St. Mary, of Restalrig in the diocese of St. Andrews. The College, built by the piety of his father, is much frequented. He is under an obligation to his beloved father to protect and benefit his foundation, and therefore begs His Holiness to order its privileges to be maintained against the suit brought by the ordinary. He also asks that the rectory of Bute, in the diocese of Lismore, be disjoined from the Chapel Royal, and be united to the College of Restalrig, for

<sup>1</sup> Presumably to the Master of Rhodes.

the support of the chaplains of the choir, as he will hear fully from the Archdeacon of Moray.

481. *John Anislow*<sup>1</sup> to the Bishop of Durham, Norham, September 11, 1512. B.M., CALIGULA, B. VI. 22; BRODIE, 1380.

On Monday, September 6, the Archdeacon's son of St. Andrews arrived in the ship of John Lawson, merchant of Leith, with letters from the French King urging the invasion of England. The King of Scots had previously declared his full mind in letters sent by de la Mothe and James Ogilvy, saying that if he were paid the pension that Louis pays to Henry he would make war on England, otherwise he has no substance to make war with. Thinks that this will incline James to peace, as he gets nothing but 'fair writings' from France. The height of war is over in Scotland for this year, but thinks it would be wise to take precautions for next year. The great ship ran aground in the Firth when under sail. Robert and John Bertoun have returned and are taken into favour. Brownhill and Bertoun blame each other for fleeing when Falconar was captured. The King can raise only 16 ships of war with tops. There is good agreement at the days of truce, and good peace on the Borders.

*English.*

482. *Louis XII: Treaty of Alliance, Blois, September 12, 1512.* R.H.: *Treaties with France*, no. 23.

Treaty of Alliance in the form of an open letter. In a lengthy preamble Louis declares his devotion to the furthering of peace and amity among the princes of Christendom, and, consequently, his decision to renew the ancient league made by his predecessors and the predecessors of the King of Scots. He undertakes (1) to support the King of Scots in the event of an English attack upon Scotland; (2) To make war on England with all his

<sup>1</sup> John Annesley, Constable of Norham.

strength as soon as he has been warned of such an attack ; (3) To refrain from giving help to the King of England, or to any other adversary of the King of Scots ; (4) To refuse asylum or aid to rebels against the King of Scots ; (5) To enter into no truce with the King of England without the consent of the King of Scots ; (6) In the case of a disputed succession in Scotland, to support the legitimate heir ; (7) To secure ratification of the Treaty by the Pope, and to refrain from obtaining absolution from the observance of it ; (8) To regard any such absolution as null and void, even if granted by the Pope ; (9) To swear on the Gospels that he will observe every article in the Treaty.

He has taken his oath on the Gospels, *corporaliter tacta*, to observe the Treaty. In witness of this he signs his name with his own hand, and causes his great seal to be appended. Blois, September 12, 1512.

Signed 'Loys' ; endorsed ' *per regem Robertet.*'<sup>1</sup>

483. *Katharine of Aragon to Cardinal Bainbridge, London, September 18, 1512.* SANUTO, XV. 298 ; CAL. VEN. ii. 203 ; BRODIE, 1391.

Although the King of Scots promised King Ferdinand to be a most faithful friend and brother to King Henry, and swore accordingly to the English ambassador, Dr. West, who was with him recently, yet on perceiving that King Henry was waging war on the French, he invaded Berwick, and proclaimed war against England, for which reason three earls—Surrey, commander-in-chief, Northumberland and Derby, and two barons—Darcy and Dacres—and many other captains, with 30,000 men, are already on their march toward Scotland, not only for the defence of Berwick, but also to conquer and annihilate that kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Is the counterpart of the Treaty of July 11 (No. 450), in which James assumes reciprocal obligations. They differ from the Treaty of March 6 (No. 427) by the omission of the clause beginning *treugis nihilominus captis* from Article 2, and from the treaties of March 6 and May 22 (No. 450) by the omission of the clause beginning *aut saltem* in Article 5, and also the whole of Article 6. Articles 6-9 in the two later Treaties thus correspond to Articles 7-10 in the two earlier ones.

Henry is so bent on the war against the French, the foes of the Church, that he is determined never to rest nor desist until their King be utterly destroyed. He has declared openly that even if the Pope or Ferdinand should desert him, which he firmly believed neither would do, yet he would never withdraw from the war until that schismatical sovereign had been made an end of.

484. *Louis XII to de la Mothe, Blois, October 2, 1512.*

Flodden Papers, pp. 47-52.

Instructions to de la Mothe on the part of the King as to what he will say to the King of Scots in answer to the instructions that he has just brought with him. (Includes consent of Louis to omission of *aut saltem que* clause from Treaty.)

*French.*

485. *Louis XII to de la Mothe, Blois, October 2, 1512.*

Flodden Papers, pp. 53-56.

Secret instructions to de la Mothe as to what he should say on the part of the King to the King of Scots.

*French.*

486. *James IV to Pope Julius II, Edinburgh, October 12, 1512.* N.L. 363; BRODIE, 1433.

When Henry, Abbot of Jedburgh died, the prior and convent elected to the vacant abbacy John Lynne, clerk in the St. Andrews diocese. He asked that the said John may be provided to the monastery. *Ad Cardinalem in eadem forma.*

487. *James IV to the Hanse Towns and his own Officials, [September 1512?].* N.L. 379; BRODIE, 586 *dates September 1510.*

Informs all seeing these presents, especially the inhabitants of the Imperial Cities commonly called Hanse,

and also his own magistrates, officers and subjects in the ports of his kingdom, that since he has granted to Nicholas Mathesoun, inhabitant of the town of Trasende, the right to import foodstuffs, arms and any kind of merchandise into Scotland, and to bring sound ships into its harbours, he exhorts them to show favour accordingly to the said Nicholas, and persuade the inhabitants of their lands and towns to bring similar merchandise to Scotland. He forbids his subjects to harm, or allow harm to be done to, the said Nicholas, or any other merchants coming from foreign parts into Scotland, under pain of lese majesty (*sub pena offensionis nostrae majestatis*), restoration of goods, and full satisfaction for injuries.<sup>1</sup>

488. *James IV to [Margaret of Savoy and the Council at The Hague], Holyrood, November 1, 1512.* N.L. 371; B.M. 164; BRODIE, 1466.

Greets his dear cousin and the Senators. He has been informed by John Moffat, a Scottish merchant, that a case concerning goods taken from his ship was decided in the town of Veere in his favour against the master of the ship, but has since been referred to the Council at the Hague, where to his cost it has remained undecided for several years. If it is dragged out longer, the expenses will exceed the sum at stake (*sumptus ipsam sortem superaverit*), unless their wisdom accelerates a decision. He therefore sends them letters asking them not to refuse a speedy decision. *Ex palatio nostro prope Edinburghum.*

489. *Adenet Legendre and Thomas Bohier, Rouen, November 1, 1512.* B.N., Fonds Français, 20, 977, f. 206; Navy Records Society, x. no. 45, p. 68.

Adenet Legendre, captain of *La Petite Louise*, made a bargain with Thomas Bohier, General of the King's Finances, in presence of Adrien de Bessin and Guillaume Viart, notaries, to transport to Scotland in his ship Charles

<sup>1</sup> Calendared also under No. 327.

de Tocques, Seigneur de la Mothe, Martin Peguineau, varlet of the King's Chamber, and Jehan Piefort, gunner in the King's artillery, and their servants, whom the King is sending to the King of Scots on certain secret business, with 100 or 120 puncheons of wine, and to bring them back after the King of Scots had dismissed them. He undertook to feed them, and to give them all necessary supplies for three months from their departure from Honfleur, also to furnish them with 100 sailors and soldiers for their protection, without their being bound to supply anything beyond the artillery, which had already been handed over to him. Legendre has promised, and promises, to be ready to sail on November 12. On the instructions of Bohier, he has been paid 1510 livres tournois by Jehan Lalemant, Receiver General for Normandy.

*French.*

490. *The Duke of Albany to Jacques Marchal, Bayonne, November 3, 1512.* Flodden Papers, pp. 56-62.

Instructions as to what Marchal should say to the King of Scots, the Duke's sovereign lord, regarding his marriage, and other matters.

*French.*

491. *James IV to Frederick, Duke of Holstein, Holyrood, November 12, 1512.* N.L. 365; B.M. 199; R. 154; BRODIE, 1478.

James relates to his uncle the complaint of the Scottish merchants. He has hitherto striven to keep his obligations to the King of Denmark and to the Duke in virtue of treaty and kinship in order to the interchange of assistance against aggression. It is hard to suppose that the Duke's subject made the attack or treated the Scots so badly with his approval. Their close relationship creates the most favourable expectations. James has nothing against either the imperial or the Hansa cities, unless they seek

occasion from his uncle's war against Lübeck. If the allegation is private injury by a Scot, application for redress and not retaliation was the proper course. He has sent across William Pittigrew and William Inglis, trustworthy persons, in their own name and on behalf of their associates, to the King of Denmark and the Duke, and, if they approve, thereafter to Hamburg, relying upon the Duke's assistance, exhortation and command for restitution if the Hamburgers are his friends. If they are not, James expects that Winflet will be distrained for compensation. He has ordered the Scots, in their excellent case, to follow in the first instance judicial methods; but their success or failure along that line depends upon the King and the Duke. Would Frederick kindly favour, advise and protect the merchants, and promise the Hamburgers on behalf of James ready and effective justice at the instance of any pursuer. James will always make a point of seeing that resort to him is not in vain. H.

492. *James IV to John of Denmark, [Holyrood], November 12, 1512.* N.L. 366; BRODIE, 1479.

In the same terms as No. 491, with the necessary change of names. The Scottish merchants are described as 'of Edinburgh,' and the Hamburgers are not mentioned by name at the end of the letter.

493. *De la Mothe and Martin Pequineau to Jehan Lalemant, Honfleur, November 12, 1512.* B.N.: MS. 20616; PIECE, 55; BRODIE, 1501.

De la Mothe and Martin Pequineau, 'varlet de chambre ordinaire du Roy,' have taken delivery in the port of Honfleur from Sieur Jehan Lalemant, 'Conseiller du Roy' and Receiver-General in the Duchy of Normandy, of 108 puncheons of new wine—36 *Beaulne cleret*, 51 *cleret d'Orleans*, 8 white wine of Blois and 11 white wine from the vineyard of Bagneux, near Paris, which the King ordered

to be delivered to them—that is to say, 100 puncheons for the present to be made by Louis to the King of Scotland, to whom Louis has sent them on certain business of his, and 8 puncheons for ullage and replenishment of the afore-said hundred, of which 108 puncheons they certify that the Receiver-General has satisfied them.

Signed, de la Mothe, Pequineau.

*French.*

494. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, [c. end of November 1512].* N.L. 370; B.M. 205; R. 167; BRODIE, 1523 *places end of December 1512.*

A few days ago the Queen gave birth prematurely to a son,<sup>1</sup> who died after baptism. The mother is safe, and desires to be remembered to their majesties.

There is no definite word from Henry, who has not yet taken steps to restore the ships and goods of the late Andrew Bertoun or the Scots merchants. James showed forbearance in order to bring about pacification; and he repeatedly but in vain offered to send orators to England and thence to Julius and Louis. The English force operating in the Pyrenees has returned. It could not face a winter camp far from home after failing to pass the summer there without suffering loss and discomfort. James expects news from Louis. How things go with his (John's) Andrew, master of the ship now committed to him by James, shall be communicated as soon as possible. As to John's statement that Scots make the seas unsafe and do not spare his subjects, James has not been able after inquiry to obtain confirmation—unless perhaps John means those Scots who had been in his service. It is fair that there should be investigation in Denmark in view of their

<sup>1</sup> According to Lesley, followed by Dunbar (*Scottish Kings*), a daughter. Lesley gives the month as November. If 'Andrew' is Andrew Jensoun and identical with 'skipper Andreis,' he had a ship in November and was receiving pay from the King (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv. pp. 460, 400). He may be the same as the person who appears in the record as Andro John-sone, 'Duche skippar.'



performances and if they allege written authority from James. H.

495. *Louis XII to Jacques Marchal, Blois, December 5, 1512.* Flodden Papers, pp. 62-66.

Instructions to Jacques Marchal, Secretary to the Duke of Albany, as to what he is to say to the King of Scots on the King's behalf concerning the matter—the Duke's marriage—about which the Duke has sent him to Scotland. *French.*

496. *James IV to Henry VIII, Holyrood, December 6, 1512.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi; BRODIE, 1499.

