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DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
THE COURTS OF FRANCE AND SCOTLAND

1507-1517

Edited by

MARGUERITE WOOD, PH.D.



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INTRODUCTION

THE importance of the documents now printed lies chiefly in the light which they cast on the relations of Scotland with continental policy and especially with that of France. The idea of a Franco-Scottish alliance was no new one, nor was it any novelty that France should help Scotland against the English or that the Scots should send help to their old ally against the hereditary enemy of both countries. What was new was the way in which Scotland was caught up into the whirlpool of France's ambitions. The old alliance was made subservient to Louis XII.'s schemes for the domination of Italy, and Scotland found herself involved in hostilities in which the Papacy, Spain, and the Empire, not to mention Venice and the Swiss, were all against France and herself. It was an adventure into international politics which was to prove disastrous and was to snatch from the country the peace and prosperity due to the efficient rule of James IV. in internal affairs. Even apart from the culminating disaster of Flodden, the adventure was singularly unsatisfactory as regards Scottish affairs. The documents convey most clearly how little Scotland stood to gain—nothing, indeed, but the satisfaction of two ambitions of the restless and incalculable King. The treaty of 1502 with England had brought peace, together with a marriage alliance, which, in the earlier years, contained the possibility of a peaceful union of the two kingdoms. The country was quieter internally than it had been for many years, and a considerable measure of prosperity had returned to it: the turbulent nobility were, for the time,

held in check by the Crown; trade and industry had made a step forward; and though there was friction on the Borders, that in itself was no novelty and no insuperable obstacle to peace. There was, it is true, trouble on the high seas, complaints of piracy and rivalry of merchant vessels, but nothing that a little goodwill on either side might not have surmounted. Complaint was met by counter-complaint, but there existed one still formidable barrier to an open breach, the threat of excommunication to the country which should first break the treaty.

Across this not unpromising situation broke the ambitions of the King of France; and Scotland and England became involved in the quarrel which he maintained against the other powers of Europe. The trouble came about from the French King's Italian policy, in part one of aggrandisement, in part of self-protection. The latter, perhaps, is of the most interest: for history has a way of repeating itself, and this was not the last time when anxiety about their eastern frontier drove the Kings of France to war. That frontier had never been well defined and was singularly unprotected: the line between France and the Spanish Netherlands was open to dispute; Burgundy had but recently come under the control of the King of France and ceased to be a more or less independent dukedom capable of siding with the Empire, to the great inconvenience of the Most Christian King; the Swiss were neighbours, who might be bought by the highest bidder. On the south the recently united Kingdom of Spain had ambitions on the Kingdom of Navarre. The only remaining part of the eastern frontier was Italy, so far not united under any one power. The Kings of France conceived it to be to their interest to control the Lombardic plain, to insert a wedge, as it were, between north and south, and maintain under their own control

that part of the frontier between the territories claimed by the Empire on the north and those claimed and later won by Spain on the south. The desire to possess part of Italy was not, however, a mere question of policy; it was founded on claims to Naples which, shadowy enough in reality, caught the imagination of Charles VIII., predecessor of Louis XII. His pretensions were based on the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by Charles d'Anjou, brother of Saint Louis; on his descent from Louis d'Anjou, adopted by Joanna I., Queen of Naples, in 1380; and on the bequest of the kingdom by Joanna II. to René I. of Anjou. The House of Aragon also laid claim to Naples, and in 1492 Ferdinand of Aragon was ruler. In truth Charles VIII.'s claims were more than doubtful: if he claimed by right of conquest, it could be answered that Naples was a fief of the Holy See, granted to Charles d'Anjou and his descendants, no more remote than the fourth degree of relationship—which excluded Charles: to the claims of adoption or testamentary disposition, it was answered that the constitution of the kingdom did not admit of such acts, and that, moreover, the will of Joanna II. was a forgery.

These considerations did not prevent Charles VIII.'s invasion of Italy in 1494. At first all went well. Genoa fell to the attack of his troops, Milan treated with him, as also did Florence and Pisa; a treaty was signed with Pope Alexander VI. at Rome, and, less than a year after his departure, the King of France made his state entry into Naples. But the measure of Charles' success was the enmity stirred up against him. The Pope, Maximilian of Austria, and Ferdinand united with Venice and the Duke of Milan against him in the League of Venice, and, within less than a year after its capture by the French, Naples was again in Spanish hands. By October 1495 Charles VIII. had returned to France. He had not, however, completely

given up his ambitions in Italy. Counting on the aid of Maximilian and the Pope, Alexander VI., he made alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon on 25th November 1497 for the partition of Italy between them. The plan had not developed before his death in April 1498, but his cousin and successor, Louis XII., inherited his ambition, joining with it his private desire to conquer the Milanese. From his accession Louis took the title of Duke of Milan, founding his claim on the marriage of his grandfather, Louis d'Orleans, with Valentine, daughter of John Galeas Visconti, 1st Duke of Milan. But the Milanese was an imperial fief, as Naples was a papal one, and different investitures by the emperors in the fourteenth century had sometimes excluded, sometimes accepted, the female line. Ludovic, 'Il Moro,' then Duke of Milan, as a representative of the Sforzas, had at least as good a right as Louis. Thus the stage was set for the policy of the reign of Louis XII., which set against him the other powers of Europe and drew into the general war both England and Scotland.

Hostilities against Italy opened again in 1499 and continued with varying success. Louis had, in 1498, renewed the treaty of Etaples with Henry VII. of England, forced to be circumspect by the relations of France and Scotland. In the same year he concluded a treaty with John, King of Denmark, and another treaty with Venice against Milan, followed, later in the year, by its conquest. But the victory of the French King was not permanent, and Milan was recovered by its Duke, to be lost again to the French in 1500. In 1502 Louis was again in Italy, leading an attack on the Spaniards in Naples, but his troops were defeated at Seminara in April 1503. Fighting continued till the beginning of 1504, when the French were driven from Naples and Louis concluded a three-years' treaty with Spain.

The campaign so far had left him with no foothold in Italy but Genoa. Also in August 1503 Alexander VI. had died. With him went an ally whose interests, so far, had been bound up in those of the French King. His successor, Pius III., did not long survive his election to the Papacy, and the next Pope, Julius II., a man with great and definite ambitions for the re-establishment of the temporal power of the Holy See, was to prove an antagonist to the French King, not only in diplomacy, but in actual warfare.

The year 1507 witnessed the revolt of Genoa aided by the cities of the Milanese. It was repressed speedily enough by Louis, who, again in Italy, continued his journey through the Milanese. At Milan he received the ambassadors of Venice, and had an interview with Ferdinand of Aragon at Savona in June of that year, when a temporary agreement was reached. To counterbalance this advantage came the news that Maximilian, at the Diet of Constance in May, had announced his intention of invading Italy and going to Rome to receive the imperial crown. It may partly have been irritation with Louis which led Maximilian to that step. A plan of marriage between Claude of France, daughter of the King, and Charles (later Charles V.), grandson of Maximilian, had been mooted in 1501, with certain conditions as to the granting of Milan to Louis XII. and his heirs-male, whom failing, to Madame Claude and her husband. But the negotiations had fallen through, and in 1505 she had been married to François d'Angoulême, heir-presumptive to the throne of France; and Maximilian, in spite of the treaty of Blois signed with Louis in 1504, seems to have made this a grievance against the French King. It is under these conditions that the instructions to the Postulate of Ross for his embassy to James IV. were set down.

The earliest of the despatches, dated 10th July 1507 (No. I.) and transmitted to Master Robert Cockburn,

Postulate of Ross, is not in any way concerned with the active participation of James IV. in the King of France's military enterprises. It notes an offer by the King of Scots to supply soldiers for Louis XII.'s service and, following upon that offer, requests that James should send to Italy 4000 experienced soldiers. The demand may have been for a large number of men, but there was nothing novel in the idea of Scots in the service of France. Scottish soldiers of fortune had served under the French kings during the latter part of the Hundred Years' War, had done good service under Jeanne Darc and, as Cockburn's instructions note, had formed the bodyguard of the Kings of France since the reign of Charles VII. But in the demand there was one element of novelty. Previous aid by the Scots had been confined chiefly to assisting the Kings of France against the aggression of the English: now they were called upon to assist King Louis in his attempt to retain his hold on Italy and to support the rights which he claimed upon a slender enough foundation.

Louis XII. based his request upon a threatened invasion by Maximilian, King of the Romans, which eventually did not take place. Indeed it is possible that the King knew well enough that the invasion was unlikely. Some time had elapsed since Maximilian had announced his intention of going to Rome for his coronation as Emperor, and that announcement did not necessarily imply hostilities. But the King, conscious possibly that his claim to the Duchy of Milan was not beyond question, chose to read into Maximilian's intention a '*mauvaise et dampnee volonte*' against himself and his duchy.

The request was precise: he wanted 4000 trained men, under a good leader, to be sent either to Genoa, recently reduced once more to his obedience, or to Savona. They were to come by sea and would be met by commissaries and paymasters at their port of arrival.

There is nothing in the plan which, at first sight, might not seem feasible, particularly to the French King, accustomed to the use of mercenaries in war both by himself and his enemies. Swiss were obtainable by the highest bidder, and German and Burgundian men-at-arms were also available at a price. But the plan was not so consonant with Scottish custom, where, till nearly a hundred years later, the system of the feudal host still maintained its full force. The Kings' armies were raised for the prescribed period of service, and it was not infrequently a matter of difficulty to retain them after their forty days were elapsed. True, Scottish troops had fought in France, but it had been largely as volunteers under their own commanders, operating in some cases apart from the French armies.

It may have been this consideration which made James IV. rather less than enthusiastic in his answer to Louis, printed by Ruddiman,¹ though it may also have been the question of a suitable commander. James, as we learn from other sources, fancied himself as a leader of men, although he had no actual military experience. The Scottish nobility must have been in much the same position as himself: for though Scotland had been as unruly as ever during the final years of his father's reign and the early years of his own, there had been an absence of formal hostilities, and the art of war, as understood on the Continent, was unknown to them. The only two Scots really versed in war, Bernard Stewart, Lord d'Aubigny, and John, Duke of Albany, were already practically denizens of France and in the service of Louis XII.

There is one other consideration which may have influenced the coolness of James' reply. He suggested,

¹ Ruddiman, *Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 83.

without any great alacrity, that if his cousin of France wanted the men he might send his fleet to pick them up at any Scottish port. It is practically certain that, at this date, James was without sufficient vessels to transport so large a consignment of men. It was not till several years later, as will be seen, that he gave himself in all seriousness to the construction of a navy, and that primarily for his darling purpose, a new crusade against the Infidel. Even in 1513, when his fleet was in being, he manifested an evident reluctance to allow it to proceed to France, an attitude possibly born of a justifiable, and subsequently justified, distrust of his friend and ally.

And there the matter rested for the time, so far as the instructions to the ambassadors go. The King of France proceeded with his affairs in Italy, resulting in the League of Cambrai in 1508, which, instead of bringing peace and union, bred more and greater dissension; King James, in the peaceful and brilliant years of his reign, went his own restless and incalculable way, alternating tournaments and gaiety with wild journeys to various shrines, and began his plans for his enterprise to Jerusalem.

Between these and the next instructions there is a gap, presumably of about three years, within which a change in the aspect of Louis' affairs accounts for the altered tone of the document.

NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE FLODDEN.

In 1508 the League of Cambrai had been formed by Louis, Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Julius II. against Venice for the restoration to the contracting parties of lands held by the Republic and claimed by them. The Most Christian King and the Pope were still ostensibly on terms of friendship, and French troops had assisted Julius to recapture the states of Perugia and Bologna. But the success of the French arms at the battle of Agnadello had alienated Louis'

allies, and the Venetians had improved their position by restoring to the Papacy certain towns in Romagna, Perugia, and Rimini, and to Ferdinand certain places in the Kingdom of Naples. By February 1509-10 the Pope had absolved Venice, opposed only in his action by the Cardinals of the Empire and France, and had confirmed to Ferdinand the possession of Naples.

From this time Louis could have no illusions as to the attitude of Julius towards him, and hostilities became direct. Yet, somewhat perturbed by the idea of combating the Holy See, he resolved to consult the clergy of France. At Tours these declared that the King might oppose the Pope for the sake of the security of his states and those of his allies, and that ecclesiastical censures incurred during such a war would be null; finally, that if the Pope refused conciliation, appeal might be made to all Christian princes to summon a General Council.¹ It was probably with a view to confirming the friendship of King James that de la Mothe was despatched to Scotland with the instructions which deal with the King of Scots' cherished project of a crusade.

The instructions to Charles de Tocque, Seigneur de la Mothe,² are undated, and there is nothing in the text from which a date can be assigned except that it must precede the despatch presented to Louis XII. by the Bishop of Moray.³ That document, too, is undated, but can be placed with some probability, owing to the fact that the movements of the Bishop on his diplomatic errands are recorded in considerable detail. De la Mothe's journey to the court of James to present his instructions is therefore placed in the late autumn of 1510. There is evidence that, some time before the end of April, James IV. urged on the Venetian ambassador his former suggestion that he might

¹ See *infra*, Appendix I.

² No. II.

³ No. III.

be Captain-General of a crusade; he had written also to the Marquis of Mantua to ask what hopes there were of such an expedition. It may therefore be assumed that the document which de la Mothe presented was the result of a breakdown in the Venetian negotiations. It is possible that James became obsessed with his scheme to rescue the Holy Sepulchre and vanquish the Infidel as a consequence of the Papal letter of 24th February 1510¹ suggesting that Venice might serve Christendom in this way. For, two months later, Badoer repeated a conversation with the Scottish agent, suggesting that James would be an excellent commander. The proposal itself is not so unrelated to reality as it has been the custom to believe. It was not merely a fantastic scheme of James' born of remorse for his participation in the rebellion against his father, although there is no evidence to disprove that as one possible motive. For the Infidel had been and was still a menace to the integrity of Europe. Ferdinand of Aragon and his wife, Isabella of Castile, had but lately expelled the Moors from Spain and had followed that up by an offensive against them in Africa, dignified by the name of a crusade. In the East the Turkish invasion threatened Hungary, while their hold on the Far Eastern states was strong. In the Mediterranean the Knights of Rhodes maintained a precarious footing on that island and had received assistance for that purpose from France under the command of Prégent de Bidoulx, French Admiral of the Mediterranean, himself a knight of that order. The idea of a crusade, also, was never far from the mind of the Holy See, possibly less for its original purpose than as a convenient and felicitous diversion for the princes of Europe from attention to the plans of the Papacy for the maintenance or recovery of its power in Italy.

¹ National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 34; Brodie, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., Foreign and Domestic*, 1372.

Be that as it may, the message brought by de la Mothe (No. II.) shows that the Most Christian King was well aware of King James' desire: he had heard of it 'maintesfoys.' It was not possible for one in his position, rejoicing in such a title, to refuse his participation, but it is evident that he was not enthusiastic. He safeguarded his promises with skill, assuring his good cousin of assistance in proportion as the Pope was willing to assist. So far he was on safe ground, but he protected himself still further. The crusade would be possible, he asserted, only when there was peace in Christendom and when they could join together in that holy war. It sounds both laudable and plausible, yet there was more therein than is immediately apparent: King Louis had not the slightest intention of committing himself to any such project while he might be exposed to attack in his cherished scheme of consolidating his possessions in Italy. He knew how fatal it would be if he should draw off any of his troops from that country, and so leave it open to the designs of Julius II. or to the claims of the Emperor. He had good reason to fear them: the League of Cambrai had not fulfilled his expectations; his success against the Venetians at Agnadello, instead of proving a satisfaction to his allies, had only succeeded in alienating the Pope, who had turned on him, made terms with Venice, incited the Swiss to attack his ally of Ferrara, and had confirmed to Ferdinand of Aragon the Kingdom of Naples, so recently conquered by his predecessor and to which he also laid claim. It was not under conditions like these that Louis XII. would have forces to spare for any other purpose, however praiseworthy.

Nevertheless, promises cost nothing, and the King of France was well aware that he might need the help of the King of Scots. So he was lavish in protestations of his intention, once his immediate object had been attained, of devoting the resources of his kingdom to the scheme,

and of placing James at the head of the expedition, armed with the fullest powers over the subjects of France. He invited James to estimate what would be necessary for his journey, and to send the information to the Pope and to other princes from whom he might expect aid. On his part he promised to help with ships, men, and in other ways, and thus to prove his zeal against the enemies of the Holy Catholic Faith.

As the following document (No. III.) shows, King James took him at his word; yet there is more than a suggestion that there was a streak of common sense at the back of his mind. Louis' promises were large and wide; James was willing to accept them, but he wanted something more precise. It is to be regretted that his shrewdness in the matter was not extended to all his subsequent negotiations with the Most Christian King. The document, apparently drawn up by that skilled diplomatist, Bishop Forman of Moray, was presented to Louis probably at Blois some time in December 1510, having been drafted probably before the Bishop's departure, about 22nd October, for he had been despatched upon an embassy to the Pope to seek for a universal peace, in the name of James IV. and the King of England, and to propose a war against the Infidel. He was also to propose that James should be the leader of the expedition, a suggestion which did not err on the side of modesty on his master's part, untried as he was in fighting on any considerable scale. This embassy was reported to Margaret of Savoy, Governor of Flanders, by de Borgo, on 29th December 1510,¹ and the report is sufficient warrant for attributing the Bishop's appeal to Louis XII. to the same period. The proposal is interesting and marks James' entry into the sphere of continental politics, not merely, as formerly, with regard

¹ Brodie, No. 649.

to relations between England, France, and Scotland, but with an ambition to play the rôle of peacemaker on the grand scale. It is headed in Scots and continues in French, after the usual formal courtesies, with a reminder of King Louis' written promise, his letter to Pope Julius, and his intention to support the King of Scots as leader in spite of the jealousy of other princes. The Bishop then proceeded to remind the King of France of his detailed promises and to press for a specific answer to each of them.

The questions are business-like: King James wishes to know exact numbers and dates; he also wishes some opinion as to the best plan of campaign. The reasons for pressing the matter form the conclusion of the document. The first is the obvious one: to enable the King of Scots to discover what assistance he must demand from his other allies. The second is apparently an attempt at diplomacy. Once the King of Scots should know what assistance he might expect from the Most Christian King, he would not fail to denounce the Pope and the King of Spain for their hostility to France, which prevented the prosecution of his most laudable enterprise. He might even do more: he might attack those who hindered, explaining to the Pope that he did not act from hostility to the Church, but that those who hindered his voyage were in his opinion no better than enemies of the Faith and as open to attack as the Infidel. This expression of the King of Scots' attitude towards the Holy See is strongly reminiscent of the opinions of the French clergy promulgated at the Synod of Tours, a copy of whose decisions had apparently been despatched to the Scottish court.¹ But it was one thing to express an opinion and another thing to back it with action, as Louis was to discover both with regard to James and Maximilian; they

¹ See Appendix I., *infra*.

might condemn papal action but yet be unwilling to commit themselves to an open breach with the Church. They had not yet reached the stage of the vassals of the Church in Scotland at the period immediately preceding the Reformation, of whom it was complained that they 'dred nocht cursing nor wald obey cursing.'

In view of the combination of forces against him, it was a consummation devoutly to be wished by Louis that his cousin of Scotland should take his side against the Pope and Ferdinand of Spain, particularly against the former more formidable antagonist. The following instructions, therefore, stated his case against the King of Spain and the Holy See with considerable force. Since the despatch of de la Mothe the situation, from the French point of view, had not improved, and Pierre Cordier, Doctor of Decrees, was sent in November 1511 with what amounts to a lengthy accusation of Julius II. and Ferdinand for their dishonourable dealings (No. IV.).

The situation, in large part, was Louis' own fault. Not content with pursuing his claim to the state of Milan, he had complicated matters by his clumsy expedient of confusing political and religious issues. His appeal to his own clergy in 1510 had been followed by their further meeting at Lyons in March 1510-11, where they had decided to call for a General Council. In this decision to summon a Council for reform of the Church and for the deposition of the Pope, Louis had found, for the time, an adherent in the Emperor Maximilian, desirous of obtaining a greater measure of independence for the Church in Germany, either by the institution of a permanent legate or by the establishment of a Pragmatic Sanction like that of France. Ferdinand, conciliated by the gift of Naples, refused to join with France and Germany, but they had the support of five cardinals, driven from Rome by the violence of the Pope. So prepared, Louis had invited the Pope to call a

Council. Upon Julius' refusal he had taken the initiative, and with the five cardinals and Maximilian had gone through the formalities for summoning a General Council to meet at Pisa, founding on that article of the Council of Constance which ordered one every ten years, and on a promise of Julius II., made in 1503, to summon as soon as possible the representatives of the Church.