Perceives from his letters from the Palace of Westminster, dated November 7, and from the narrative of Unicorn pursuivant that he had refused a safe-conduct to the Bishop of Moray to allow him to go to the King of France to treat of universal peace in Christendom, and a crusade against the Infidels, alleging, along with various plausible reasons, his wish to avoid the censures which might be incurred by negotiating, even with the best intentions, with persons obnoxious to the Church, because the negotiations might be prejudicial to the Church and the Pope, if carried out without his knowledge. Now Henry wishes Forman to come to him to discuss matters that concern both James and himself—the perpetual peace and how it can be strengthened, and the date of the despatch of the Scottish commissioners to the Borders, to deal with the attacks at sea on the subjects of both countries, as his letter proposes. When he received Henry's refusal to let his ambassadors pass through England, he would have postponed his efforts for peace to a more favourable time, if it had not been for the letter which the Pope sent to him, and which he forwards by Islay Herald along with copies of other letters from the Pope in the said 'breviot,' from which Henry may see that it was by the advice of the Pope that he devoted himself to working for universal peace,

and that he continues to do so by the Pope's special command. He prays that so obedient a son of the Church as Henry will not only grant the safe-conducts to his ambassadors, but also commend them to Ferdinand. The grave threat to Rhodes, Italy, and Christendom merits the attention of Henry and his Council; in the present crisis he does not believe that any Christian prince will sacrifice for his own particular ambitions the universal welfare of the Christian religion, for which with his little power he shall strive to the uttermost. Asks safe-conducts for Forman, James, Earl of Arran, and Archibald, Earl of Angus. As to the Commissioners to be sent to the Borders, he himself lives near the Borders, and can and will be ready at short notice to make his commissioners meet Henry's speedily, though he thinks that meetings of commissioners where little redress is made tend to encourage disorder. A ship of Aberdeen, laden with salmon and other goods belonging to his subjects, has been captured. If he wishes redress to be made, let him send safe-conducts, like those which he wants James to give to the English commissioners, to the Scottish commissioners, John, Lord Drummond; Robert Lauder of the Bass, John Ramsay of Trarenzeane, and William Scott of Balweary, knights, and Master James Henryson, Clerk of Justiciary, or any three, to meet the English commissioners for redress and reparation for attacks by sea. Asks him to send back Islay speedily, as he is detaining the Pope's messenger till his return.

'Gevin under oure signet.' Signed 'Your brother James.'

*Scots.*

497. *Louis XII to His Councillors of Finances, Blois, December 8, 1512.* B.N.: MS. 20616, no. 67; BRODIE, 1501; Navy Records Society, x. 70.

Orders them to credit to Jehan Lalemant, Councillor and Receiver-General of the Royal Finances in the Duchy of Normandy, the sum of 3047 livres, 16 sous and 6 deniers of

Tournay which, at the King's command, he paid as follows : 1510 livres to Adonet Legendre, captain of the ship called *La petite Loyse*, on November 1 last for the voyage to Scotland of Charles de Tocques, Sieur de la Mothe, Martin Peguineau, the King's valet-de-chambre, and Jehan Piefort, gunner, according to the bargain made with the said Adenet by Thomas Bohier, Comptroller-General of Finance, which de la Mothe, Peguineau and Piefort has sent to his very dear cousin and ally the King of Scotland, on his secret concerns, with a hundred puncheons of new wine, of which he is making him a present, along with eight hundred iron cannon-balls and fifteen thousand [pounds] of gunpowder ; 1502 livres, 15 sous, to several merchants who sold and delivered the hundred puncheons of wine and eight others which he knew them to have for ullage ; 85 livres, 1 sou, 6 deniers to Jacques le Fevre for the cost of the transport of the 800 cannon-balls and powder from Rouen to Honfleur, where they were delivered to de la Mothe and Peguineau. He asks that on receipt of these presents, signed with his hand, along with the attached record of the bargain, the certification of expenses, etc., sealed with the counterseal of the Chancellery, the expenses should be allowed, in spite of any regulation to the contrary, for such is his pleasure.

Signed, Loys. Countersigned, *Par le Roy* Robertet.<sup>1</sup>  
*French.*

498. *Dacre to Henry VIII, Ford Castle, December 10, 1512.*  
B.M., CALIGULA, B, iii. 27 ; BRODIE, 1504.

Received his letters on November 22, with a copy of those sent to the King of Scots by Unicorn. . . . De la Mothe anchored at Leith last St. Andrew's Even in a great storm. He shot two guns and then eight and alarmed Edinburgh ; the common bell was rung for three hours, and every man got into harness. The ship was driven up

<sup>1</sup> The wine arrived on or shortly before February 5, 1513, on which day £220 was paid 'to the patronne of Delamotes schip that brocht in the wyne' (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 405).

to Blackness, where the [*Michael*] and *Margaret* were lying. The King went on the *Michael*, where de la Mothe had an audience with him. He has brought the King 30 tuns of wine, 8 lasts of gunpowder, 200 iron gunstones, 8 serpentines of brass for the field, with some plate, and 8 steeks of cloth of gold for the Queen. The old league is confirmed; the King of France has now affixed his seal to it. The King of Scots sent his in double; one sent by way of Flanders is supposed to have fallen into the hands of the English.<sup>1</sup> Dacre has been Warden on the East and Middle Marches this twelvemonth, and kept monthly meetings, and also on the West Marches, and has put the Borders in good order. He proposed about Candlemas last that the fortresses of the East and Middle Marches should be repaired, but received no answer. The matter seems urgent, for the frontiers on the Scots side are well fortified. A French ship brought lately into Leith a Spanish vessel laden with 'Pepper undight and rumpneyes.'<sup>2</sup> The goods were divided equally between the King, the lords, and the merchants. He saw that day at Coldstream the Bishop of Caithness, the Abbot of Kelso, the Earl of Atholl, and Sir William Scott, who said that de la Mothe brought two brass guns with him in addition to the serpentines. Hears that Unicorn, lately in England, will cross to France with [Martin Peguineau], who came with de la Mothe. The Queen has given birth to a child, which was christened and died. She is sorry for the grudge between Henry and her husband.

*English.*

499. *James IV to [John of Denmark], [December 1512].*

N.L. 354; B.M. 188; BRODIE, 1545.

John Lamb, a Scot living in his town of Mulwe, died there some time ago, and his sister, Isabella Lamb, the nearest heir, has implored James to write to the King that justice may be done. He therefore asks the King to order

<sup>1</sup> Both reached France and are now in the *Archives Nationales*. (See No. 456.)

<sup>2</sup> Casks of Greek wine.

the chancellor and the magistrates of the place to hear the case and hand over the goods to the sister of the defunct if she has a right to them (*si ad eam jure sint delata*) just as his subjects would have justice administered to them in the Scottish courts, should the occasion demand it.

500. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark*, [1512].

N.L. 301 ; BRODIE, 1536.<sup>1</sup>

Has already written to the Pope and Cardinal, begging that the Cistercian abbey of Culross, in the diocese of Dunblane, vacant through the death of Abbot Andrew [Masoun], should be given to his servant, Master James Stewart, a request which he knows the Cardinal has attended to. Although the resignation of the defunct had been admitted by accident, the admission of his mandate 'annosus' having been effected contrary to the writ of Chancery and the King's will, therefore it does not impair either the King's privilege or his servant's claim. Commends Cuthbert Bailze, his factor ; asks the Cardinal to favour him and no one else in this business.

501. *James IV to the Cardinal of St. Mark, Holyrood*, [1512].

N.L. 293 ; BRODIE, 1537 *places at end of 1512*.

Believes that the Cardinal, his dearest cousin, has learned from the letters of his Secretary what has been done about his monastery of Glenluce, in what condition it is now, and what still requires to be done. His secretary will satisfy him about the revenues of the monastery, but if he thought of exchanging the abbey for a pension, or of some other arrangement whereby the place might be disjoined and properly administered, Master Cuthbert Baylye, his servant, acting as intermediary, has to that end appointed procurators. Whatever the Cardinal does in the matter will get the King's approval and support.

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<sup>1</sup> Places end of 1512.

502. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark], Edinburgh* [1512]. N.L. 299; BRODIE, 1538 *places at end of 1512.*

Wrote to him lately that just as the Abbot of Melrose had abandoned his suit about the Cardinal's abbey of Glenluce, he would be pleased if the Cardinal would cause something to be done on behalf of his procurator, Cuthbert Bailye, about the monastery of Culross of the same order. Lately wrote about the monastery of Culross of the Cardinal's own Cistercian order, recently made vacant by the death of Andrew, the last Abbot, asking that it should be reserved for his well-beloved Master James Stewart, although a resignation by the same [Andrew] was engineered (*practicata*). The pretext of an old and irregularly granted (*preter stilum cancellarie admissi*) mandate cannot invalidate either the royal privilege that prelacies should be conferred at the King's recommendation (*ad nostras litteras*) or the interests of his servant.

503. *James IV to the College of Cardinals, [December ? 1512].* N.L. 340; BRODIE, 1540 *places at end of 1512.*

From their letters sent to him, and likewise from his ambassador the Bishop of Moray, lately acting for him in Rome (*istic*), he has learned how much he owes to them. He has not neglected his duty to work for peace, for in addition to the exertions of his ambassador, who crossed the Alps time and again that he might reconcile the King of France to the Pope, at home he did not fail, by letters and ambassadors, to urge the princes who were his kinsmen and allies to strive with all their might to establish unity in the Church and among their fellows, so that, a reconciliation being effected, a united expedition might be launched against the enemies of Christ. This, James has heard, ever since his election has been desired by Pope Julius, under whose leadership, whether in the field or in the council-chamber (*vel duce vel auctore*), victory is to be expected. Although Fortune has become hostile, yet the attempt must again be made to allay the discords that are

bringing disaster to Christendom. If this madness continues to rage, the might of Christendom will perish by its own sword. Therefore James has decided to open negotiations again with the King of France, if the Pope approves and will transmit his instructions. He hopes that this action will lead to a reconciliation, and is all the more hopeful when he sees the Cardinals exercise their authority to the full, and strive to establish sanity.

504. *James [IV] to the Cardinal of [St. Mark], [1512].*

N.L. 362; BRODIE, 1535.

Is writing to His Holiness to inform him that William, Abbot of Kilwynnyn, has promised to resign his benefice, and to ask him to provide Master John Forman, Precentor of Glasgow Cathedral, to the Abbey, and confer the precentorship on his servant, Andrew Cunynghame. Asks the Cardinal for his support. A similar letter to be sent to the Pope. (*Et in eadem forma Sanctitati.*)

## 1513

505. *James IV to John of Denmark, [Edinburgh, January 12, 1512-13].*<sup>1</sup> N.L. 375; B.M. 209; R. 173; BRODIE, 1560.

Since Magnus Beilde, his servant and a Danish subject educated among the noble Scottish youth, has shown himself not unworthy of his home, and since his talents give promise that he will be a valuable public servant, he does not think it out of place to recommend not only him, but his kinsfolk, especially his uncle, Master Oswald Beilde, Chancellor of Denmark, although James's commendation of the latter to John is hardly necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 402, records a payment on January 12, 1513, of 48s. 'to Maunis quhen he past in Denmark to buy him serkis.'

506. *James IV to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, January 12, 1512-13.* N.L. 374; B.M. 208; R. 169; BRODIE, 1564.

Heads of the articles communicated by the King of Scots to Magnus Beilde, to be submitted to the King of Denmark.

Through his ambassadors he has worked hard for peace the last two years to effect the establishment of universal peace, the reconciliation of the King of France and the Pope, and the end of the war waged by the Kings of England and Aragon against King Louis. He has had no success, since the King of England maintains that he cannot withdraw from the war without the express consent of the Pope, and of his uncle and ally, the King of Aragon. Disturbed by this reply he strove all the harder, sending ambassadors again and again, he at length persuaded the Pope to send him letters, a copy of which, similar to that sent to the King of England, he now sends to John. In these letters His Holiness instructs James to treat for peace with the King of France, both because he has recovered the possessions of the Church, and because the Sultan, having obtained his empire by force, was preparing for an attack on Christendom. He received letters from Louis in reply, empowering him to negotiate on his behalf with the King of England. He repeatedly sent heralds to Henry to request a safe-conduct for ambassadors coming at the Pope's behest to treat for peace, with no result. In addition, he offered to forgive all the injuries inflicted by the English on himself and his subjects—the capture of merchant ships, the slaughter and imprisonment of his subjects, the devastation of his territories—and to renew the broken peace, on the one condition that Henry should incline his mind to the establishment of concord in the Church, in accordance with the letters of His Holiness, work for an honourable peace, and write beforehand to the Scottish ambassadors entrusted with the peace negotiations, informing them of what he considered to be his just demands. Urged Henry, if he was suspicious of him, to negotiate for peace through John, as an honest broker (*quae neutram factionis partem elegerat*).



Henry rejected all these proposals and has recently decided to attack Scotland as well as France, on the pretext that he cannot invade France with impunity if Scotland is let alone (*salvis nobis*). Scotland would certainly be in danger if the English troops invaded France. There is no doubt that, if they conquered France, the English would proceed to occupy Scotland and the kingdoms nearest to her.