It was definitely a defiance of the Pope, but Julius had in no way attempted any policy of conciliation: he had imprisoned a French cardinal for no given offence; he had, in March 1510-11, created eight new cardinals to be at his disposition, among them Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sion, whose nomination was to assure him the support of the Swiss, and Wolsey, Archbishop of York, through whom he hoped to obtain the goodwill of Henry VIII. Another cardinalate he reserved for the Bishop of Gurck, when he should be assured of the friendship of Maximilian. Then he summoned a General Council to meet at the Lateran on 19th April 1511. The omens were unfavourable for the Council of Pisa: Maximilian, on the point of forsaking his ally of France, was not interested, and the Council, which met on 1st November 1511, was composed chiefly of French ecclesiastics. After meeting twice at Pisa they moved to Milan, but, in spite of the French occupation of the town, were not well received. To that was added a Swiss invasion of Italy engineered by the Pope, under pretext of attacking the Duke of Ferrara. When the French were forced to abandon the Milanese, the remnant of the Council fled with them to France, where it faded away.

The Council of Pisa had met by the time that Louis XII. sent Cordier to Scotland, and it is apparent that he had already a shrewd idea that his scheme of a Council would meet with failure. He was also faced with a new combination against him. Julius II., Ferdinand, and

Venice had formed themselves into the Holy League (4th October 1511), with the avowed aim of recovering for the Pope lands taken from the Holy See. But the underlying intention was the expulsion of the French from Italy, and, with this in his mind, there is little wonder that Louis' ambassador to James was entrusted with so unmeasured an attack on the King of France's adversaries. The instructions combine a defence of Louis' policy with this denunciation of the Pope and Spain, not the less violent for the formal respect with which he alludes throughout to the Holy Father.

The beginning of the document is missing and parts of it are imperfect, but the main sense is clear enough: it combines an attack on Louis' enemies with a justification of his own actions; it shows his endeavours to be conciliatory and to find a *via media* acceptable to all parties, and it urges James to fall in with his line of policy. As regards the matter of the rival Councils, Louis still clung to the summoning of the Council of Pisa as a necessity, and had charged Cordier to show James that it was essential that it should meet in a neutral place. Louis appears to have suggested that the Council of Pisa should be reconstituted and transferred to some neutral spot, preferably outside Italy, where, away from the influence of the Pope, real freedom of discussion might be found. He urged James IV. to consider and support this project, and Cordier appears to have reported to the King of Denmark that he had persuaded James to send representatives to it.¹

The parts of the document dealing with the attempts at a settlement of the Italian problem are somewhat defaced, but from other sources the main idea is plain enough.

¹ Becker, *De Rebus inter Ioannem et Christianum II., Daniae Reges a Ludovicum XII. et Iacobum IV., Galliae et Scotiaeque Reges a MDXI-MDXIV actis Commentatio*, pp. 31-3.

Julius was pressing for the restoration of Bologna, which, reconquered for the Papacy with the help of French troops, had revolted under the misgovernment and brutality of the papal representative and, again with the assistance of French troops, had regained freedom. In addition, he asserted certain claims on the Duchy of Ferrara, whose reigning Duke was an ally of France. The fate of these states seems to have concerned Louis XII. but little, for he made offer by the Bishop of Moray in October 1511 to abandon his interest in both states if the Pope would abandon, in his turn, his allies of the Holy League.

It is in these instructions that the idea of James IV. as a factor in European politics seems to emerge for the first time. The coalition against Louis had assumed formidable proportions; only England was lacking to make the circle of enemies complete. But it was not till mid-November that Henry joined, bribed by the proposed recovery of Guienne, and it is at least doubtful whether Louis was at once aware of Henry's adhesion. So, while he urged the King of Scots to maintain the alliances with France, to uphold his scheme of a General Council in a neutral spot, and to abstain from joining the Holy League, he is insistent in his condemnation of any ill-feeling between England and Scotland—'*tres déplaisand du differend.*'

There had indeed been fairly serious trouble on the Borders, to the extent of requiring a commission of inquiry to redress grievances, composed of Lord Dacre and Sir Robert Drury on the English side, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Drummond, Scott of Balwearie and others for the Scots.¹ But the incident which had caused the bad feeling, to which Louis alludes, was the attack by Lord Thomas Howard and Edward Howard upon Andrew Barton, in which Barton was killed and his ship, the *Lyon*, captured

¹ Brodie, 804/34, 824.

along with another, the *Jenett of Purwyn*. It had not been an isolated incident. It was the culmination of many charges of piracy brought by the English against Barton, and was probably responsible for the final breach with England. To the King of Scots, doubtless aware already that the crusade would be difficult enough to accomplish, the loss of the *Lyon* and of so great a captain as Barton was serious, while the refusal of the English to give redress argued that the incident might even be repeated. And, given a repetition of such incidents, his crusade would become impossible. But as yet it did not suit Louis XII.'s policy to foment causes of ill-will between the two nations.

Cordier, to whom these instructions were committed, remained in Scotland for about two months. After spending Christmas there, he was despatched to Denmark together with Mr. Andrew Brounhill, and provided with letters from James IV., dated 29th January 1511-12, to John, King of Denmark. That King James had given consideration to Cordier's message is evident, though there is no actual record of his answer. Two heralds had been despatched with letters to France; Unicorn Pursuivant on 11th December, and Marchmont Herald apparently on the following day. On 31st December the King's letters had gone out for the summons of a General Council to discuss the Pope and the King of France's affairs. In January 1511-12 the Bishop of Moray was charged by Louis XII. with instructions to the Kings of England and Scotland jointly and to King James alone, bearing date 17th and 18th of that month respectively (Nos. V. and VI.). Moray was then on his way homewards after a stay of more than a year on the Continent, in which he had been employed as envoy by Louis to the Pope with terms and sent back by the latter with alternative conditions. It was to the interest of Louis to

conciliate Henry VIII., who, though he had joined the Holy League some months back, had not yet openly committed himself to hostilities against France. The King of France therefore charged Moray to explain to both Kings his attempt to obtain peace with the Pope, by a proffer of conditions which had been rejected notwithstanding his desire for universal peace in Christendom. This last clause contained an allusion to other opponents, '*aucuns qu'on entend bien,*' for which may be read Ferdinand of Spain. Further, he begged both Kings to support his scheme for a neutral Council with a view to the pacification of Christendom and an expedition against the Infidels, a scheme which was avowedly one of the aims of the Council of Lateran. Lastly he begged the two Kings to settle their differences, remembering the treaty between them, which had received papal confirmation. That confirmation was subsequently to prove no bar to the Most Christian King's persuasion to James IV. to break with his English ally. It is possible that Louis pressed the question of peace between the two Kings the more urgently because he knew of James' feeling towards England, founded on the Barton incident, and because of the threat of war in the preceding summer. Henry VIII. had it in mind in December 1511, when he required from Margaret of Savoy, Governor of Flanders, the return of his artillery for use in an expedition against the Scots, while a letter from London to Venice reported that all the island was in arms because the King of Scots at the request of France was moving war, and that all would be ready by Candlemas. What might have been instrumental in causing this rumour of war was the letter of James IV. to the Pope of 5th December, when, after complaining of the unprovoked attacks by the English and their King's failure to grant redress, he added that he presumed that they were absolved from their oaths. He also had been much occupied with his fleet and was

importing from France ships and naval armaments, corn and other necessities.¹

The instructions for King James' ear alone were more outspoken than those destined for both Kings, particularly as regarded continental affairs and the Holy League: for, since Henry VIII. had adhered to it, there was little use in persuading him to abandon it as yet. But with regard to the King of Scots, it was a different matter. He had no love for England, and might, when it suited King Louis, prove a useful supporter. Restless and ambitious of renown, he might be lured to the French purposes by the bait of help for his crusade; but the trouble was that he still maintained his loyalty to the Holy See, doubtless mindful of the title of 'Protector of the Christian Religion' bestowed on him by the Pope in 1507. Indeed, while annoyed that no direct communication regarding the Lateran Council had reached him from Julius, he had not supported the Council of Pisa, and had invited the Danish representatives to the Lateran Council to state that he remained in obedience to the Holy See in spite of the persuasions of Louis.² Under such circumstances, it was increasingly needful for King Louis to win James to his side in his quarrel with the Pope.

The instructions to Moray are, in effect, an answer to James' communication of rather more than a year past, when the Bishop had been sent on an embassy to the Holy See for the purposes of making peace and promoting a crusade. Joined with that answer is a restatement of Louis' grievances against the Pope and an appeal to the King of Scots not to be beguiled into joining the Holy League. He stressed the fact of his having offered terms to the Pope, which had been refused by the influence of '*aucuns que ung chacun entend bien,*' and the provocation

¹ Brodie, 1017.

² Becker, p. 67.

offered by Julius, which had forced him to take up arms again, an allusion to the Swiss invasion engineered by His Holiness. His attitude was of one who had the misfortune to be wholly misunderstood. Yet the provocation does not seem to have been all one way, for the French arms had been successful enough during the past year, when three towns had fallen into French hands. It was unfortunate that Bologna had revolted and freed itself once more with French assistance, for the incident gave point to the Pope's accusations of the King of France. Still, as has been noted already, Louis seemed to sit lightly to his obligations to his allies in Italy and would have abandoned them willingly, had the Pope, on his side, consented to throw over his alliance with the Venetians. But the difference between Julius II. and Louis was fundamental: the former argued from the point of view that the French had no rights in Italy; and, once granted, as Louis naturally assumed, that he had right to Milan, that an unjust Pope opposed him, the French position was equally defensible.

The restatement of his case was Louis' preamble to the real business of the Bishop's instructions, the answer about the crusade. It is impossible to say how far the Most Christian King meant what he said, and difficult not to assume that the largeness of his promises was based on the improbability of their fulfilment. But that they were intended to be convincing to the King of Scots is evident, and in that lies their importance. It is proof of James' real anxiety to perform his journey that he took the promises at their face value, treasured the document which contained them, to show it two years later to the English ambassador in an attempt to get better terms from Henry VIII. Yet, in themselves the promises are all vague enough, with the exception of the first, that, one year after the conclusion of peace in Europe, Louis would grant to James IV. a tax of one-tenth leviable on France and the

French states in Italy. In addition to the money produced by the tax, the King would furnish cavalry, infantry, munitions, and ships.