To meet the cost of the war, Henry has levied a greater tax than has ever been imposed before, and having got ready both fleets and armies he declares that he will invade Scotland and France simultaneously with English and Spanish forces. But, as James is informed, the English troops, after their experiences in Biscay in the previous year, will not easily be persuaded to return to attack France from a base in Spain. They received such rough treatment there that they flee the land like poison, just as they were in no hurry to go back to Gueldres, after the warm reception that they got when they invaded it. If Henry remembered last year's losses he would hesitate to invade a strongly garrisoned France or risk an action with the French fleet. But although the fickle English, complain about the great sums forced from them and threaten to rise against the tax-collectors, as James has been warned by friends, they are arming their land and sea forces against him, as if, fearing that the French were ready for war, they would suddenly overwhelm the Scots who were thinking only of peace, and after having easily made themselves masters of the Scottish seaboard, use it as a base from which France and the neighbouring states might be attacked with impunity. When therefore Henry and Ferdinand swore to a treaty binding them to attack and occupy other kingdoms, and forbidding the one to make peace without the consent of the other, James considered it only right (*non iniquum*) in the circumstances to renew with the present King of France the ancient treaty made by their ancestors to check the violence of England and enemy invasions, so that each ally should help the other and should refuse to make peace or enter into a truce with the

enemy without his partner's consent. Genuinely defensive treaties are just.

Since Scotland is not ready for war, he sends his servant and King John's subject to Denmark to inform the King of what he most stands in need. Therefore asks John to act like a most loving uncle, to arm and provision a fleet in defence of his nephew, and to send it to Scotland. Let him decide and name his reward; James will see that it is paid in full. Finally asks John to take under his protection and issue safe-conducts to his subjects and those of the Hanse towns sailing with foodstuffs to Scottish ports, where they will receive payment for their cargoes without delay.

507. *James IV to the Queen of Denmark*, [Edinburgh, January 12, 1512-13]. N.L. 377; B.M. 210; R. 174; BRODIE, 1562.

Is sending to his uncle Magnus Beilde, his servant and a Danish subject, who will give her information about Scottish affairs. She should tell the messenger if there is anything in his kingdom that she would like to have. Her wishes will be attended to as readily in Scotland as in her own country; she should tell James what they are without ceremony.

508. *James IV to Christiern, King of Norway*, [Edinburgh, January 12, 1512-13]. N.L. 378; B.M. 211; R. 174; BRODIE, App. 20 *places at end of 1511*.

Congratulates him on his success and on his preservation from hurt; asks him for frequent information about his affairs, which James regards as his own, as Christiern will find by experience, if ever he should need his help. He will learn from his envoy what is happening in Scotland, what stage the business has reached (*quo loco res steterit*) and what hope remains.

509. *James IV to John of Denmark*, [January 17, 1512-13]. N.L. 372.

Andrew Jensoun, a Danish subject and sailor, was sent over to him by the King some years ago, served him faithfully, and, on King John's instructions, had remained with him until now. For this he thanks the King, and will recompense Jensoun for his services (*sibi pro servitio referre debemus*). Jensoun is now returning to Denmark with Magnus Belde, *juvenem nobis familiarem*. Asks the King to show favour to Andrew and Magnus.

510. *James IV to John of Denmark, Holyrood, January 17, 1512-13*. W. i. 67<sup>1</sup>; N.L. 373; B.M. 207; R. 168; BRODIE, 1564.

Commends to him Magnus Beld, a Danish subject who has been in his service in Scotland for some time, and whom he knows by experience to be faithful and discreet. Thinks him in this conjuncture a not unsuitable person to communicate fully and frankly to John his views on a very important matter. Asks John to give full credence to him, to listen carefully (*equius audire*) to certain articles, signed by James, which had been entrusted to him, and play the part of an uncle in this emergency (*hac tempestate*), just as James had resolved to be a nephew to him as long as life endures. He insists on one thing: this is no time for delay: they must act at once, otherwise they will incur the shame of acting when it was too late, and will regret that they were too slow in seeking a remedy for these mangled matters (*vulneratis rebus medelam*).

511. *James IV to the Officers of His Kingdom, and Others, [Edinburgh], January 17, 1512-13*. N.L. 380.

Informs all seeing the letter, especially the officers of his realm and his subjects, that he has received Andrew

<sup>1</sup> Original in Danish Archives, signed 'James Rex,' countersigned 'A Secretis Panitar.' The N.L., B.M., and R. versions are shorter, containing no reference to the *certa articulorum capita* entrusted to Magnus (No. 505), and undated.

Jensoun as his servant, admitted him to all the privileges enjoyed by his subjects, and licensed him to attack his enemies and make them prisoner. Orders all his magistrates and officers in the ports and places of his realm to admit Andrew kindly, treat him favourably, allow him to share in all the privileges that they enjoy, and neither put obstacles in his way nor allow anyone else to put them. *Datum sub signeto nostro secretiore.*

512. *James IV to John of Denmark, [Edinburgh, January 17, 1512-13]. N.L. 376.*

Arthur Bruce, merchant of Edinburgh, has not yet received payment, out of the effects of the late Peter Stralk, citizen of Hamburg, of the sum of £15, 8s., money of Flanders, which he lent to obtain a share in his ship, the *Christopher*. James asks his uncle, as Peter died in his kingdom, to order the sum to be paid to the creditor out of the goods of the deceased.

513. *De la Mothe to John of Denmark, Edinburgh, January 18, 1512-13. N.L. 381; BRODIE, 1584.*

The King of France lately sent him, by a servant of his brother the Duke of Holstein, letters and a safe-conduct for forty ships to be laden with salt in France, although King Louis has said that Danish ships do not need a safe-conduct, seeing that they can go anywhere in France as safely as if they were at home. He writes again at the request of King Louis. He thanks the King humbly; the many benefits that he has bestowed on him bind him to his service. Ventures to suggest that if he thinks that the heir to his kingdoms might become related by marriage to the King of France, there is hope that his wish will be gratified, and a kinswoman of King Louis be married to the Prince. Will give full attention to those matters concerning the safety and prosperity (*presidio et usui*) which King John has commended to him in his letters. *Ex curia regis Scotorum.*

514. *Henry VIII to all Wardens, Admirals, Captains, etc., Westminster, January 24, 1512-13.* RYMER, xiii, p. 346; BRODIE, 1592, 1602(27).

At the special desire and request of the King of Scots, made known to him in letters, signed by his own hand, Henry, of his special grace, and with the consent of his Council, grants a safe-conduct to John, Lord Drummond, Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass, Sir John Ramsay of Terrenyeane, Sir William Scott of Balverley, and Master John Henryson, Lord Justice Clerk, councillors, orators and commissioners of the aforementioned King, all or any of them, to enter and sojourn in his realm and its borders adjoining Scotland (*Marchias ejusdem versus Scotiam*), with a hundred persons or fewer, armed or unarmed, with as many horses, castrated or not, in addition to guides and helpers (*querentes et assistarios*) with goods, stuff, jewels, letters, papers, portmanteaux (*manticas*), fardels, gold and silver coined and uncoined, and other legitimate goods and gear. To be valid for one year.

515. *James IV to Anne of Brittany, Holyrood, [January, 1512-13].* N.L. 259; BRODIE, 304.<sup>1</sup>

His cousin, Christiern, Hereditary Prince of Denmark, as yet unmarried, prudent in war and council, in no way degenerate from his glorious ancestors, and now proposing to marry, has fixed his mind on the French royal house, to which he is bound by treaty and kinship. James hopes that from a new bond of kinship a stronger friendship will arise. He therefore sends these letters to inform her that this prince has now turned his thoughts to marriage, so that any marriageable kinswoman of hers whom there may be in France may know that there is a prince in Denmark who is a suitable match. If Queen Anne approved, and her prudence would make her all the more eager to establish a closer tie of kinship, he would do his best to further the

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<sup>1</sup> Places at end of 1509.

match, as she would hear fully from Montjoye, King-of-Arms.

516. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 12, 1512-13.* N.L. 378; B.M. 215; R. 179; BRODIE, 1615.

The papal briefs delivered to him lately by Octavian Olarius, gave him enormous pleasure. In them His Holiness deplored the shedding of Christian blood by Christians, and studious of the unity of Christendom, proposes an expedition against the enemies of Christ, which is not only necessary but, on the evidence of the inhabitants of Ragusa, will be most beneficial, and which is all the more to be hoped for because he has recovered the possessions of the Church, and because the Sultan, having usurped the imperial authority by force, is threatening the frontiers of Christendom. Therefore His Holiness has charged James, by the bowels of Our Lord (*per viscera Salvatoris*) to give his whole mind to securing peace in the Church, and persuading the King of France to imitate the deeds of his ancestors, so that the united armies of Christendom may march together against the Turk. Letters from the King of France with proposals for peace were in his possession, and when Louis entered into a league with him, he sent the papal letters by his herald to the King of England, asking a safe-conduct for ambassadors negotiating a peace. But Henry wrote to His Holiness to say that he had changed his mind in the interval, had no intention of making peace, and had made a pact with the King of the Romans. Henry, being in a warlike mood and in no haste to incline the Pope to peace, refused the Scottish ambassadors passage through his territory. James, eager to carry out the instructions of His Holiness, and turn away from Christian souls the flames of war that have burst out, thinking that it would be sacrilege to leave anything undone that might lead to peace, proposed to his brother of England to forgive the heavy losses that he had inflicted on the Scots, and to endure his insults to himself and his house, as long as it was for the good of Christendom. He has had no reply

from Henry, and has had to put up with the capture, imprisonment, and death of his subjects, fearing that he would incur the displeasure of His Holiness if he resorted to force, and trusting that the princes of Christendom would desist from their hateful internecine strife, and that he would get a fair hearing for his complaints. But, alas, the princes who should compose disputes think of inflaming minds rather than of quieting them, and under the pretence of defending the Church, study to acquire power to the great detriment of religion. His Holiness remains the only defence of the Faithful; his task it is to see that Christendom is not imperilled by the ambition and lust for power of other rulers, and that instead Christians at his command lay down the arms that they took up against one another. His indulgence to those sons of his who are devoted to him in other respects, the King of France and the princes of his house, should be in proportion to the magnitude of the danger, so that, when they are reconciled and united in arms, an expedition may be prepared under the leadership of His Holiness, which will certainly be victorious. For the most obedient sons of the Papal See, wishing as they do to succour the Head of the Church in his peril, deplore that the illustrious royal family of France, bound to them by kinship and treaty, should be ruined or brought low. Assures His Holiness that Louis will do anything that the Pope may command. Whatever his offence, to forgive is better than to punish. At least let the former devotion shown by the Kings of France for the Papal See speak for him. Let the noted generosity of Julius be shown to Louis, so that James and he (*nos*) following so mighty leaders, may be ready to risk their lives in the cause of Christ against his savage enemies. Begs His Holiness to send his demands to him in the first place; is confident that he can get from Louis a decision which will satisfy Julius. Will spare neither body nor mind in his attempts to effect this, as Octavian Olarius will tell him fully.

517. *James IV to the College of Cardinals*, [Edinburgh, February 12, 1518]. N.L. 383; B.M. 216; R.H. 209; R. 182; BRODIE, 1616.

Acknowledges their letters, delivered by Octavian Olarius, in which they urge him to work for peace and concord; promises to support their efforts for a good peace. Acknowledges also receipt of letters from the Pope . . . 'ut supra, etc., labefactari dolerent,'<sup>1</sup> especially when Louis offers at his own cost to promote the rule and authority of the Church. Recommends the matter to their attention. Does not cease by day or night working and planning on behalf of the Pope.

518. *James IV to Raphael, Cardinal St. George, Edinburgh*, February 12, 1512-13. N.L. 386; BRODIE, 1621.

Received his letters from Octavian Olarius, and learns from them how much he is indebted to him for his kindness. Thanks him, and prays that his kindness will develop into friendship, which James will take care to return. Octavian will explain his efforts to compose strife and bring peace to the Church. He commends to him the Archdeacon of Moray and his affairs.

519. *James IV to [Balthasar Stuart]*,<sup>2</sup> *Edinburgh*, [February 12, 1512-13]. N.L. 351; B.M. 193; BRODIE, 1296.

It is long since he heard from his secretary and the Archdeacon of Moray of his kindness to the Scots in Rome (*istic*) and of the help he had given in the business committed to the archdeacon. Now, from his letters delivered by Octavian Olarius, he learns that his ancestors came from Scotland, and that he is connected with the royal house. He sees proof of his Scottish descent in his kindness.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the letter to the Pope (No. 516), as far as 'ruined or brought low,' was to be inserted here.

<sup>2</sup> Papal Notary. See Brodie, p. 1529.



James would have earned the Pope's love and charity, of which he writes, if His Holiness had sent him the demands (*postulata*) that he had made on the King of France. He still hopes to do what will satisfy His Holiness. Balthasar holds an important position in which he can bring both glory and profit to his fellow-countrymen; he counts him not simply as a Scotsman, but as a Scot of Scotsmen (*sed nostrum ex nostris numeramus*). To advance him would be to James's own advantage. Commends to him the case of his secretary, about which he will be advised by the Archdeacon of Moray. Asks him, when he has time, to send him news of what is happening in Rome.