Having made his offer and answered James' earlier inquiries, Louis proceeded to insist upon the conditions necessary to attain the desired end. The King of Scots must abstain from any quarrel with England, must not allow himself to be persuaded into joining the Holy League, and must support the Most Christian King in his demands as to the Council of Pisa. In that last condition stress is laid again on the importance of the Scottish King's adherence to the demand for a Council held in a neutral place, on the assumption that the Pope would be forced to yield to the princes of Christendom if they were unanimous, an assumption which took no count of the fact that the day of General Councils was done and that even the Sixth Lateran Council was to accomplish little or nothing.

The whole instructions are loud in praise of the bearer, Forman, for his devotion to the cause of peace and to the King of France as well as to his own master. It was peace, unfortunately, only from the point of view of Louis XII., for, later, the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities between England and Scotland was laid, with a measure of truth, to Forman's charge.¹ He had indeed been busy in the service of France as well as of Scotland, as the repeated journeys between the court of France and Rome during his absence from Scotland show. That they had been fruitless was due, not to his lack of skill as a negotiator, but to the irreconcilable points of view of the Pope and the King of France.

The instructions close with a commendation to the King of Scots of his cousin, John, Duke of Albany. The accept-

¹ Brodie, 1058.

ance of the Duke at the court of France is interesting in view of the reason for his being there and the part he was to play later in the affairs of Scotland. His father, Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, younger brother of James III., had fled from Scotland as a consequence of the discovery of his treasonable negotiations with England, the trend of which was indicated by a document addressing him as King of Scotland. His lands and titles were forfeited, and for the rest of his life he was an exile in France. In spite of the reason for his flight and of the friendship between Scotland and France, he had been accepted at the court of France and had married Anne, daughter of Bertrand, Count d'Auvergne and Boulogne. Their son was John Stewart, Duke of Albany on his father's death. He had entered the French King's service and had been employed in his wars, and also, on one occasion at least, as ambassador to Rome. That he enjoyed Louis' favour is shown, apart from his employments, by his marriage, the preliminary contract for which was dated 13th June 1505. His wife, Countess Anne, was his own first cousin, elder daughter and heiress of Jean III., Count d'Auvergne, son of Count Bertrand, and of Jeanne de Bourbon, daughter of the Count of Vendôme, nearly related to the royal house. The commendation of Albany to his cousin, the King of Scots, had, as appears later, ulterior motives, and for that reason the statements in it might well be taken for a mere formality, did not subsequent events prove the contrary. For Louis wrote that Albany desired '*faire quelque bon et grant service au roy d'Ecosse.*' It seems really to have been true and that the Duke, half-Frenchman by birth, wholly so by upbringing, still regarded Scotland as his natural home and its King as his sovereign. Yet it must be admitted there may have been another purpose behind this introduction of his name, the purpose which arises later, of obtaining his rehabilitation in Scot-

land and the restoration of the estates forfeited in his father's lifetime. If that were the whole intention of the King of France in commending one cousin to another, it was singularly unsuccessful, for it was not till several months after the death of King James that the subject of the restitution of his estates was raised in Scotland.

The despatch designed for the two Kings must have been presented to Henry VIII. either in the end of January or the beginning of February 1511-12, for a letter of King James to Forman, then in London, dated 12th February, commented on his presence there as ambassador for a league between France and England, and alluded to Cordier's instructions with respect to the dissension between the latter kingdom and Scotland.¹

From this time the instructions succeed each other with greater frequency and at considerable length. In the beginning of April 1512, Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross, was despatched from Blois with three documents in his charge—the actual instructions, a supplement to them, and an answer to the secret credentials he had brought from the court of Scotland. The first amounts to a statement of the condition of affairs on the Continent, the second apparently are answers to questions and demands made by King James.

Of these three documents only the first (No. VII.) is dated, 4th April 1512, yet they are obviously of the same period. Nos. VII. and VIII. are in the same handwriting, while the three appear to have been received together and are endorsed as presented by the Bishop of Ross on 21st April 1512. In No. VII. Louis XII. made discreet allusion to the possibility of war between England and France, and expressed a hope that James, in such a case, would intervene, with a veiled hint of possible advantage to himself.

¹ Brodie, 3407.

In the additional instructions and the reply to the secret credentials, the idea of impending hostilities is accepted as inevitable, though in the instructions committed to Forman in January of the same year, Louis XII. still laid stress on the need for peace between Scotland and England. To account for the marked difference in tone between the first of Ross' despatches and the other two it may be suggested that No. VII. was written before the receipt of certain information from Scotland as to the King's attitude. It is possible that Forman, while in London, had discovered what was unknown to Louis at the time of his despatch, that Henry was now definitely hostile to France, that the Bishop returned to Scotland in favour of a renewal of the 'Auld Alliance,' and that, as a consequence, the offer for that renewal came from James. Forman arrived in Scotland about the middle of February; on 29th February James summoned a Council; the first draft of the new treaty with France is dated 6th March; and Unicorn Pursuivant left for France on 10th March, presumably with the draft treaty. The ambassador, de la Mothe, arriving on 12th March, crossed Unicorn on his journey, and departed on 25th. It is possible that he carried with him James' letter containing the fifteen articles to which No. VIII. is a reply, that Ross had already received his instructions (No. VII.), and that Nos. VIII. and IX. were written to deal with the changed conditions indicated by the new despatch.

From the point of view of King Louis, the opening of the year 1512 had seen a marked change for the worse in his affairs, which the ensuing months were not to alter materially. In January 1511-12 the Venetians had recovered the two cities, Brescia and Bergamo, and the Holy League threatened Ferrara and Bologna. It was reported also that Ferdinand of Spain was negotiating a truce between the Emperor Maximilian and Venice, actually

accomplished in April. The attempt to keep England out of the conflict had failed, for Henry VIII. was planning an expedition to France in concert with Ferdinand, and, while France's navy was still in a condition of unpreparedness, the English navy was practically ready for sea. Still about the time of the despatch of Ross, Louis was holding his own in Italy: his forces had recaptured Brescia, beaten back a combined Spanish and papal attack on Bologna, and, under the command of Gaston de Foix, had assaulted Ravenna. That town was to fall to the French on Easter Sunday, but the importance of the victory was nullified in great measure by the death of the young general. But that lay in the future at the time of the despatch of Ross.

To a certain extent Ross' instructions recapitulate the substance of previous despatches, the matter of the Council, which Louis had not yet abandoned, an allusion to James' crusade and to the plans of Ferdinand to drive the French out of Italy.¹ To this last was added the statement that Ferdinand designed to make himself King of Italy. It is as regards the relations of France and England that a change had come. Louis XII. had realised that it would prove impossible to keep Henry out of the number of his active opponents, and that the King of England was apparently on the point of helping in an attack which must compel the King of France to withdraw his troops from Italy for the defence of his territories of France. His surmise, if indeed he had not some more exact information, was correct. By April Henry had declared war and his navy was cruising in the Channel,² while an army, under the Marquis of Dorset, was sent in the month of May to Spain to join with the Spanish troops in an attack on Navarre, with a view to proceeding with Spanish help

¹ Brodie, 982.

² *Proceedings of the Navy Record Society*, vol. x. pp. xv, xvi.

to the reconquest of Guienne. Still Louis appears to have made a last attempt to dissuade Henry from an open declaration of war, sending to him the Bishop of Rieux as ambassador to recount his recent successes in Italy and to ask Henry's intentions. The ambassador received no satisfaction: Henry declared his intention to help his ally, the King of Aragon, in the same manner as Louis had assisted his own allies, the Duke of Ferrara and the inhabitants of Bologna. It appears that Louis had attached small faith to this embassy's power for peace, for Rieux carried, as alternative instructions, an inquiry as to the fate of French non-combatants in England upon the outbreak of war. Having received an answer which was not unexpected, Louis XII. appealed to James IV. to be ready to help him in case of attack. It is a complete *volte face* from his previous policy and marks the beginning of the negotiations which were to involve Scotland in the general hostilities, for James was invited to send an ambassador to King Henry to announce his intention of supporting his ally the King of France. As an inducement to that end the Most Christian King insinuates a reason, stated more explicitly in the two accompanying documents, for James' activity on behalf of France: should Henry invade France, James might seize the occasion to '*pour suyvre ses droictz.*'

It may be noted here that the relations between England and Scotland at this time did not give the impression of an inclination to peace, certainly on the part of the former. On 12th December 1511 an indenture¹ provided that Lord Dacre should continue warden of the East and Middle Marches till Easter, or later at the King's pleasure, if the peace continued. He might also make reprisals on the Scots, if they would not be contented with reason,

¹ Brodie, 984.

a stipulation which, although allowed in the treaty of 1502, was provocative of ill-feeling. And, some four days later, Henry VIII. regretted to the Governor of the Netherlands that he must have his artillery returned, as he needed it for his expedition against the Scots.¹ The early days of January saw also a report to Venice anent England's preparations for war against Scotland.

Whatever the King of Scots' intentions, it was essential to his diplomacy that the Pope should believe him both desirous of peace and frustrated of his desire by England. He complained to Rome on 5th December that England was violating the treaty²; and though on 8th January he communicated with the officers of French ports anent armaments and skippers for his ships,³ yet it was reported from Venice on 11th January that his ambassador, Moray, then at Rome, had offered terms to the Pope on behalf of the King of France.⁴ In the end of that month, too, he wrote to Julius of the negotiations for peace carried on by Moray in France,⁵ and on 12th February complained to the Bishop, at that time in London, that the Spanish ambassador had been seeking to make a quarrel between him and his cousin,⁶ but that Louis, regretting the dissensions between them, had promised his efforts to reconcile them. Indeed, James was intent on the making of peace, but from the point of view of a supporter of the cause of France, as his letters to the Pope and to Ferdinand indicate. In March, while France prepared for war and the Pope wrote to Henry for his help against France,⁷ James was writing to Julius that he was resolved to exhort the King of France to his obedience and would use his best efforts, if recourse was not had to arms.⁸ To the Kings of England and Aragon he wrote

¹ Brodie, 992.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1020.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1096.

² *Ibid.*, 974.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1041.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1100.