520. *James IV, King of Scots, to the Marquis of Mantua, Edinburgh, February 12, 1512-13.* CAL. VEN. ii. 221 (Mantuan Archives); N.L. 388; BRODIE, 1617.

Is sending him Octavian Olarius, with a request that the Marquis will do his best to allay the dissension that has arisen in the Church, and will acquaint him with the part he has determined to take and what hopes he entertains of concord. Considers it his duty to act as mediator.

521. *Andrew Forman to the Marquis of Mantua, Edinburgh, February 12, 1512-13.* CAL. VEN. ii. 222 (Mantuan Archives); N.L. 388; BRODIE, 1618.

Has heard by Octavian, the servant of the King, how much the Marquis has done for him with the Pope. Together with the King, requests the Marquis to aid the holy peace in conformity with the royal letters, of which Octavian is the bearer.

*Italian.*

522. *Andrew Forman to the Prince of Mantua, Edinburgh, February 12, 1512-13.* CAL. VEN. ii. 223 (Mantuan Archives); N.L. 223; BRODIE, 1619.

Has received a letter from him through Octavian, which gave his King and him much comfort. Octavian gave an

account to the King of the Prince's personal appearance and of all his endowments and qualities. The King was much pleased on hearing that he had such a kinsman of that age, especially about the Pope's person. Requests the Prince to continue recommending him to the Pope. His King is sending Octavian to the Pope, and through him the Prince will learn the intention of the King and the writer concerning this peace.

*Italian.*

523. *James IV to [the Prince of Mantua], Edinburgh, February 12, 1512-13. N.L. 389 ; BRODIE, 1620.*

Received the letters of his dearest cousin, which gave him pleasure, from Octavian Olarius. Congratulates the youth and himself that he is in Rome (*istic*), where he can do something for the honour of himself and his friends. Asks him to express his devotion to the Pope. Hoped in all this confusion (*in tanta rerum turba*) to have satisfied the Pope earlier, if only he had transmitted his demands, as Octavian and the Archdeacon of Moray will explain.

524. *James IV to Julius II, Edinburgh, February 13, 1512-13. N.L. 384 ; BRODIE 1624.*

Heads of the articles communicated by the King of Scots to Octavian Olarius, for submission to the Pope.

James has received from Olarius the Pope's briefs urging the King of France to make peace, and has sent them to the King of England by a herald, along with his own letters, asking that his ambassadors, who are working for peace, should be allowed to pass through Henry's territories.

(1) Olarius is to say that the King of England has written to him, stating that as the Pope has very little intention of treating for peace, he has refused permission to the Scots ambassadors to pass through his territories.

(2) He is to declare that James is astonished that His Holiness should have urged him to labour for peace, if he

had abandoned the attempt to secure it. James can hardly believe that the Pope would not have told him of any change of purpose.

(3) Olarius is to inform the Pope that James has already urged Louis, his ally and kinsman, to obey the Pope's instruction to make peace. He has no doubt of succeeding if the Pope is still of the same mind.

(4) In addition, Olarius is to explain that in recent years James has received grave injuries from the English, who kill, seize, imprison, and detain his subjects, when they are in peaceful guise (*togatos*) and suspect no harm, acting as if James had declared war on England (*quasi nobis cum sua gente bellum foret indictum*). James has endured all these and greater losses with patience, for the sake of preserving universal peace.

(5) Olarius will see, therefore, that it is not by James and the Scots, but by Henry and his people, who have attacked him and his subjects (*nobis et nostris illatam vim videris*). Olarius is to implore the Pope not to believe any story about James or pronounce any sentence against him, since if the Pope is bent on peace, James will do all that he can for the glory and advantage (*gloriae et usui*) of His Holiness.

525. *James IV to Julius II, February 13, 1512-13.*

B.M. 203 ; BRODIE, 1025.

In favour of Master John Campbell, of the family of the Earls of Argyll, licentiate in law, that he may be provided out of the benefices vacant by the death of Alexander Inglis, acolyte to the See Apostolic, who held the treasurer-ship of Glasgow and perpetual vicarage of Dundonald at the presentation of the Abbey of Paisley, and the canonry and prebend of Aberlady in the diocese of Dunkeld. Begs him to order the datary and other officers not to expedite signatures of provisions to these benefices, except for Campbell.

526. *Henry VIII: Commission, Canterbury, February 15, 1513.* RYMER, p. 347; BRODIE, 1627 and 1662(32).

Commission to Lord Dacre and Dr. West, identical with Commission of November 3, 1511.

527. *Dacre to Henry VIII, Carlisle Castle, 10 p.m., February 24, 1512-13.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. iii. 23; BRODIE, 1645.

Received, February 5, by post, Henry's letters for himself and the King of Scots, which he forwarded by a servant, who returned with the required safe-conducts for the English commissioners and for the ambassador (West) this afternoon. De la Mothe sailed on Monday 14, with James Ogilvy and 60 other Scots. The King himself went to the ship. Octavian Olarius, who had been with the King since Christmas, sailed with them. Jacques Tarret, a Frenchman, master wright of 'the great ship,' went in de la Mothe's ship, to engage 80 mariners for the great ship. De la Mothe's servants went on his own ship, laden with woollfells and salt hides. The two ships captured at Flamborough Head a crayer of Newcastle laden with Malvoisie, Rhenish wine, and salt, and sent her to Leith with a French crew. There is in Edinburgh Castle much ordnance, gunpowder, lance staves, and making of carts. Eighty workmen are employed daily. The King visits them daily. Sends two arrowheads made there that were brought home by his servant. Has not heard of any such made in Scotland before. In Leith haven are 13 great ships of 3 tops, 10 small ships, and the ship of Lynn taken by Will Brownhill. In the New Haven are 2 great ships, the *Margaret* and the *James*, which the King has repaired. He is making a long vessel, with 30 oars aside, to wait on the ship. He visits the haven daily early in the morning, stays there till noon or after, and then goes home to dinner. The mast of the great ship being too long, it was taken down and mended. Will Brownhill of Leith is going to sail to Flanders, on Tuesday or Wednesday next, with his ship,

and two merchant ships of Edinburgh. They are said to be going to France, if they can escape the English. The King of Scots is building a tower on a crag at the Queensferry, with a stone house at either side of the ferry to protect his ships, which he intends to lie above the ferry. The King has lately sent 12 tuns of wine, certain guns, and other 'pleasures' to the King of Denmark. A gun, newly cast, burst in Edinburgh Castle when being fired in the presence of the King. B.

528. *Louis XII to de la Mothe, Blois, March 5, 1512-13.*  
Flodden Papers, Synopsis, pp. 66-68; Text, pp. 68-72.

Endorsed: Articles of de la Mothe presented to the King, May 19, 1513.

529. *The Venetian Ambassador to the Signory, Rome, March 17, 1512-13.*<sup>1</sup> SANUTO, xvi. p. 48; CAL. VEN. ii. 230; BRODIE, 1682.

The Pope has received a letter from the King of Scots, exhorting him to make peace between France and England, as otherwise he cannot but attack England. He has fifty ships in order and prepared.

*Italian.*

530. *James IV on behalf of Andrew Forman, Stirling Castle, March 25, 1513.* N.L. 393; BRODIE, 1706.

Grants to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, his councillor and ambassador, power to revoke and dismiss from the office of Protector of Scottish interests in the Roman Curia any cardinals or ecclesiastics of lesser rank, and as it seems good to him, to announce their dismissal, and to appoint in their place others whom he thought suitable, and to do everything else that was necessary in these matters, which

<sup>1</sup> Received March 21.

the King would have done if he had been there in person.  
*Datum sub signeto nostro secretiore.*<sup>1</sup>

531. *James IV to Leo X, [Stirling] Castle, [March 25, 1513].*  
N.L. 394; BRODIE, 1707.

In former years he sent his ambassador and confidential counsellor, Andrew, Bishop of Moray, to Rome to work for peace in Christendom. He now sends him again, so that he may not seem to fail in his duty. Is confident that what Pope Julius would not do, His Holiness will do for the good of Christ's flock. Has commended his ambassador to continue his policy and to recommend everything making for improvement (*in melius cuncta suadere*). His ambassador has gladly endured much toil and danger for the sake of the Church and Christendom, and is worthy of what was promised to him by Pope Julius—elevation to the cardinalate at the next creation, which in his letters he recommends His Holiness to effect. *Ex castello.*

532. *James IV to the Cardinal [of St. Mark?], Edinburgh, March 25, 1513.* N.L. 394; BRODIE, 1708.

On a former occasion he sent abroad Andrew, Bishop of Moray, his counsellor and ambassador, to compose the differences between Julius II and Louis XII. He sends him once again, confident that what Pope Julius refused to do his successor will do to convert the internecine war in Christendom into a war against the cruel enemies of the Christian faith. Has given him instructions (*mandata*) for the Cardinal, whom he begs to give him credence, and advance the business entrusted to him.

<sup>1</sup> Forman left Scotland on March 31, 1513. On March 28, 1513, Unicorn Herald received 30 French crowns 'to pas in France with my Lord the Bishop of Murray' (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 408).

533. *James IV to the Emperor Maximilian, Stirling Castle, March 31, 1513.* N.L. 391; B.M. 291; R. pp. 238-9; BRODIE, 1718.

Inspired by hatred of internecine warfare among Christians, he had in former years wholeheartedly striven, through his ambassadors, to settle by peaceful means the dispute between Pope Julius of famous memory and the King of France, that the whole strength of Christendom might be turned against the enemies of Christ. But since others were pulling in a different direction, there resulted, not peace, but a more cruel war, and the power of faction pierced the breast of Europe, and threatened worse to come. Now indeed in the hope that the policy which was rejected by Julius will be followed under his successor, he sends to the Emperor the Bishop of Moray, his ambassador and confidant, who has a profound knowledge of Scottish political problems (*in arduis regni negotiis versatum*), and whom he had some time ago sent to the Pope. Has given him his instructions. Asks His Majesty in addition to work for the establishment of universal peace in Christendom, and for an expedition against the Infidel, as in his letters he has definitely promised to do.

534. *James IV to Pope Leo X, [Stirling Castle, March 31, 1513].* N.L. 392; BRODIE, 1719.

Instructs the scribe to copy the previous letter, substituting 'Beatissime pater' for the Emperor's titles, adding 'Your predecessor' after 'Pope Julius,' and substituting 'His Holiness' for 'His Majesty' towards the end, and also to send a similar letter to the College of Cardinals.

535. *James IV to the Grand Master of Rhodes, Stirling Castle, March 31, 1513.* N.L. 395; BRODIE, 1720.

Having always been studious to maintain the rights and privileges of his order in Scotland, in the confidence that

its might would redound to the profit and honour of himself and his kingdom, he was astonished to learn recently that ancientries (*anciennitates*) and provisions to the preceptories within Scotland are granted only by the Turcopolier and the preceptors in England, even when they are made to Scottish subjects, that pensions are paid to the Treasurer and the Prior in England, and finally that members of this order, even when Scottish by birth and residing in Scotland, had to live so that they looked on the Prior in England as their lord and protector, and took before him and the preceptors of that kingdom cases affecting the order in Scotland, on the pretext that according to the statutes of the order Scotland counted as part of England. So he has come to hold in suspicion, not without reason, of favouring England, the former preceptor of the Preceptory of Torphichen, Lord St. John of your order, although he was a Scotsman by birth, nominated by himself in Scotland, and chosen from his counsellors as a glory to the order. If he had known earlier of the English claim he would not have put up with it, either for his own sake, or for the sake of his kingdom, but he heard of it for the first time in a suit brought by his principal secretary against George Dundas, a member of the order and he has decided to bring it to the notice of the Grand Master, confident that in those matters which depend on his judgment and affect so much the honour of James and his kingdom, he will consider the security of Scotland. If he does otherwise James must seek another remedy, for he tells him plainly that he will not allow either the English to establish their superiority over him and his kingdom, or Scotsmen elected by English votes to pry into his secrets and occupy positions of so great authority. He encloses the ancientries (*anciennitates*) of which he complained, and refers him further to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, ambassador to the Pope and the King of France.



536. *James IV to Christiern, Elect of Denmark*, [March 1513]. N.L. 396; BRODIE, 1729.

Has lately received from his own servant, Magnus Belde, his letters announcing the death of his father,<sup>1</sup> of which a rumour had already reached him. He is indeed bereft of a very dear kinsman, a steadfast protector of Scotland, who sent his forces to restrain the might of the English. These attack by land and sea, and lay waste with fire and sword the territories of the King of France, to whom both James and Christiern are closely bound by kinship. In answer to the request of Louis that he should send a fleet, he has built a certain number of ships, which will shortly sail for France. Advises him, if he wishes to effect a speedy renewal of his father's treaty with France, to send ambassadors, so that while negotiations for the treaty are going on, a request may be made for a worthy bride from a noble French house (*ex paribus Gallorum*). Will attend to his interests not simply with a cousinly, but with a fatherly care.