³ *Ibid.*, 1017.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1058.

that he knew Louis desired peace with the Pope, begging them to do all they could to make such peace and promote the crusade¹; and to Ferdinand alone, begging him to refrain from drawing his sword against a Catholic soldier,² while his Queen echoed his request.³

It is possible to reconcile the different points of view expressed in his letters and the communication, to which Ross brought the answer, by assuming that James had alternative schemes in his mind. Failing the reconciliation of the Most Christian King with the Pope, the detaching of the latter from the Holy League, with its probable downfall and peace, which might enable James to undertake his voyage, he was prepared for war, with a design to secure for himself so much as he could out of the unavoidable breach with England. For, apparently, he was convinced that, if England and France were involved, he could not stand apart, in spite of the clause of the treaty with the former, which, while allowing the despatch of forces to his ally, prohibited participation in hostilities.

The other documents presented by Ross enlarge upon this idea, presumably, as has already been suggested, for the confidential use of James iv. himself, and in answer to objections set forth by him in his latest communication. The additional instructions offer, in the event of an English invasion of France, that the Most Christian King would assist his cousin of Scotland to conquer England, while the answer to the secret credentials give the reason for the offer. In these credentials James had stated his objection to a breach with England, being, as he put it, the loss of the object of his marriage, his right of succession to the crown of England as heir to Henry VIII. Though Henry was still childless he was also still young, and it appears somewhat premature for either Louis or

¹ Brodie, 1106.

² *Ibid.*, 1108.

³ *Ibid.*, 1109.

James to assume that he would continue without succession. But there is also a hint of an older claim, which recurs later: it sounds, on the surface, absolutely fantastic, based as it was on descent from Saint Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, the last male representative of the house of Cerdic. Far-fetched it may have been, but it was little weaker than that of the Tudors, except that it had lain dormant for so many centuries. It is stated explicitly: in return for James' breach with his brother-in-law, Louis ought to take his part and continue to take it till the desired end was reached. The whole affair sounds quite out of the accepted picture of the romantic and chivalrous King, but appears to have been an attempt to obtain some guarantee from Louis of definite assistance in return for his own pledge to co-operate with France, assistance which he knew was necessary. For this he apparently was prepared to rely upon the King of France's promises. These King Louis was quite willing to make, safeguarding himself with the proviso that any assistance was contingent upon his own needs, and his answer to the secret credentials became a discussion as to the best means of carrying out the impending war.

His plans appear to have been the result of previous consideration, for they are perfectly definite. He was convinced that the best assistance the King of Scots could render him would be by an offensive on land, for, as he remarked, it was no easy matter to prepare a navy '*comme scet le roy d'Escosse.*' That was rather an unkind hit at his cousin and ally, for, during the previous year, King James had been greatly occupied in his shipyards. Still the King of France was right, for the Scottish navy had reached no great state of preparedness. Otherwise, too, the King of Scots was not prepared, or, in any case, required assurance of assistance from the King of France. He had made request for money, provisions, artillery,

munitious of war and trained soldiers of all types, particularly engineers. To his request was returned the usual evasive answer. Louis would send help when and as he could, but his ally must remember that the French frontier was attacked on all sides, apart from the state of Italy, and that great forces were required for its protection.

To the last of James' requests the King of France returned a refusal. James had desired Louis to inform the King of Denmark that he had transferred to the King of Scots the sum paid to Henry VIII. as pension. The French King corrected the misapprehension under which James appeared to be labouring. It was indeed no pension, but the price with which Henry VII. had been bought off from his attack on France in 1492. The trouble had arisen when Charles VIII. had divorced his wife, Jeanne de France, daughter of Louis XI., to marry Anne, Duchess of Brittany, betrothed to Maximilian. This action involved the King in hostilities with Maximilian, who, robbed of his bride, improved the occasion by demanding the restitution of Franche-Comté and Arras, to which he had a claim under the treaty of Arras. In support of him Henry VII. laid siege to Boulogne and was bought off, in the treaty of Etaples, with an exorbitant money ransom for which Brittany was the pledge. It is probable that James was cognisant of the facts, but it suited him to require the transference of the payment to him, possibly as a proof of the sincerity of the King of France's promises; but the latter was not yet determined to give such provocation to England, of whose neutrality he apparently had a lingering hope.

To this extent these three documents deal with the affairs which nearly concerned Scotland. The rest was concerned with a repetition of the wrongs which Louis had suffered at the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon and of the Pope, apart from the matter already mentioned, the

choice of a meeting-place for the Council. Allusion was made also to the crusade, with a hint that the fulfilment of James' desire was entirely dependent upon his exertions on behalf of Louis and his plans for the Council. James' offer of a renewal of the alliance with France,¹ sent in March, was commented on, but it is not till a later document that a complete answer was made with regard to it, when the draft treaties were returned to James by the hands of de la Mothe with instructions dated 2nd October 1512.

But by that date the whole situation had become more pronounced. Clauses in the instructions to Ross had begged King James to send his ambassadors to John, King of Denmark, his uncle, to desire his support of the new plans for the Council and also to explain the position of affairs to him, so that they, as allies, might work the more closely together. James had communicated already with Denmark, sending his own ambassador and instructions along with Cordier, but he again obeyed Louis' request and sent by Carrick Pursuivant articles, which are consonant with the latest news from France, dated 22nd April 1512, though the messenger did not start till about a week later, according to the Treasurer's Accounts which give the date of his departure as 29th April.²

The envoy was charged to narrate the birth of a son, later James v.; the matter of the General Council; Louis' desire that France, Denmark, and Scotland should act together; the Bishop of Moray's attempt to reconcile the Most Christian King with the Pope, and the part played in preventing him by the King of Aragon and Venice. He was also to tell of England's preparation of a fleet and army, of James' fear for the integrity of his kingdom and of France's fear that England would assist

¹ 6th March 1511-12; Brodie, 1089.

² *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 146; Becker, pp. 70, 71.

Ferdinand in the war he now waged on France. These articles, containing information probably more or less generally known and somewhat guarded in expression, were accompanied by secret articles in which James stated the position more openly. He announced that Henry had declared war on France and sought occasion to break with Scotland, and asked, under these circumstances, what help might be expected from his uncle of Denmark, what sort of a navy he had, what money he could offer, and what conditions he would make. It was the first of a series of communications to the King of Denmark during that year, not precisely dated, which contained information as to the progress of hostilities, the renewed provocations of England by attacks on Scottish shipping, and King James' attempts for peace. In these and subsequent negotiations the King of Scots appeared as mouthpiece for Louis XII., who, even while he desired the friendship and co-operation of the Danish King, did not deal with him directly, a fact which was to be alleged by King John as a reason for not sending help to the Most Christian King in his difficulties.¹ This indirect approach appears to have been due to the somewhat strained relations caused by the proposed alliance by marriage between Denmark and France, in which Madeleine, younger daughter of the house of Boulogne, was proposed as a match for Christian. The King of Denmark resented that the elder daughter was not offered, possibly because her dowry was the more considerable, possibly because he considered it a slight that Countess Anne had been contracted to John, Duke of Albany. But the Duke was in the service and high in the favour of King Louis, and, were the forfeiture of his father revoked, was close in the succession to the throne of Scotland.

¹ Becker, p. 86.

John in any case was not in a position to send help to either ally, and consequently temporised. He wrote that he had sent ambassadors to Rome to treat for peace with the Pope, and that it was not seemly to take any action as to the Council before he had received an answer.¹ As to giving assistance, according to James' request, he reminded him that, during his own recent wars, he had received help neither from the Most Christian King nor any other sovereign but James; also that he was united by a treaty with Henry VIII.² as with Louis XII. As to the imminence of war, if James became involved '*sine ullo suo crimine aut culpa*' he was willing to send what help he could, but after the termination of his wars (with Lubeck and Sweden) he had disbanded his army and dispersed his navy, selling some of his ships and sending others '*ad terras occidentem versus sitas*' to trade, so that he had no provision for war left. In one point only he seems to have been at one with Louis, the matter of a General Council in a neutral place.³

Events moved rapidly during the months which precede the next recorded despatch from France. Louis XII., pitted against the forces of the Holy League in Italy, at first rather more than held his ground, and his army cut to pieces the papal and Spanish forces at Ravenna. But that success upon which he counted and which was reported to have chilled the ardour of his enemies, was neutralised by the death in the hour of victory of Gaston de Foix, his one competent general, a fact no doubt appreciated by his adversaries. The Emperor, too, had made truce with the Venetians and had renounced all connection with the schismatic Council of Pisa, giving clear enough indication of his abandonment of his former ally of France.

Also he had to face an offensive from another quarter,

¹ Becker, p. 74.

² Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. xiii. p. 381.

³ Brodie, 1140.

intensified by the entry of England into the war. The expedition of the Marquis of Dorset landed in Spain on 7th June to join forces with the Spanish troops under the Duke of Alva, and the King of France found himself obliged to withdraw from Italy all his troops save the garrisons of four castles, and to order the presence of his Admiral of the Mediterranean, Gaston Prégent de Bidoux, Knight of Rhodes, with his seven galleys.

The presence of de Bidoux was rendered necessary by the entrance into the war of King Henry's fleet, whose state of preparedness and activity took Louis by surprise. He had begun his own naval preparations in February 1512, but little had been accomplished beyond the appointment of the Duke de la Tremoille as his lieutenant-general in Normandy. Apparently he had counted too much on the effect of the news of his success in Italy, but that, even if it had already come to the ears of the English, did nothing to stop the unopposed cruise of their fleet, under Admiral Sir Edward Howard. During the first fortnight of May it sailed up and down the Channel, plundering every ship encountered, whether enemy's or ally's. The lieutenant of de la Tremoille, writing on 20th May, remarked that the English had cooled down upon hearing of the King's victories ¹ and the rumour that the Scots would declare war, but it is more probable that the temporary cessation of their activities and their return to port was to enable them to refit for the next attack, an invasion of Brittany on 6th and 7th June 1512.

The career of the English army in France, while successful in so far as it diverted French troops from Italy, failed so far as regarded the ambitions of Henry VIII. The English landed at Biscay and waited for the Duke of Alva to join them for an attack on Guienne. But Alva was engaged

¹ Brodie, 1201; *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, x. 17.

in the successful conquest of Navarre, and to his master, Ferdinand, it was of little moment to fulfil his promise to his son-in-law and ally. For three months the English forces lay inactive in Spain, till at last, driven by sickness and privation, they mutinied and resolved to return home without orders.

While the honours of naval warfare were fairly equally divided during the summer of 1512, and England's offensive against France in Guienne had failed except in so far as it had resulted in the recall of Louis' troops from Italy and the loss of practically all his conquests in that country, the situation in England and Scotland had almost developed into open war. Yet the preparations seem to have been chiefly on the English side. There is no very clear indication of the provocation which led Henry to expect a Scottish offensive. On 25th April the Spanish ambassador informed James that Henry was well inclined to peace,¹ and on 1st May Henry gave some evidence of this by granting, in terms of the treaty of 1502, a pardon to all subjects of the King of Scots for depredations and injuries committed on his subjects.² Yet, a little later, Dacre presented a list of English grievances,³ while, on 18th July, James retaliated with a similar list, complaining of failure to obtain any redress, though at the same time he proposed to send Moray to England and abroad with overtures for a perpetual peace.⁴ Henry was almost conciliatory in his answer to that communication. Although he professed his inability to discuss peace without consent of his confederates, and was unsatisfactory with regard to the matter of Barton and another Scottish seaman, Faulconer,⁵ yet he hinted to Dacre at the same time that Faulconer might be respited, since James claimed him as his 'familiar servant.'

¹ Brodie, 1158.

² *Ibid.*, 1221 (1).

³ *Ibid.*, 1262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1297.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1314.

Other indications on the English side are less pacific. It may well be that Henry took the renewal of the league between France and Scotland as a proof of the hostility of James' intentions, and that he and his ambassadors found proof of it in activities in Scotland, for Dacre wrote to his master on 20th July that musters were going on in Scotland and that captains had been appointed for two of the King's ships.¹ The arrival of de la Mothe with captured English vessels in June² could well be interpreted to the disfavour of Scotland, even though the ambassador's action might be justified by the war between England and France.

In any case, the later months of the summer are full of rumours of war from the English side. On 1st August was recorded the warrant to deliver to the Earl of Surrey, Marshal of England, 'and lieutenant of our army now to be sent northward,' a banner of St. George and other standards,³ while on the 4th the Bishop of Durham wrote his thanks to Wolsey for directions as to the defence of the realm against Scotland.⁴ On the 7th Lord Darcy wrote to Henry about Scottish plans for invasion: the King of Scots, he said, could have no more than twenty ships; before he put to sea, he would be sure the French army was either on the coast between Dover and Berwick, or had landed already. That being so, they would invade the Border.⁵ On 17th August Dacre proposed to the Bishop of Durham to 'overdrive the time' to make invasion harder for the Scots,⁶ while Lord Darcy wrote to Surrey, promising him to attend him in his Scottish campaign with 2000 able men beside gentlemen.⁷

It seems that the English had discovered the tenor of James' request to King Louis for the money paid to

¹ Brodie, 1302.

² See p. 68.

³ Brodie, 1317.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1323.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1329.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1342.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1363.

Henry,¹ and had twisted it into a definite declaration that in return for that money he would invade England. But the man who conveyed the information to the Bishop of Durham remarked also that James was weary of fair promises from France and that there was good peace on the Border.

Indeed, in spite of Katherine of Aragon's message to Cardinal Bainbridge that the Scots King had made preparations to attack Berwick,² there is evidence that the three ships which formed James' navy were not ready for sea. It is true his shipyards had been busy, as the High Treasurer's Accounts (vol. iv.) show, but even that activity had not succeeded in making ready the fleet. And as regards preparations for war by land, his requests for money, munitions, and reinforcements go some way to prove that he was not so prepared as the English thought for a declaration of war.

Throughout the summer negotiations had been proceeding between the courts of England and Scotland, and Rome and France, and the movements of ambassadors had been constant. De la Mothe, the next ambassador, made no less than three visits in the year, while an ambassador from Ferdinand was also in Scotland. On 13th April was recorded a payment to an Italian with letters from the Pope. This was Octavian Olarius, who returned to Julius via the court of France, bearing letters from the King of Scots. The contents are answered in the Pope's letter to James of 1st July 1512,³ noting James' labours for peace, but stating that only when the Holy See enjoyed its own again could there be peace and the crusade against the Turks. He added, to enhance James' activity to that end, that news had been received from Ragusa as to the Turks' new attacks. The explanation

¹ Brodie, 1380.

² *Ibid.*, 1391.

³ *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 157.

of the labours of the King of Scots for peace is to be found in an earlier letter of his to the Pope,¹ stating the form his efforts had taken—an exhortation delivered to Louis by Moray to restore Bologna and Ferrara, and to abandon his scheme for the Council.

After Olarius' departure, Islay Herald had been despatched to England on 22nd April, Marchmont to France, and, as noted before, Carrick Pursuivant to Denmark. A secretary of the Duke of Albany had also come to Scotland and left on 30th April. De la Mothe, having left about 21st March, came again in June 1512 and left again on 11th July, to return again on 29th November.² During his second visit, in June, two English ambassadors, Dacre and Dr. West, were at the court of Scotland. These, on their return to England, noted the presence of de la Mothe and reported that King James wanted peace, but that the people were opposed to it,³ a statement contrary to the accepted tradition that James was wholly responsible for pressing the war. The visits of de la Mothe during 1512 were connected with the renewal of the treaty of alliance between France and Scotland, of which slight mention had been made already in the instructions. While the general tenor of the older treaties was accepted, there were changes which both contracting parties required, and it was as bearer of these that de la Mothe made his three journeys.

A preliminary draft had been despatched to France, presumably with Unicorn Pursuivant. De la Mothe, returning to Scotland in June, brought the treaty signed by Louis on 22nd May 1512 and instructions dated 24th May, which he presented on 18th June (No. X.). On his voyage to Scotland, it is worth noting, he attacked a

¹ *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 135.

² *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 27, note.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. x. No. 19.

fleet of English merchant ships, sank three and brought seven into the port of Leith. It was an action which, if not done of intent to involve Scotland in hostilities with England, was not calculated to improve the strained relations between those countries, but, as may be seen from his instructions, James' promises of assistance had been practically explicit enough to warrant his assuming a state of war. Apart from the acceptance of James' promises of assistance and a note as to the attempts made to divert him from his old alliance, the instructions are taken up principally with the justification of the clause omitted.

There were two clauses in the new treaty subjected to the criticism of James, one omission and one insertion. King Louis had been responsible for both alterations, and, apart from these, the document does not differ from the earliest treaty between the two countries.

An undated draft of the treaty, to be found in the Appendix,¹ is given in the same volume as the instructions, apparently the one upon which James iv.'s communications with France were based, for the two clauses under dispute have been scored out. In the volume is also a transcript in French, dated 22nd April 1512, of the treaty made between Robert II. and Charles VII., in the form signed by the Scottish King, in which the clause omitted by King Louis is scored out. The other, to which James took exception, was a new insertion. Since this earlier treaty is otherwise accessible, it has not been inserted in the present volume.²

It was in the second clause of the treaty that occurred the first point under discussion, for Louis objected to the final phrase as unnecessary. The new reading provided

¹ Appendix II., *infra*.

² Rymer, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 925-6 (Ed. 1830). Robert II.'s treaty is dated at the Castle of Edinburgh 28 Oct. 1371.

that, in the event of the outbreak of war between the Kings of England and Scotland, the King of France should be bound to declare war against the King of England so soon as he had sufficient proof of the war. In the draft treaty the deleted phrase runs : ‘ *treugis nihilominus captis et pendentibus inter illustrissimos Scotorum regem et Anglie regem finitis per quemcunque alium modum per factum dictorum Anglorum raptis et annullatis.*’ As it stands, it is obviously incorrect, for truces between English and Scots would *ipso facto* be annulled by the outbreak of war. But the transcript, alluded to above, made for the use of the Scottish King, gives the correct sense : ‘ *si guerre estoit mene . . . entre le roy de France . . . et le roy d’Angleterre . . . nous . . . serons tenuz et obligez a faire guerre . . . audit roy d’Angleterre finies ou par quelque maniere adnulles par ou rompues par le fait des Angloys.*’ For ‘ *Scotorum* ’ read ‘ *Francie* ’ and the sense is clear and the omission desired by Louis made plain, when it is remembered that Louis XII. in his instructions which give ‘ *rex Scocie* ’ is quoting from the draft made for the use of James, not for himself.

The other clause altered by Louis was the fifth. In the older form the clause forbade the making of truces between the Kings of France and England without the consent of the King of Scots, with the qualification ‘ unless the King of Scots, his Kingdom and communities, decline to be included.’ Louis added a further qualification, prescribing a time limit for the declaration of any objections to the inclusion. He explained that short truces were necessary occasionally, and that it was not always possible to notify his ally in time, but expressed his willingness to delete the addition to the clause since it was obnoxious to the King of Scots.

Apparently these were the only two clauses under discussion. Still, it may be worth noting that, in the draft

treaty, the sixth clause also had a phrase scored out. That clause forbade the making of peace by France with England without the consent of the King of Scots, with the deleted phrase, significant in view of later events: 'or at least unless the said King of Scots . . . his Kingdom and community are integrally included.' As will be seen later, King Louis was to make a virtue of his inclusion of the Scots in his treaty with Spain, without their knowledge or consent.

But it required a second journey of de la Mothe to settle these two points. He left Scotland on 11th July in company with Mr. James Ogilvy, and the ship on which he sailed was attacked by the English, a consequence, not to be wondered at, of his arrival in Scotland with a train of captured English vessels. He was therefore compelled to make for Denmark for safety. He returned again to Scotland on 29th November, bearing the treaty corrected according to the mutual wishes of the kings, and instructions, dated 2nd October 1512. These instructions are divided into two parts, of which the second is secret and, as such, more outspoken (Nos. XI. and XII.).

The first part states that Louis had decided to assist the King of Scots so far as his other undertakings allow, and has charged his ambassador with a list of queries regarding this assistance. Plans were put forward for holding back the joint attack until such time as all their preparations should be accomplished. A justification was made of the new clause in the treaty inserted by the King of France. Then Louis conveyed his thanks to his cousin and ally for the answer he had given to the ambassadors of England. These were Dacre and West, who had been at James' court at the same time as de la Mothe, but it is apparent that no very exact account of negotiations can have been transmitted to France, for there is nothing in the reported relations

between England and Scotland of that period to show that James had taken up any decided attitude. Indeed, till much later, the King of Scots was engaged in playing off his two allies, the old and the new, against each other for the best possible terms. For the rest, the instructions contain a recapitulation in general terms of Louis' grievances against the Kings of Aragon and England and the Pope, and a justification of his action as to the Council of Pisa and his subsequent schemes for another in consonance with his own wishes.