537. *James IV to the Consuls and Senate of Lübeck*, [March 1513]. N.L. 397; BRODIE, 1730.

David Alanson, a burghess of his town of Dundee, has complained to him that in July 1510 their fleet forcibly captured at Coll in Denmark his ship called the *Katherine*, laden with merchandise and bound for Danzig, and brought ship and goods into Lübeck wantonly chained and imprisoned his subjects for twenty-two days, and withheld Alanson's twenty-year-old son from his father, and finally let them go with the utmost reluctance, miserable and naked. Since there is peace and amity between them, and no outstanding cause of complaint (*injuria*), he writes urging them to attend to the case of his man, who is really a reputable merchant, and look with a kindly eye on his toil and sweat (*labores et sudores*), so that he may be saved

<sup>1</sup> February 21, 1513.

from bitter poverty. He has instructed Alanson to approach the Senate, where he is confident that he will get a just decision, and be reunited to his son. He will do similar favours to them when the opportunity presents itself.

538. *James IV to the Duke of Pomerania, [March 1513].*  
N.L. 398 ; BRODIE 1731.

Andrew Balfour, a merchant of St. Andrews, *non improbus*, complains that last year a merchant ship of Dundee was stopped by a ship of Lübeck, and being thus forced out of her course, was driven ashore by a storm at Jasmund ('Gesmond') in his territory on August 4, 1512, when she was broken up. The cargo was kept by the Duke's *redditarium*, but the return of the ship was refused to the merchants when they asked for it, as if they had been Lübeckers and not Scots. Andrew went to Lübeck and laid his case before the Senators and Consuls, who, moved by respect for the truth, sent letters by the master of the ship to the *redditarium*, certifying that ship and cargo belonged to the Scots, and should be returned to them. In spite of his exertions, Andrew has so far obtained no satisfaction. James therefore, that honest merchants may have a fair return for their toil and sweat (*labores et sudores*), now writes to the Duke desiring that he will see justice done. Urges him earnestly (*identidem rogamus*) to use his power to establish the authority of Christiern, King-elect of Denmark, Sweden, etc., over his kingdoms.

539. *Dr. Nicholas West to Henry VIII, Stirling, April 1, 1513.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 56 ; BRODIE, 1735.<sup>1</sup>

Received in Edinburgh on Sunday, March 20, his letters dated Greenwich, March 15, with copies of three 'briefes,' one monitory to the King of Scots to keep the peace,

<sup>1</sup> A very full summary, with many verbatim quotations.

another, which he had seen and read before, to the Bishop of Moray, a third to the King of Denmark, also a copy of the brief executorial, with a commission for abolition. The same day Unicorn pursuivant, and John Bertoun came from France with news of the death of Julius II. On March 23 he left Edinburgh, and on March 24 arrived in Stirling, where the King was keeping within the Observantines till the end of Holy Week. On Easter Sunday, March 27, he saw the King, who promised him an interview on Monday, and dined with the Queen, who asked for her legacy. West replied that he was ready to pay it if James would promise to keep the peace, but not otherwise.

On Monday, March 28, and Wednesday, March 30, he saw the King, who showed him a detailed statement from Louis of the help to be given him, one year after the conclusion of peace, for his expedition against the Infidel, and alleged this as a reason for not breaking with France. Thursday, March 31, Forman left for France. Friday, April 1, West tried in vain to get from either King or Council an undertaking that Scotland would not intervene in a war between England and France. He also failed, in the attempt that he made after receiving Henry's letter, dated Greenwich, March 26, to persuade James to grant his request for his 'great ship,' James alleging that Louis had also asked for it since West's arrival.

Wishes Henry had asked him 'to tarie in Turquie, this cuntry is so miser and the people so ungracious.' His plain speaking (*aperte sute*) makes them so proud that they hardly know themselves, 'and they be bounde by this new treatie to France they dar not displease hym neyther in word nor dede.'

Stirling, April 1, 'at xij of the klok in the nyht.'

*English.*

540. *James IV to Leo X, Holyrood, April 7, 1513.* N.L. 403.  
BRODIE 1757.

Has received his briefs concerning the indulgence granted by Pope Julius that he may restore the basilica of St. Peter,

and a Jubilee, with indulgence for sins, by commissioned Minorite Friars. Gilbert Nycholas, of the said order, who was accordingly ordered to take the necessary money, collected in Scotland, to Rome, now urges James that he should be provided with a colleague. He has been for some years expecting the indulgence, and heard that it was sent, but had been detained in England, as the Archdeacon of Moray, his procurator, would show. Asks also for a renewal of the indulgence granted by Julius for the hospital at Montrose. '*Ex palatio nostro.*'

541. *Leo X to Laurence Taillefer, Rome, April 7, 1513.*

R.O., R.T. i. vol. 1, f. 157. BRODIE, 1759.

Brieve to Laurence Taillefer, M.A., vicar of the parish church of Kirkpatrick, in the diocese of Glasgow, now in his twenty-fourth year, dispensing for two years with his taking holy orders.

542. *James IV to [Leo X], Edinburgh, [April 7, 1513].*

N.L. 385; BRODIE 1757.

Andrew, Abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Cambuskenneth, '*qui nobis a juventate familiariter inservierat,*' died recently. His house, which James reverences above all other places in his kingdom (*que nobis pre ceteris regni locis venit observanda*) because his father and mother are buried there, is left without a head. He has therefore chosen as abbot one who is not the least of his servants (*ex nostris familiaribus non infimum*), and begs that Patrick Paniter, his Secretary, may be admitted as abbot, and that His Holiness will graciously allow him two years in which to make his profession and assume the habit.

With note: A similar letter to the Cardinal, with the addition that the matter is entrusted to him because of his influence in the Papal Court.

543. *Queen Margaret to Henry VIII, Linlithgow, April 11, [1513].* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 74; ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i, pp. 64, 65; BRODIE, 1767.

Dr. West has delivered Henry's letters, expressing his concern about her illness. His sympathy has cheered and comforted her. She cannot believe that he is responsible for her being 'sa fremdly delt with in our faderis Legacy.' Her husband knows from what West said that it is withheld on his account and will recompense her. She is ashamed and wishes to God that the question of the legacy had never been raised. It is not as important as Henry's letters make it out to be; she lacks nothing, and her husband is 'evir the langer the better to ws, as knawis God.'

*English.*

544. *Henry VIII to Cardinal Bainbridge, London, April 12, 1513.* B.M., HARLEIAN MS., no. 3462, ff. 28-31;<sup>1</sup> SANUTO, xvi. 196.<sup>2</sup>

Acknowledges his letters respecting death of Julius II and election of Leo X. Declares his readiness to co-operate with the Pope in crippling the power of France, and so restoring peace and making a crusade possible. Heard recently that when the King of Scots learned that Henry had procured from Julius II a papal interdict against his kingdom, he decided to send the Bishop of Moray to Rome, not only to hinder its execution but to persuade Leo X to refuse to confirm it afresh. He had never meant the interdict to be published unless James, in violation of his oath, openly broke the peace. James had recently told Henry's ambassador, the Dean of Windsor, that he would appeal from the letters of execution; the ambassador had replied that no appeal was possible, since there was no one above the Pope. He then declared that he would

<sup>1</sup> Translation in Halliwell's *Royal Letters*, i, 204; abstract; Brodie, 1769.

<sup>2</sup> Abstract: *Ven. Cal.*, ii, No. 238.

appeal to Prejean<sup>1</sup> and to the apostolic authority of the dread King of the French (*appellabo ad Petrum Joanem et apostolatatum praefactum tremendi Regis Gallorum*), and uttered many other abusive speeches against the Pope. Thinks that this stupidity should be punished since it is dishonourable and impious to slander the head of the Church. He said besides that he would not obey the Pope if he initiated any process against him for breaking the peace with England, and uttered many other proud and arrogant speeches, as is his custom. He encloses a copy of James's letter to the College of Cardinals, exhorting them to peace, and accusing Henry of refusing a passage to the Scots' ambassadors going to France and of prejudicing Pope Julius against him. He would rather help the King of France than further the cause of Christendom, or prepare an expedition against the Infidel, which he neither can nor will do. After the Battle of Ravenna Pope Julius wrote to all Christian princes for peace, but fearing that peace might lead to an increase of the power of France, he had written a letter to Henry urging him to continue the war, and another to James telling him not to be deluded by the King of France, but to follow Henry's example. For this reason Henry had refused James's demands and a safe-conduct for Forman. Otherwise James, after his fashion, would have said that Henry had authorised him to negotiate a peace. A safe-conduct was offered to Forman if he would go to Rome and listen to the Pope's own opinion. With regard to James's complaints of the damage inflicted by English ships, Henry declares that under colour of peace, James and his subjects joined the French, and did more harm to England and Englishmen than Englishmen did to them.

Henry is certain that if Forman goes to Rome he will strive to the uttermost to hinder Henry's expedition against the enemies of the Church. Therefore both he and his Council think it expedient that Forman should be intercepted on his way to Rome, so that he may not hinder

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<sup>1</sup> Prigent de Bidoux.

the expedition. At Henry's request, the Spanish ambassador at the English court has written to his colleague (*collegam suum*) to advise him that Forman is to be arrested, either by the Duke of Milan or by the Viceroy, so that he may not get to Rome.

545. *Nicholas West to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, April 13, 1513.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 69; ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i, pp. 65-75. See Appendix II.

546. *James IV to Henry VIII, Holyrood, April 13, 1513.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 68; BRODIE, 1776.

Has received his credentials from his ambassador, Dr. West, Dean of Windsor, who has conducted himself 'full wisely,' and has been received by James and his Council several times. James has given him a patient hearing, and has spoken to him frankly, 'schewin him the playnnes of oure mynd.' West has also spoken with the Queen, who, as she complains, because of James does not get the legacy from her father promised by Henry in various letters. Henry may do with his own as he pleases; the Queen will sustain no loss through his actions. His Council and subjects will not be content with a settlement (*abolitioun*) such as Henry desires, and would be glad to grant and accept redress according to reason and justice, without partiality. Understands by the ambassador that Henry has instructed his commissioners so to do. Yet in certain very important cases he has not had due redress. If he does not get full satisfaction this time, he intends to tell Henry where it falls short. He had never been the cause of displeasure; he complained of great harms and unkind dealing, but little or no heed was or is taken. Even if Henry is unwilling to make just reparation for undeniable outrages (*attemp-tatis*), he would beg him, for the sake of Christendom, and the safety of his own person and kingdom, since there has been trouble in the Church—although West had shown him copies of the briefes lately sent to Henry by the Pope—to assent to the general peace. Because Henry would not

allow Forman to pass through England, James had sent him by sea to work for the peace as best he could. Although West told him that Henry could not in honour accede to his wishes, yet, for the good estate of the Christian religion, James could do nothing less than he had done. Begs him to call off his invasion of France. Knows the preparations made against him, which may make it 'dangerous, and stop all concord.'

Signed.

*Scots.*

547. *Andrea Gritti to [the Signory ?], Blois, April 17, 1513.*

SANUTO, XVI. 190 ; BRODIE, 1787.

Writes of the arrival of an ambassador of the King of Scots, the Bishop of [Moray], who was in Bologna in the time of Julius II, and is going into Italy. He has letters to Louis and all other princes, and to the Signory, exhorting them to peace in Christendom and war against the Infidel. He called on the bishop at the King's wish ; he spoke of the way to invade the Infidel, and desired Gritti to write to his King about it. As Louis also wished it, Gritti did so, and showed the letter to Robertet.

(From a note of letters received April 29.)

*Italian.*

548. *Forman to Louis XII, [April 1513]. Flodden Papers,*  
pp. 72-79.

Memorandum of the representation made to the King of France and to his Council by the Bishop of Moray, ambassador of the King of Scots, on behalf of his sovereign.

*French.*

549. *Louis XII to Master James Ogilvy, Blois, May 8, 1513.*  
Flodden Papers, pp. 79-83.

Instructions given to Master James Ogilvy by the King of France, after the arrival of the Bishop of Moray, ambassador of the King of Scots.

*French.*



550. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, May 24, [1513].*  
 B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 67; ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i,  
 pp. 76-78; BRODIE, 1922.