In the secret instructions is shown to what extent James appears to have committed himself to the assistance of Louis. However, Louis cannot have been certain of his ally, for he restated with considerable violence his case against his enemies, taking pains to demonstrate that the ill-will of England in particular was directed equally against the Scots. But he seems to have realised that verbal persuasions alone could not move James to action, and that something more tangible was necessary: hence detailed offers of assistance; the sum of 50,000 francs, payable upon the opening of hostilities, artillery, and munitions. Of these offers, the first and most important part, the money, was never to materialise, in spite of the later assertion of the King of England after the battle; of the rest a part arrived in time, another part too late to be of any service.¹ The first consignment of munitions and, in addition, a gift of wine were put in charge of de la Mothe and his companions and arrived with him on his last journey that year. The ambassador was charged also to inform James as to the strength of the French fleet, as it would be for the forthcoming offensive, and the instructions closed with a reminder to King James of his crusade and a violent attack on the conduct in war of the

¹ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 3, hereinafter cited as *A.D.C.*

Spanish, presumably as an attempt to convince the King of the justification for attacking them.

De la Mothe's visit to Scotland at this time was prolonged, for he did not leave till 14th February 1512-13 when he sailed from the Forth in company with Olarius, the Papal envoy, bearer of a letter from James to Julius II. In the meanwhile must have come and gone an envoy of whom there appears to be no record, Jacques Marchal, secretary to the Duke of Albany. It was a purely private mission on which he came, bearing one letter from his master, another, supplementary to it, from the King of France. Albany's instructions, it is true, contain a reference to the war on the Spanish frontier, but merely introduced to account by his absence there for his having failed to take advantage of the recent journey of ambassadors to Scotland.

The main contents of the two documents (Nos. XIII., XIV.) are a request for the Duke's rehabilitation in Scotland and the restoration of his estates. If that should not be possible immediately, it was suggested that King James might agree to allow to the Duke a pension of six or eight thousand livres until such time as the matter of his father's Scottish estates should be settled. The request was based upon the need for Albany to make some settlement on his wife at that time, when the marriage contract of 1505 was to be fulfilled, in return for her settlement in his favour of her lands and other possessions. The proposal is carefully worded without any hint of the reasons which had left Albany a landless man, but suggests that his life in France had not been without its difficulties, for he wrote '*j'ay essaye assez necessite pour maintenant vivre d'autre sorte.*' He reminded his cousin and sovereign that he never before had appealed to him for any assistance, though he had begged to be allowed to come to Scotland to see him even in disguise,

and reiterated his desire to meet the King in order to put at his disposal his services and any information to which he might have had access. No attention, however, appears to have been paid to the request; indeed, as has been noted above, there is no mention either of the arrival or of the departure of Marchal, which is the more curious as the Treasurer's Accounts for past years note three visits to Scotland of the Duke's secretary, one on 7th April 1508, another on 30th April 1512, and another on 18th June 1513.

Marchal was charged with another commission, which appears to have met with no more recognition at the time than that on the Duke's own behalf. It was a proposal that James IV. should approach John of Denmark regarding a suggested marriage between the latter's son and heir, Christian, and Madeleine, younger sister of Countess Anne, Albany's betrothed wife. Such a marriage, Albany and Louis XII. suggested, would serve to confirm the alliances between the three Kings. It was urged that it would be of pecuniary advantage to James to accomplish this—an allusion to unfulfilled transactions at the time of the marriage of James III. and Margaret of Denmark—while Albany hinted that Madeleine's dowry would furnish the means to Denmark to recoup James IV. To this matter, which the Duke appears to have had at heart, further reference was to be made, after the death of King James, with no more success. The lack of success was not surprising inasmuch as John of Denmark, when sending a herald to France in 1506 to ask help against the inhabitants of Lubeck, had proposed, in order to confirm the alliance between France and Denmark, that a marriage should be arranged between Countess Anne and his son.¹ Possibly he was then unaware that Anne had been betrothed already

¹ Becker, pp. 44-7.

to Albany ; possibly he considered that such an arrangement, like other similar ones, might be broken. But Louis XII. proposed instead the younger sister as a match for Christian, when she should be of a suitable age. The answer suggests that he was not altogether anxious for the marriage, since the age of the child—about eight or nine years—need not have been an impediment to the betrothal ; and John appears to have taken offence at the suggestion. Indeed he might well do so : Anne, as the elder daughter and heiress of the Count of Boulogne, was a more desirable match than her sister, yet she was betrothed merely to the exiled cousin of the King of Scots, favourite and servant though he might be of Louis XII. But it is not improbable that Louis remembered that Albany was still heir-presumptive to the crown of Scotland.

After these instructions on matters less purely political there is an interval of about three months before others are recorded. This does not mean that there was any lull in the negotiations between Scotland and France. The French ambassador, de la Mothe, had been in Scotland over Christmas and had sailed for France in February 1512-13, along with Octavian Olarius, envoy of the Pope, and Mr. James Ogilvy¹ : the English ambassadors also had been at court, although their negotiations were far from conclusive.

During this period the situation on the Continent changed considerably not to the advantage of France, and it became of increasing importance to Louis to make sure of the support of Scotland. For the Emperor, drawn at last into the Holy League, threatened the eastern frontier of France with his designs on Burgundy, while Margaret of Savoy, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was interested in the question of recapture of the debatable

¹ Brodie, 1645.

cities of the north-east frontier. The Swiss, too, were a danger to be feared, having sent a defiance to Louis XII., with the expressed intention of expelling the French from Italy. It is true that the situation on the Spanish frontier was, for the moment, less acute : the Anglo-Spanish invasion had terminated to the content of Ferdinand with the conquest of Navarre, and he had left unfulfilled his promise to assist the English in the recovery of Guienne, allowing his ally's forces to be inactive at Fontarabia till they mutinied and returned home. Also the Venetians, suspecting that the alliance of Maximilian with the Pope might turn to their detriment, had caused a rapprochement between them and the King of France, though that was to prove merely a reason for Louis to detach a portion of his troops and his navy to support his claims in Italy ; and, while the fleet recaptured Genoa, the French and Venetian troops were defeated at Novara and a retreat to France had to be made once more.

The English, too, were engaged in preparing alike for an invasion of Normandy and Picardy and an attack by their fleet on the coast of France. It was apparent that the French King would have to face warfare at least on the eastern and northern frontiers during the coming year in addition to his renewed offensive in Italy. Throughout the end of 1512 and the beginning of 1513 both England and France had little doubt of the imminence of war : Henry VIII. received a report that the seaport towns of Normandy were being fortified,¹ and wrote that Louis was preparing a strong navy to invade England, while it was reported to Venice from London that Henry himself was preparing to invade France in person.²

In these circumstances, the attitude of James IV. became a matter of importance to both France and England :

¹ Brodie, 1594.

² *Ibid.*, 1578.

to Henry, in regard to his prospective invasion, lest he should be open to attack on his rear; to Louis, because a diversion in Scotland might be of vital importance in restraining the English attack, and because of the help his navy might be in the course of the war. It is impossible not to assume that James was conscious of this, and utilised his position to attempt to obtain specially profitable offers of terms from either party. Unfortunately for him and for Scotland it must be allowed that his methods were of the clumsiest, and do not appear to have deceived any one except himself: he wrote of the immense promises made to him in return for his assistance, and was offered in return for his services—other promises. It was not surprising that he required persuasion of an effective kind to join in the forthcoming hostilities on the side of Louis XII. For, although he was bound by the recent treaty to assist his ancient allies of France, he was none the less bound by the treaty with England of 1502, confirmed by Henry VIII., the eighth clause of which provided that if the King of England made war on any of the allies of the King of Scotland, the latter might not invade England, though he might send auxiliaries to the defence of the invaded sovereign. It is possible that James had this in view when he endeavoured to obtain from Julius II. an admission that the attacks on his shipping, notably the affair of Sir Andrew Barton, and the difference on the Borders constituted a virtual breach of the treaty. Such an admission would have served to avert the excommunication, which was the penalty attached to the breaking of the agreement.

There were two currents in which James' diplomacy ran during these months. The first, as just noted above, was to obtain a suitable recompense from whichever side he chose to support; the second, to obtain a reconciliation between the King of France and the Pope, with a view to facilitat-

ing negotiations for peace between all the combatants. It is hard to say whether he was entirely sincere in either, for his preparations for war seem to run concurrently with his appeals to the Pope and the Most Christian King, and his lengthy communications with the King of Denmark on the hindrances which Henry VIII. kept putting in the way of peaceful negotiations. It is certain that Henry was in no way conciliatory in his proceedings, particularly in obtaining the papal grant of an interdict on Scotland, applicable on the King's breaking peace with England. His ambassadors, too, seem to have indulged rather in threats than promises. It seems probable, however, that James was genuinely averse from being involved in Louis' quarrel with the Pope. He had commissioned the Danish orators to the Lateran Council in 1512 to state that he remained in obedience to the Holy See in spite of the attempts of Louis XII. and Maximilian to induce his adherence to the Council of Pisa,¹ and his sincerity in this matter seems to be borne out by the vehemence of Louis' many protestations in his instructions as to the lawfulness of the latter Council and the many iniquities of the Pope. In spite of these protestations, the King of Scots appears, as he wrote to Julius, to have hoped for a reconciliation by the Most Christian King's compliance with the papal demands,² though, previously, his ambassador, Forman, had attempted to impose Louis' terms upon the Pope. In thus attempting to effect reconciliation it seems hardly probable that he had the sanction of his ally, for it was not till the autumn of 1513 that the King of France was driven to submit to the Papacy.

He had another reason for desiring peace, the fulfilment of his desire to lead a crusade against the Infidel. Indeed his hopes in that matter may well have been high.

¹ Becker, p. 67.

² Brodie, 1523.

The promotion of such an expedition had been one of the aims of the Lateran Council; news had been received by the Pope from Ragusa of the activities of the Turks; and the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes had written asking for reinforcements in view of a threatened Turkish siege of that island.¹ If such an expedition were imminent (and the Pope was appealing for the pacification of Christendom to that end), then James might have his chance. It is true that James had offers of assistance for that purpose, alike from France and from England, but the latter were vague and barely serious. It seems possible that James' diplomacy at this time was limited to bringing about one of two results—either the reconciliation of Louis and Julius with the consequent establishment of peace, or a declaration of war against England which would lead to the defeat of the league against France, a like consequence of peace and the opportunity for a crusade. Had that been all, the character of James IV. and his intentions would not merit such criticism as they do. But, while he tried on one hand to obtain peace, on the other he tried to arrange terms with his rival allies which should leave him the gainer either way. He was not a skilful diplomatist, he failed, and both he and his kingdom paid the penalty of his insincerity.