The King of France has lately informed him that on April 1 the King of Aragon and he entered into a truce to last for a year, and to comprehend Henry and the Emperor on the part of Ferdinand and James and the Duke of Gueldres on his side, should they wish to be included. He has also desired James to enter into the truce if Henry will do so too. James therefore writes to find out whether Henry means to enter into the truce and what Henry thinks that he should do. He begs Henry to answer him speedily, that he may take his part in negotiating another treaty, for the establishment of peace throughout Christendom, and that he may instruct his ambassador, the Bishop of Moray, now in the parts beyond the sea, to do his utmost while the truce endures for universal peace and an expedition against the Infidels. He thinks that Henry has lost more through the death of his admiral than he would have gained if all the French galleys had been destroyed. The service of that valiant knight, and of the noble men on both sides doomed to perish if the war continues, would have been better employed against the enemies of Christ. He begs Henry to take his letter in good part; both he and the Queen are really sorry for this loss 'threu acquaintance we had of his fader that noble knight quha convoyt our derrest fallow the qwene unto ws.' He again asks Henry for a speedy answer.

'Given under oure signete at oure Palace of Edinburgh.'  
 Signed.

*Scots.*

551. *Louis XII to the Chapter of Bourges, Blois, June 7, 1513.* RAYNAL, *Histoire du Berry*, iii, pp. 256-262.<sup>1</sup>

Requests Chapter to elect Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, as Archbishop of Bourges.

<sup>1</sup> Noted in Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, i, p. 320, who also notes a letter of Anne of Brittany to the same effect dated June 25, 1513.

552. *Leo X to James IV, Rome, June 28, 1513.* BARONIUS, xxxi, no. 55, pp. 24 and 25 ; R.O., R.T., i. ff. 163, 165 ; BRODIE, 2036.

The Pope is deeply grieved that James, contrary to the hope aroused by his personal character and his deference to the Holy See, that he was set on preserving the peace, was nevertheless arming against his neighbours and against the Pope's very dear son in Christ, Henry of England, and was proposing to make war upon him, when both the entreaties and commands which the Pope had twice conveyed in letters to James, and the sanctity of the treaties which he and Henry had made between them, should persuade James that fidelity to his oath and to the authority of Mother Church, and the preservation of peace and tranquillity were preferable to these enmities and wars, which offer much danger and too little justice. To Leo, who had set his whole heart upon establishing peace among the princes of Christendom, once these fires that had been started among them were brought under control, and then, in concert with them waging a holy war against the enemies of the cross of Christ, judge how heavy a sorrow it must be that fresh flames of enmity had been stirred up by a prince who he had specially hoped would co-operate with him in every just and noble purpose. He is troubled all the more by the news that the Turk, having crushed his rivals, is gathering his strength for the destruction of Christendom.

He cannot understand why James has changed his noble purposes for those that are so little honourable. He urges him with all his heart to help, and not to hinder his own efforts for peace, and bids him keep the peace with Henry. If James at any time does anything contrary to his treaties with Henry, he will be deliberately making himself subject

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Brodie, 3617, calendars a brief of Leo X (July 15, 1513) granting him Bourges while allowing him to remain Bishop of Moray and to retain his Scottish and English benefices, and a second (August 8, 1513) instructing the Bishops of Paris and Angoulême to deliver to him the archiepiscopal pallium, brought by Thomas Nudry, Archdeacon of Moray.

to ecclesiastical censure, a censure which the Pope cannot in fairness refuse to pronounce, should he be asked to do so. But he sincerely hopes that James will give him cause for praise, and not for censure.

553. *James IV to [the Grand Master of Rhodes, June 1513].*

N.L. 399 ; BRODIE, 1263.

Wrote to him on March 31 asking him to take into consideration the security of his kingdom in regulating the affairs of the Commandery of Torphichen and the houses of Kirkliston and Maryculter in his kingdom, recently annexed to it, so that, as in every other kingdom, no one, even though he is a Scottish subject by birth, should be installed as preceptor in Scotland who recognises the Prior in England as his superior and lord, patron (*promotorem*) and defender, under the pretext that, under his pretended statutes, Scotland counts as English-speaking, by which argument the payments on vacancies should be made from Scottish funds to the Treasurer of the Order in England. With that country there have often been wars and such bitter strife that Englishmen are looked on as intruders in this realm, and even Scotsmen promoted by English influence are objects of suspicion to him. He deserved better of the Order, seeing that he has instituted one of his councillors as a brother of the Order and Preceptor of Torphichen, admitting no English superiority, in imitation of his ancestors, who had always kept the English out of their kingdom. But in the suit recently brought in Rome by his principal secretary against George Dundas, a brother of the Order, about the preceptory, it was evident that Dundas was promoted with the consent of the English. This, James has pointed out, was an insult to Scotland. Thanks him for the letters written from Bourgneuf (*ex burgo novo*) on April 19, in which he promises to give his attention to the business. He will understand how much harm English influence can do, and how much a suitable prior, like those appointed elsewhere, can do to rescue the

Order from the neglect into which it has fallen and to increase its numbers.

554. [*Patrick Paniter*] to [*the Grand Master of Rhodes*], [June 1513]. N.L. 400 ; B.M. 206 ; BRODIE, 1264.

Has received his letter written at Blois on April 20. Learned from it that he expected the Prior of England, who, however, is said to have been in the vanguard of the English army which, under the Earl of Shrewsbury, has invaded France, thus showing a valour that should not have been directed against his fellow Christians. Has therefore sought for the preceptory of the Order in Scotland, not through avarice or ambition—thanks to God and the King he enjoys an income four times as great as the revenue from the preceptory—but because his mocking adversary, proud of himself but contemptuous of others, has forced him to commence a suit. He hopes, if he becomes one of the Knights of Rhodes, to give satisfaction to the Order. Will give the requisite bonds to the Florentine merchants, to be paid in Rhodes or France. Does not doubt that, if only he lives long enough, he will augment the membership of the Order, revive the service of the Order in Scotland, extinct for so many years, and repair the houses and half-buried churches of the Order as he is confident his deeds, and not his words, will prove.

555. *James IV to Leo X, Edinburgh, July 10, 1513.*  
N.L. 401 ; BRODIE, 2084.

Requests the necessary orders to be given for the provision to the treasurership of Glasgow, the perpetual vicarage of Dundonald, at the presentation of the abbot and convent of Paisley and collation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the prebend and canonry of Aberlady—vacant by the death of Alexander Inglis—of John Campbell, licentiate of laws, of the family of the Earl of Argyll.

556. *James IV in favour of Henry Drewintorn, Edinburgh, July 10, 1513.* N.L. 402; BRODIE, 2085.

Notification that Henry Drewintorn, burgess and master of a ship of Danzig, some time ago brought a ship loaded with merchandise into the port of Leith, where he sold the merchandise and duly (*honeste et legaliter*) returned, having observed the regulations of the port, paid his debts, and satisfied everyone. The lieges are warned not to molest or harm him if he returns, under pain of the King's indignation. Given under the Signet.

557. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, July 11, 1513.*  
B.N. 2930, f. 36.

Has received by Master James Ogilvy, his friend and loyal counsellor, on June 27, the letters written by Louis at Blois on June 7. Has read them carefully; thanks Louis for the news of the changes beyond the Alps; knows what policy he will adopt towards the Council. He has sent back Ogilvy, charging him to tell Louis what he intends about everything, and asks that Louis should have complete confidence in him. Ogilvy will inform James of the intentions of Louis by the best means that he can find, seeing that the time is short (*veu le temps qui court*). He hopes to see the expedition made in the month of July. De la Mothe's only desire is to be well equipped for an encounter with the English (*ne desire que destre bien monté à l'enconter des Angloys*), for he showed great prudence in coming to Scotland. Believes that if Louis bestowed some offices upon him he would serve him well. Prays God to have his very dear and much loved brother, cousin, and ally in His holy keeping.

Signed: *Vostre bon frère et cousin* James R.  
(Slightly damaged.)

*French.*

558. *James IV to Louis XII, Edinburgh, July 11, [1513], but sent on August 17, 1513.* B.N. 2930, f. 42.

A duplicate of the above, with heading '*double*,' and some slight variations.

559. *James IV to William, Lord Livingstone, Edinburgh, July 13, 1513.* Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on MSS. in various Collections, vol. v, p. 86.

Has already written to him, as he did to the 'laif' of the barons of his kingdom, requesting him to furnish 'certane abill yong men weill abilyeit' to pass in our 'schippis with our arnee to the supplee' of the King of France. Is informed that his tenants 'abill men for the said viage' refuse to obey, though the time is short and the expedition ready to depart. Commands him to furnish such number of able young men, fencible persons, as he thinks expedient; to see that they are in Edinburgh, sufficiently equipped, next Friday (July 19) at latest, and, along with his bailies, to warn his tenants to assist and obey, and 'the abill personis chosen' to accept his decision and be ready within the time appointed, under pain of rebellion and putting to the horn. If need be, he is to poind and distrain their goods 'for the said furnessing' as others of his subjects do. Written under his signet at Edinburgh; signed.

*Scots.*

560. *James IV to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, July 26, 1513.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 50; Hall's Chronicle, pp. 545-547; B.M. HARL. MS. 2252, f. 39; R.O., S.P., SCOTLAND, Henry VIII, i. f. 15; VEN CAL. ii. 278.

James has received from Raff [Ross], herald, letters indicating Henry's approval of the action of the English Commissioners at their recent meeting with the Scots Commissioners on the Border for the making of redress, and his wish that the meeting should be adjourned to October 25. Henry writes also that 'slaars by see' should be represented at the meeting by attorneys, and should not appear in person. He refuses to enter into the truce between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon, alleging that he cannot do so without the consent of every one

of his allies, and that Ferdinand and the Emperor are bound, by the engagement concluded at St. Paul's Church on St. Mark's Day, to make war on the common enemy that summer. Islay reports that Henry has refused James's request for a safe-conduct for a servitor of his who might come to Henry's presence.

The aforesaid meeting of Commissioners had been arranged by the two sovereigns to give due redress for grievances discussed at previous meetings and referred to it for settlement. No [English] malefactors, however, were produced for trial at the diet. Henry now urged that slayers by sea need not appear in person, but may be represented by their attorneys 'quhylk is agayne the lawe of God and man,' for if homicides never appeared in person, slaughter could never be punished. That Henry has no intention of keeping 'gude weyes of justice and equitie nor kindness' is shown by the grievous injuries which James has for long suffered him to inflict on himself and his subjects, such as his harbouring of the Bastard Heron and the accomplices who had aided him to slay the Scottish warden [Sir Robert Kerr] on a day of truce, the imprisonment of Scottish subjects, 'cheinet by the craggges in your contre,' the withholding of his wife's legacy to spite him, the failure to redress the slaughter of Andrew Barton, carried out by Henry's own command, and the retention of Scottish ships and artillery.

James had hoped, in view of Henry's letters and the statements of his ambassadors, that there would have been a full redress of grievances at the meeting, or at least that Henry would have refrained from unprovoked attacks on his friends, like his 'tendre Cousynge,' the Duke of Gueldres, and the King of France, whom Henry had caused to lose Milan and whose territory he now invaded, 'notwithstandynge in defence of his persone we mon take parte.' Henry had told the Scottish herald that James gave him fair words but thought the contrary; James had suited his words to Henry's, in the hope that Henry would show greater kindness to himself and his friends, and would not hinder his servants' mission to establish peace. If this had been done, James would have overlooked his grievances,

though the Cardinal [Archbishop] of York had told the Pope otherwise.

Since he has completely lost faith in Henry, in view especially of Henry's refusal to grant a safe-conduct to his ambassadors, after Dr. West had asked him to send a member of his council, an action unheard-of even among infidels, he now writes fully and frankly, requiring him to desist from further attacks on the King of France, to whom he is 'bonden and oblist for mutuall defence ilke of vthers,' just as Henry is bound to his allies. He assures Henry that he will join in the defence of Louis, and will do what he trusts will make Henry abandon his attack on him. As justice to his subjects has been denied and deferred he must now issue letters of marque.

'Given under our signet.'<sup>1</sup>

*Scots.*

561. *Louis XII to the Chapter of Bourges, Beauvais, August 7, [1513].* Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, i. pp. 321-22.<sup>2</sup>

Desires that his very dear and great friend the Bishop of Moray, ambassador at the French court of his dearly beloved brother and cousin and faithful ally, the King of Scotland, should be, and should remain, their Archbishop. In order that they may better understand the obligation under which he rests to the King of Scots, and equally to the Bishop of Moray, by whose influence and exertions (*de sa conduite et bon office qu'il a fait*) the King of Scots has openly declared that he is resolved to side with France and to make war now (*faire la guerre actuellement*) upon the King of England, he sends his counsellors, the Bishop of Angoulême, the Sieur d'Aussonvilliers, his Chamberlain, and Master Jean Salat, Master of Requests, copies of the letters that the King of Scots has written him, and also

<sup>1</sup> Delivered by Lyon King-of-Arms, who on July 26 was paid £40 'the tyme he past in France' (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv, 417). For the contemporary account (B.M., Harl. MS 2252 f. 41) of Henry's reception of Lyon and his message on August 11, see Brodie 2157.

<sup>2</sup> From Raynal, *Histoire du Berry*, iii, pp. 256-62.



the defiance that he has sent to the King of England, to show to the canons and make them understand. Therefore he asks them afresh so to conduct themselves in this affair that everyone may know that he is a prince who keeps faith and troth (*prince de vérité et de promesse*), and who does not wish to show ingratitude to those who have done him service. If they do this they will establish peace in their church, avoid disputes, and cause him singular pleasure.

*French.*

562. *Pope Leo X to Patrick Paniter, Rome, August 10, 1513.*  
N.L. 31 ; BRODIE, 2155.

Patrick Paniter, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, of the Augustinian Order, has not taken the habit or vows of a regular, having obtained a dispensation for a year. He is granted a dispensation for a further two years.

563. *Henry VIII to James IV, the Camp before Téroouanne, August 12, 1513.* Hall's Chronicle, pp. 547, 548 ; BRODIE, 2161.

Henry recapitulates the main points in James's letter of July 26. A reasonable answer has already been given to all his complaints, which are baseless and devised to break the perpetual peace. He is not astonished at this when he considers the manners of James's ancestors, 'which never kept longer faythe and promise than pleased them.' He supposes that James would not have gone as far, especially in his absence, had he any regard for 'the love and dread of God, nighnes of bloud, honour of the world, lawe and reason.' The Pope and all Christian princes may well consider him to have acted dishonourably, in doing in Henry's absence what he would have thought well before doing when Henry was at home. He said nothing of aiding the French King till Henry was out of England, when thinking him to be too far from his realm to be able to defend it he had uttered 'the olde rancour of his mind'

which he had long kept secret. Henry, however, having suspected his good faith, has put his kingdom in readiness to resist invasion, and is confident that he will be able to resist the malice of all schismatics and their supporters, who have been expressly excommunicated by the General Council. James by his unnatural behaviour has given sufficient cause for the disinheriting of himself and his descendants 'from the possyibilitie that ye thynke to haue to the reyalme' which he is now invading. Henry reminds him of the fate of the King of Navarre, 'a kynge withoute a realme,' abandoned by King Louis. James's complaints have already been sufficiently answered. He would have given a safe-conduct to the ambassadors if the herald would have taken one similar to those which he often asked for merchants, for Henry had never refused a safe-conduct 'to come unto us & no further to pass' to any of James's subjects, but he sees that the herald, as before, has made sinister reports contrary to truth. Touching the demand that he should desist from attacking Louis, he considers James 'no competent judge of so high authoritie to require us in that behalfe . . . Giuen under our signet in our camp before Tyrwyn.'

*English.*

564. *Louis XII to the Grand Master of Brittany, ca. August 12, 1513.* B.N.: MSS., Français, 5501, f. 274; Navy Records Society, x, p. 176; BRODIE, 2156.

Has just had news from his good brother, the King of Scots, brought by one of his heralds whom he had sent, that the fleet had indubitably left Scotland to come to France. He expects that it has now reached Brest. On this account, and because there is now a possibility of some great service being done, he requires him, as quickly as possible, to provision, arm, and equip the Queen's three great ships which are there, and to accompany them, choose four out of the eight that served last year in the royal fleet, and have them ready to sail at once with the Scottish fleet, and effect a junction with the ships of

Normandy, which are all ready, with the purpose of doing good execution upon the enemy. The Grand Master understands that speed is essential, otherwise it will be too late in the season. The General de Beaulne, to whom Louis has entrusted the business, will give an order for him to be supplied with money for pay and expenses.

*French.*

565. *Robert Barton: Receipt, Honfleur, August 24, 1513.*  
 B.N.: MSS., Pièces Originales, 4, dossier *Abreton*;  
 Navy Records Society, x, no. 89, p. 178; BRODIE,  
 2199.

Robert Abreton, squire, Scottish gentleman, captain and owner of the ship *Lion*, of about three hundred tons burden, admits having received from Sire Johan Lalemant, Receiver-General of the King's finances, the following victuals for the next two months for 260 men—soldiers and sailors: 4322 doz. biscuits; 52 doz. fresh loaves; 1 pipe, 1 barrel flour; 87 pipes cider; 43 pipes beer; 4 pipes wine; 12½ pipes salt meat; 1½ carcasses beef; 5 sheep; 194 sides of bacon; 80 lbs. butter; 2 pipes peas; 1 pipe, 1 barrel beans; 7 barrels herring; 7 barrels mackerel; 314 lbs. candles; 520 lbs. tallow; 694 logs; 1 pipe vinegar; ½ pipe verjuice; 14 pipes water; ½ pipe salt.

Signed in presence of Philippe de la Primaudaye, Comptroller.

*French.*

566. *The Earl of Surrey to James IV, Woolerhaugh, September 7, 1513.* ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i, pp. 85-87; BRODIE, 2239.

Lately sent Rougecroix pursuivant, to James with a warning that he had come to resist his invasions and an offer to do battle with him on Friday next (September 9). Though James had informed him by Islay Herald that he accepted the offer joyfully, and would wait to give battle

at the place where the message had been delivered to him, yet he had broken his promise and moved to a position 'more like a fortresse or Campe.' Surrey therefore requests him, 'for the accomplishment of his honourable promise,' to be on his side of the plain of Milfield with his army on the morrow, and undertakes, if James gives him sufficient warning by Rougecroix before eight or nine on the following morning, to be on the other side of the plain between twelve o'clock and three in the afternoon. He suggests that the King should send an answer at once by Rougecroix, signed by himself, 'to bind your Grace for the accomplishment of this desire,' as 'the long delay of so honourable a Journey' would sound to his dishonour.

'Written in the field at Woller haughe,' September 7, at 5 p.m. Signed by Surrey and eighteen others.

*English.*

567. *Louis XII to the Scots in France, Amiens, September 1513.* R.O., R.T., 137, f. 67; B.M., HARL. MS., 1244, f. 304, and ADD. MS., 30, 666, f. 280b; BRODIE, 2322.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the long and close alliance between France and Scotland for their mutual security, especially against England, and the services of the Scots in aid of Charles VII, who took 200 of them to be his bodyguard—100 men-at-arms and 100 archers, of whom 24 are called archers of the body, and considering that although, as the Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishop of Moray, and Robert Stewart, Sieur d'Aubigny, Captain of the Garde Ecossoise, have always maintained, it was agreed when the Scots were called to France that all persons of either realm who should go to dwell in the other might dispose of their goods by will, and this has been allowed in Scotland, yet letters of naturalisation have been required in France, the King now relieves them of the obligation to apply individually for letters of naturalisation, and grants to them all the right to dispose of their goods by will, to inherit from those

<sup>1</sup> See also Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossois en France*, i, p. 318.

dying intestate, and to hold benefices, just as if they were Frenchmen.

*French.*

568. *Leo X to Henry VIII, Rome, November 29, 1513.*

RYMER, xiii, p. 385 ; BRODIE, 2469.

When the late James IV of famous memory entered into the alliance with Henry VII, an alliance which Pope Alexander VI inspired and confirmed, he accepted the condition that if at any time he violated the Treaty, he should incur the penalty of excommunication, as is fully set down in the letters with the leaden bull issued by Pope Alexander. Afterwards James, who had married Henry VIII's sister, renewed the Treaty, and again made himself liable to the penalty of excommunication and censure should he in any way break the Peace, now strengthened by the bond of kinship. Notwithstanding all this, he broke by force the Peace guarded by so many pledges, for which reason he was excommunicated, and denounced and published as excommunicate by Christopher, Cardinal of St. Praxed, acting on the authority granted him by Julius II. Weighed down by these curses, he invaded England, was defeated in battle by Henry's generals, and slain, wherefore his corpse has been kept till now in a place which is decent (*honesto*), but unconsecrated. Henry, considering his own kingly dignity, and because James was his kinsman, because too his human frailty and his virtues stir the soul to pity, considering also that honour demands it, desires that the body of James should be taken to London and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Pope, wishing, as always, to encourage him in such a pious and laudable purpose, and being aware that it is said—and is worthy of belief—that James before his death, in his very death agony, remembering his sins (*erratorum memor*), gave some signs of repentance—all that he was able to give at such a time—grants therefore to Henry licence and faculty to bear the corpse from where it

now lies to London, with such funeral pomp as seems necessary to him, and bury it in St. Paul's, in a consecrated place of burial, and directs that the Bishop of London, or another bishop chosen by Henry, should, before the body is buried, the signs of contrition and penitence having been declared, absolve and free the dead King from all bonds and knots of excommunication, by the papal authority. In addition, some suitable penance will be imposed on Henry, which he will be bound to carry out.

## APPENDIX I.

*Leonard Lopez to James IV, London, April 25, 1512.*  
B.M. 174 ; BRODIE, 1158.

He has reached England in safety. He waited on Henry and explained to him by word of mouth the subject of his commission. Henry promised to return an answer by his ambassadors ; he is well inclined to peace between the two kingdoms, a peace sanctioned by the strictest pontifical penalties. Lopez urges James to the same. He would have visited the King of France, and told him James's commission, could he have done it with safety, and will do so when he has an opportunity. (No. 448.)

## APPENDIX II.

*Dr. Nicholas West to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, April 13, 1513.* B.M., CALIGULA, B. vi. 69 ; ELLIS, 1st series, vol. i, pp. 65-75 ; BRODIE, 1775.

The King of Scots had arranged for his departure on Saturday, April 12. West would have left them, had he not received Henry's letters, dated Greenwich, March 26, advising him to stay till he could send James's 'resolute answer' in writing. Since then he has striven to obtain his dismissal, but has been put off with words. He also asked to see the draft of the letters which James meant to send to Henry, but found in them no mention of observing the Peace, or of anything except the unkindness done to him by Henry and his subjects, whereupon he said that he would carry no such letters, as they did not touch on any of the questions with which he was instructed to deal, and asked him to state in writing his intentions about the keeping of the Peace. James protested that as Henry said that his words and his deeds did not agree, he would write no such words, but would show good deeds. West replied that he would not leave without a written answer,

and knowing that the King would be in Edinburgh on Monday (April 4), he decided, on the Secretary's advice, to wait on him there.

He arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday (April 3) and at once wrote to Dacre and the Border Commissioners, informing them of the state of affairs in Scotland 'and how the Kyng (of Scots) wolde no way take but have justice.' On Monday (April 4) he went down to Leith to see what ships were ready there. He found only 9 or 10 small topmen, with other small balingers and crayers; only one small topman of 60 tons was rigged for war. He went to the Newhaven, where he found the *Margaret*, of almost the same burden as the *Christ* of Lynn, with many men working on her, some setting up the mainmast, some caulking her above water, for she had been newly tallowed under water. He also saw a little galley, about 50 feet long, in which it was said the King meant to row to and from Stirling. The King arrived in Edinburgh that night, but as he spent the whole of the following day at Leith, where it is said he commanded Wylly Brounchyll to take his prisoners to the Borders and make redress in accordance with the agreement made before by the Commissioners. Between six and seven in the evening he received letters from the Bishop of Durham containing very good news, also a copy of the Pope's letter to Henry.

On Wednesday (April 5), he went at ten to Holyroodhouse, where the King heard mass in a chapel without any traverse, and there he told him of the good news, to which he said that Henry was fortunate in having a Pope so favourable to him, who had joined the League. West did not, however, show him the clause confirming the sentence passed against him and his kingdom by Julius II, fearing that he would break with Henry.

Among other matters James talked about his great ship, for which West 'made suit,' according to Henry's instructions. But he answered as before, and then said it shot 16 big guns on either side, and that he had more heavy artillery than the French king ever had at any siege, which West thought 'to be a greate crack.' Finally



West begged permission to leave, and asked James to put his answer in writing; James replied that he would cause the minute to be made in the afternoon, and send it to West. He did not do so, but delays him till he hears news from De la Mothe. West prays God that De la Mothe may be captured; his capture would be worth a thousand marks to Henry, since from him Henry could learn all James's secrets.

Oh Thursday (April 7) he asked for the King's letters and for permission to leave, but was held up as before. He repeated the request on Friday; the King answered that the Secretary would bring him the minutes of his letters in the afternoon. The Secretary did so, but they contained nothing to the purpose, only 'complaynts and sharpe words of unkyndenesse.' The Secretary said that the last brieve sent to James by Julius II had done more harm to the amity between Henry and James than all the ambassadors that ever came out of France. West recollects that James told him once that if Julius II had lived and only three bishops had kept a council, he would have been with them against the Pope, which West thought 'was but a crack.' West, according to his instructions, had shown him the dangers and 'great inconveniences' to which he would expose himself in so doing, but he 'regarded it nothing.'

By the conversation which he had with the Secretary, 'which doothe all with his maister,' he saw that neither he nor Henry would get any other answer. He told the Secretary that when Henry and his Council learned from his report that James would not give a different answer, or put his answer in writing, they would understand that James did not wish them well. However, the Secretary said that James would not break, as long as he had justice, unless Henry did so first. He concluded by repeating what many others had said at different times, that when we needed the Scots we made 'importunate suit' to them, and when we did not need them, we despised them and did them all the harm we could. Although his answer had been that his request was, not for peace, but for an assurance that James would be faithful to his promise to keep the

peace, he thought it would be dishonourable to Henry if he made any further request, and asked the Secretary to give him the letters, such as they were, that James meant to write to Henry, so that he could take his leave. The Secretary promised to do what he could.

On Saturday (April 9) he went to the Court and waited for the King in the Chapel. He came in about noon, and at once called West to him. West asked him to put his answer in writing; he refused for two reasons that he had already given—because he would lose the French King if he wrote so plainly, and because Henry had said that his words and his deeds did not agree. West replied that he was too much afraid of losing the favour of the French King, and that he should rather fear the loss of Henry's favour; even if Louis helped him with all his power, he would still be unable to perform 'his greate voyage' unless Henry stood his good brother. This he admitted, but said that all the world knew in what cause he went, and therefore Henry would be dishonoured if he did anything against him. West replied that all the world knew that Henry went in the cause of the Church, and therefore it would be dishonourable of James to do anything against him. He answered that though he did not flatter Henry with words, yet Henry should find good deeds, for while others that spoke him fair might deceive him, he would rather 'dee' with Henry than see him take any dishonour. At this the Bishop of Galloway informed the King that it was past noon, whereupon he took West by the arm and went into a room. West said that as James had nothing to add to his previous answer and he had no further instructions he would ask permission to depart, which the King granted with good will. James advised him to see the Prince and the Queen at Linlithgow, as she had tokens for Henry and his Queen.

On Sunday (April 10) afternoon he rode to Linlithgow, arriving at four o'clock. The Queen asked him at once what answer he had got, and when he answered the same as before, and that the King would not put it in writing, she said he was afraid it would be shown in France. West

answered that he stood in great awe of France if he dared not show in writing the promise that he would keep his oath, and also that Henry would never reveal what he wrote as long as he kept his promise. The Queen observed that she was sorry, as now Henry was in the right and James in the wrong. Without discussion of the legacy, or of any other matters she gave him tokens for Henry, his Queen, and the Princess. On her instructions he was taken to see the Prince 'a right fayr chyld, and a laurge of his age.'

On Monday (April 11), he returned to Edinburgh, and requested letters for Henry, representing that he wished to leave on Tuesday. He did not receive the letters, however, till Tuesday night (April 12). Seeing James's 'mynde soo frowardly sette,' and that a prolongation of his mission would be useless, he left for Berwick on Wednesday morning (April 13).

In conversation with James at different times, he rehearsed the 'inconveniencies' that might ensue if he broke with Henry, for example, he might make Henry turn his main army against him. On one occasion James answered that if by doing so he could stop Henry's expedition to France, he would make him suppose that he was going to war, and afterwards let him learn the opposite. On another occasion when West's arguments had somewhat moved him, he said that it would be prudent on Henry's part, since he had such a great enterprise as a war with France on his hands, to get out of it by turning his army against Scotland. West had answered that if he broke with Henry, Henry would still be able both to invade France and to resist him: a war with Scotland, might delay, but would not stop, an invasion of France. He had answered the Earl of Argyll 'more roundly and sharply' when he spoke to the same effect in the Council.

He has no other news worth writing, except that the Scots look daily for de la Mothe.

'Written at Edinburghe the xiiijth day of April.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But obviously completed and sent off from Berwick. (No. 545.)

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## REPORT OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 16th December 1950, at 3 P.M.

At the commencement of the meeting Professor W. Croft Dickinson, Chairman of the Council, occupied the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

Since the publication of the last Report *The Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices*, edited by Dr. Gordon Donaldson, has been issued to members. The contents, enhanced by the scholarly introduction, form an indispensable source for the history of the Reformation period. That the total cost of producing the volume was £595, 4s. 8d. (towards which the Carnegie Trustees for the Universities of Scotland generously contributed £100) gives clear indication of the heavy expense which the Society has to incur in fulfilling its task of collecting and printing the fragments of Scottish history and justifies the decision of the Council to make this the only volume for the two years 1946-7 and 1947-8.

*Miscellany Volume VII*, which is to be issued for the year 1948-9, and of which the contents were described in the last Report, is nearing completion. As the page proofs have been corrected and the index is now with the printer, the volume may be expected early in the new year. Towards its cost the Carnegie Trustees have again promised a contribution. The text of *Scottish Population Statistics*, which Mr. J. G. Kyd, C.B.E., is editing as the volume for 1949-50, is also with the printer. While the Council are still concerned at the slowness with which the Society's volumes pass under present-day conditions through the press, they have reason to hope that the rate of one volume a year may be maintained without further accumulation of arrears.

As already intimated, future volumes will include *Letters of James IV*, edited by Mr. R. L. Mackie, *Kirkintilloch Burgh Court Book*, edited by Dr. G. S. Pryde, and *Proceedings of the Estates, 1689-90*, edited by Dr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville. The Council have also under consideration a *corpus* of *Coldingham Charters* and a re-issue of *The Lyon in Mourning*.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Cooper, who has been President of the Society for the last four years and whose addresses at the annual meetings of the Society have been so greatly appreciated by its members, now retires on completion of his term of office. The Council have pleasure in nominating Professor J. D. Mackie, C.B.E., M.C., LL.D., Professor of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow, as President for the ensuing term of four years.

The Rev. D. E. Easson, Ph.D., Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, K.C.V.O., Lord King of Arms, and Mr. R. C. Reid retire in rotation from the Council at this time. The

Council recommend their re-election and the election of Mr. W. L. Lorimer in place of Professor Mackie nominated as President.

During the past year 6 members have died and 7 have resigned. The name of 1 other has been removed on failure to pay his subscription; 13 new members have joined. The total membership, including 144 libraries, is now 406.

An Abstract of the Accounts for 1949-50, as audited, is appended.

Professor Dickinson in moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts showed that the policy of the Council had resulted in an improved position of the Society's finances. After explaining the programme of publication as indicated in the Report he said that although these were hard times members were not merely paying for their own volumes but were making available the sources of Scottish history.

Mr. R. L. Mackie, in seconding, described the maintenance of the annual subscription at one guinea as a miracle and called for more members. The Report and Accounts were adopted. Professor Dickinson then moved the election of Professor J. D. Mackie, C.B.E., M.C., LL.D., as President of the Society for the ensuing four years. Dr. H. W. Meikle seconded and Professor Mackie was unanimously elected.

The President then took the Chair and delivered an address entitled 'The Tradition of the Covenanters.' After observing that nowadays there was a tendency to interpret history in terms of fixed formulae, he remarked that there were two contradictory formulae to explain the place of the Covenanters in Scottish History. According to one formula the Covenanters were pious upholders of religious

liberty who, for long, tried to reconcile their religious beliefs with loyalty to the crown and who were at last driven into a desperate resistance to a crown which sought to take away their right to worship God as they pleased. According to the other formula the Covenanters were religious bigots and political irreconcilables who wanted to make all other people bow to their own view and whose political theory, in the end, must have led to anarchy.

These two views came into active collision in the duel between Walter Scott and Thomas M'Crie which followed the publication of *Old Mortality*, and although both sides scored points, the general effect, perhaps, was that polite society began to look down its nose at a narrow-minded lot, essentially bourgeois in outlook, who despised art and beauty and innocent pleasure. To some writers of today the episode of the Covenants seems almost to be a blot upon the scutcheon of Scotland, whose real self must be found either in the days before the Covenants were made or in the days when they were disregarded. It was not difficult to show that the apostles of this doctrine were apt to select their eloquence to prove their thesis and that the opponents of the Covenants were often something less than good and less than wise. To suggest, on the strength of the Solemn League of 1643, that the Covenanters truckled to England was absurd. It was with the aid of English power that they were persecuted, and their opponents taunted them with a narrow nationalism.

None the less, there is something in the accusation. In the day of their power the Covenanters were intolerant; some of their leaders were guilty of emotional excesses which were pitiful if not ludicrous; they did borrow from England some of the duller features of English Puritanism,

and from the English Independents, too, they borrowed, or at least some of them borrowed, the idea that the Lord's Prayer itself was suspect as a 'set form.' On the other hand, adherents to the Covenants might produce, as in Colonel Blackadder, a bold soldier who could serve the crown in arms, and the visitations of the University of Glasgow in Covenanting times showed a regard for healthy bodily exercise not evident in the recommendations of other commissioners.

Plainly, all Covenanters and all periods are not to be included in a single formula. The fundamental ideas were the same but their expression varied, not only with personality, but with circumstance. Analysing the psychology of the Covenants, the speaker thought he detected three distinct elements—the old Scottish idea of the 'band', whereby the signatories ensured that all were equally committed, the religious 'league,' common in the sixteenth century, which was a survival of the universalism of the Middle Ages, and the Biblical Covenant in the sight of God, which soon became a covenant of each of the subscribers with God. It was from the third element that the Covenants drew both their strength and their danger. From the days of Knox on, some of the leaders of the Reformers spoke and wrote as if they had peculiar access to the mind of God. Hence, in the day of their power, the Covenanters conceived it their duty to force their form of religious belief upon other people ; in the day of adversity, however, the Covenant became the palladium of resistance to arbitrary power.

In the Latitudinarian days which followed the Revolution of 1689 the Covenanters dissociated their resistance from physical force but a pious remnant still regarded the Covenants as a safeguard against popery and prelacy and

their renewing was one of the features in the origin of religious dissent.

Narrow in outlook, strict in personal conduct they became essentially bourgeois and their tradition aided the passage of political power from the classes to the masses. As for their religious testimony, though some of it seems harsh and antiquated today, it served to keep alive the idea that the human conscience is not to be coerced by the state, and that morality is an essential quality of government. Modern times, which look back with a superior air upon the follies of other ages, might take time to reflect upon the dangers of the omniscient state which appears to seek substitutes for old-fashioned Christianity.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President on the motion of Mr. H. M. Paton.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of CHARGE and DISCHARGE  
of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY  
TREASURER for the year from 1st November  
1949 to 31st October 1950.

CHARGE.

I. Cash in Bank at close of Account for year ended 1st November 1949—			
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	£187	1	1
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	271	3	10
3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet current postages . . . . .	0	1	1
			<hr/> £408 6 0
II. Subscriptions received . . . . .	433	14	0
III. Past publications sold (including postages recovered from purchasers) . . . . .	27	19	3
IV. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . . . .	2	1	1
V. Refund of Income Tax . . . . .	55	16	8
VI. Grant from Carnegie Trust for the Uni- versities of Scotland towards cost of Volume XLII . . . . .	100	0	0
VII. Miscellaneous . . . . .	0	17	2
VIII. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account. . . . .	<u>£762</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>
IX. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account. . . . .	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			<hr/> <u>£1028 14 2</u> <hr/>



## DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of printing Publications			
during year . . . . .	£388	19	8
Cost of printing Annual Report			
and Printer's postages, etc. . . . .	31	4	6
			<u>£420 4 2</u>
II. Miscellaneous payments, including Bank's			
postages . . . . .		41	11 7
III. Sums lodged in Bank Current			
Account . . . . .	£618	7	1
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Savings			
Account . . . . .	£302	1	1
V. Funds at close of this Account—			
1. Balance at credit of			
Savings Account with			
Bank of Scotland . . . . .	£439	2	2
2. Balance at credit of			
Current Account with			
Bank of Scotland . . . . .	126	18	6
3. Cash in hands of Bank of			
Scotland to meet cur-			
rent postages . . . . .	0	17	9
			<u>566 18 5</u>
			<u>£1028 14 2</u>

EDINBURGH, 8th November 1950.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1949 to 31st October 1950, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

HENRY M. PATON,  
*Auditor.*

# Scottish History Society

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## THE EXECUTIVE

1950-1951

### *President.*

Professor J. D. MACKIE, C.B.E., M.C., LL.D.

### *Chairman of Council.*

Professor W. CROFT DICKINSON, D.Lit.

### *Council.*

W. L. LORIMER.

Rev. D. E. EASSON, Ph.D.

Sir T. INNES of Learney, K.C.V.O.

R. C. REID.

HENRIETTA TAYLER.

JAMES FERGUSON.

H. W. MEIKLE, C.B.E., LL.D., D.Litt.

Mrs. ANNIE I. DUNLOP, O.B.E., D.Litt.

H. M. PATON.

Rev. DONALD MACKINNON.

G. S. PRYDE, Ph.D.

R. L. MACKIE.

### *Corresponding Members of Council.*

G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M., C.B.E., F.B.A., D.C.L., LL.D.,  
Litt.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Professor V. H. GALBRAITH, F.B.A., Regius Professor of Modern  
History in the University of Oxford.

B. H. SUMNER, F.B.A., Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.

### *Hon. Treasurer.*

J. DOUGLAS H. DICKSON, W.S., Mus.Doc.,  
66 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

### *Hon. Secretary.*

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE, D.Litt., History Department,  
The University, Edinburgh.

## RULES

1. THE object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues one volume each year.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.