The evidence for the King of Scots' attempts to make peace is principally his own. On 5th December 1512 he asked safe-conducts from Henry for the Bishop of Moray and others to go to Rome and France to treat, and it was subsequently an added grievance against that King that he refused. So he wrote in a lengthy communication to the King of Denmark sent by the hands of Magnus Bilde, a Dane for long resident in Scotland.² To his uncle he detailed his two years' attempts to reconcile the Pope and

¹ Brodie, 1604, 1615.

² *Ibid.*, 1564; Becker, pp. 80-5.

the King of France, the double-dealing of the King of England with regard to the Pope's consent to such negotiations, and his declaration that *salvis Scotis* he could not in security make war on France. He expressed his opinion, unfounded, as it proved, that the English had had their fill of foreign invasion and would concentrate on an attack on Scotland, thinking that the country, intent as it was on peace, would be easy of attack. Having occupied Scotland, they would then turn their attention to other countries, particularly France. In such a position of affairs he asked what help the King of Denmark might be disposed to send.

The communication does not sound entirely pacific, and it is uncertain whether James was convinced of all he wrote about the English plan of campaign. Still it may be recalled that in the summer of 1512 Henry had made considerable preparations for hostilities on the Scottish border. It might also be the case that he was fulfilling his instructions from the French King to sound his uncle as to possible assistance by couching the request chiefly in his own name, for it is probable that he was aware that Louis neither was making many advances to Denmark, nor was *persona grata* with its king. In either case James' requests proved of no effect, for on 20th February 1512-13 the King died and his son was not in a position to help either of his allies. Later, he did not care to do so, preferring alliance with their enemies.

To Julius II. James also wrote of his endeavour to make peace, sending Octavian Olarius back to Rome with protestations of his attempts to that end.¹ He assured the Pope that he had done what he could with Henry VIII., sending him the papal briefs and pressing for safe-conducts for his ambassadors, but that Henry had written that His

¹ Brodie, 1615.

Holiness had changed his mind and no longer desired peace. He reiterated that he had used his best powers to induce the King of France to comply with the Pope's demands. It may be true, but it is worth noting that in the instructions from the court of France to James there is no allusion to such attempted persuasions, unless, indeed, Louis' protestations as to the iniquities of the Pope may be taken as such. But feeling in Rome was undeniably hostile to reconciliation between the Most Christian King and the Holy See, and James' letters seem to have been construed less as an attempt to produce a more friendly state of feeling than as a form of ultimatum: that Julius must make peace between England and France, otherwise Scotland would break with England.¹ Again James, if he were sincere, was unfortunate. Olarius sailed with de la Mothe and Ogilvy on 14th February bearing the despatches, dated the preceding day, but Julius died on 21st February, before the messenger could have arrived. To his successor, Leo x., James also made similar appeals, but with no better result.

Appearances, if no more, were against James and his negotiations. The ambassador of Venice wrote from Rome that letters from England reported the arrival in Scotland of fourteen French ships, laden with artillery, in preparation for an invasion of England.² It was a gross exaggeration of the gift of wine, cannon, and munitions sent with de la Mothe, and it is possible that the story may have been a garbled version of that nobleman's capture of the seven English prizes. Henry VIII., too, was receiving reports from Dr. West,³ ambassador at the court of Scotland, of the preparations for war going on in the Castle of Edinburgh and at the port of Newhaven.⁴ It was reported also that James would send to France the

¹ Brodie, 1682.

² *Ibid.*, 1627, 1662 (32).

³ *Ibid.*, 1628.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1645, 1647.

ships he had prepared for his voyage to the Holy Land. Henry, too, wrote to his ambassadors in Spain that Denmark and Scotland were prepared to declare war against England to prevent the invasion of France,¹ a statement going somewhat beyond the actual facts, at least as regarded Denmark.

De la Mothe, who had left Scotland in mid-February in company with the papal envoy, returned there in May and presented his instructions on 19th May (No. XV.). These were dated 5th March, more than two months prior to their presentation, an unusually long time for which there is no obvious explanation. It is stated that he did not leave France till the month of May.² In that case, it is curious that no later instructions superseded those he carried, for the next document (No. XVI.), the Bishop of Moray's memorandum, must have been presented to Louis XII. about the middle of April, and de la Mothe's instructions in no sense can be taken as an answer to the representations contained in it. A possible explanation may have been that he had put to sea and been forced out of his way by an attack of the English fleet,³ a supposition borne out by the fact that on 13th April it was reported that he was daily expected in Scotland.⁴

The instructions repeat the substance of previous communications. It appears probable that they are an answer to a despatch by James, carried by Ogilvy and de la Mothe, which apparently contained proposals by the King of Scots for war on England, so explicit as to cast serious doubt on his desires for peace as expressed to Denmark and Rome. For he had written that it was better for them that the King of England had declared himself, because they might now prepare armies to resist him and to reconquer England for James himself. He had also

¹ Brodie, 1659.

² *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 27, note.

³ P. 66, note 1.

⁴ Brodie, 1775.

reproached his ally for his former persuasions to keep peace, as having prevented him from arming. To this Louis made answer with a justification of his action. King James also had favoured his ally with advice as to the preparation of his fleet; for the King took pains to explain what he had done and how, within one week, he hoped to put his ships to sea. So far, indeed, James' advice might have been purely precautionary, but at last it appears that he had sent a definite proposal to invade England at midsummer as the most suitable time, because '*lors on trouvera les herbes aux champs,*' a necessary matter when transport of provisions, let alone of forage, was not provided for.

King Louis commended all his ally's proposals, but urged again the despatch of the Scottish fleet for co-operation with his own, promising help when it should be forthcoming. His own naval preparations were more advanced than they had been at the same time of the preceding year, which may have been due to the arrival of Prigent de Bidoulx with his galleys. There were available the Admiral's six galleys, eleven ships, equipped at Brest, the Queen's ships, and fifteen or sixteen from Normandy. But, as King Louis doubtless was aware, the English fleet was slightly more numerous, and its great ships were of heavier tonnage and carried a greater armament than those of France. It was therefore of importance to him to obtain the Scottish navy, even although he had expressed doubts, in a previous communication, of their number and usefulness. For rumour had been flying as to the King of Scots' shipbuilding ventures. Spinelly wrote to Henry VIII., on 21st March 1512-13, that among the Scottish ships were two very large ones.¹ In this he was not quite correct: the *Michael* was undoubtedly

¹ *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x, p. 92.

large, but the *Margaret* and the *James* were considerably less. The same writer added that reports as to their strength could not be believed entirely, for these placed the Danish and Scottish fleets at three hundred vessels, including unpaid adventurers. One Englishman, Thomas Howard, held the arrogant opinion that there was no prospect of fighting unless these navies joined the French, since without them, wrote he, 'I never think we shall fynd the Frenchmen abrode.'¹ But Louis must have known more exactly from de la Mothe and others upon what strength of ships he could count, and requested that James would send them.

But, before de la Mothe arrived in Scotland, the Bishop of Moray had been despatched by James IV. to Leo X. in another attempt to secure peace,² leaving Scotland on the date of his master's letters. On 31st March James IV. wrote to the Emperor and to the Pope that he was sending the Bishop to treat once more for peace, but on 1st April West informed his master that the King of Scots intended to send Moray to Rome to appeal against the interdict obtained by Henry VIII. against him, at the instigation, so he held, of the Cardinal of York.³ On 12th April Henry forwarded that information to Cardinal Bainbridge⁴ at Rome, and on the following day James wrote to Henry that he had despatched Moray to Rome, and that the Bishop was going by sea—that is to France, since the King of England had refused a safe-conduct.⁵ By 17th April Moray was at Blois. His mission seems to have been an attempt either to shift the onus of a breach with England to the shoulders of Henry VIII., or to cover as long as possible James' preparations for war. For an envoy bent on peace the tone of the memorandum which Moray presented seems far from

¹ *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 169.

² Brodie, 1714, 1718, 1735.

³ *Ibid.*, 1735.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1769.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1776.

pacific. Yet the English seem to have been at least genuinely doubtful as to James' intentions, for Dacre reported to Henry on 13th March that the King of Scots would keep the peace if he had safe passage for his merchantmen by sea, adding cautiously that this might be a blind for the despatch of the King's navy to France.¹

The memorandum of the Bishop's remonstrance (No. XVI.) to Louis XII. exists only in an undated copy. The document is not the usual formal despatch, and it may be allowable to suppose that Moray, given verbal instructions and a tolerably free hand, had sent back to his master a copy of his appeal to King Louis. That this is the case may be argued from the allusion to the truce concluded between Ferdinand and Louis XII. on 6th and 7th April. It would seem as though the completed text of that truce had not been known to the Bishop, because he states that the truce had been made to help the King of France to recover his duchy of Milan, while in reality the terms of the truce made it inapplicable to Italy. So it may not be far from the truth if the memorandum be dated in the early days of April 1513, possibly before the actual signing of the truce.

Moray was later to be accused of being one of the principal instigators of the war between England and Scotland.² There is nothing in the memorandum to contradict this. He began by the statement that, in accordance with the Most Christian King's desire, King James had declared to the English ambassadors a state of war by sea and land, an assertion totally without foundation, for James was negotiating with England for some months to come and did not declare war till August of that year. To the French King's repeated requests for the Scottish

¹ Brodie, 1690.

² *Ibid.*, 3407.

ships, Moray retaliated with a new proposal, that the French fleet should come to Scotland to meet them, since they were fewer in number and their loss or capture would be very detrimental to France. Behind these alleged reasons may have been a desire to obtain the frequently offered assistance of France in money and ammunition before the ships sailed. For, so far, Louis XII.'s promises had much outrun fulfilment, and James may well have desired to feel assured of some of the help he required.

To send the French fleet to Scotland would also have facilitated the granting of Moray's next demand, the supply of armed forces with military training and paid by the King of France. James appears to have recognised that a Scottish army, raised according to the old feudal fashion of the host, might require some stiffening of troops experienced in the modern wars of the Continent, for, turbulent as Scotland might have been, it had not known formal campaigning for many years. In addition to payment for the troops he asked for money. The phrasing of that request is an allusion to the annuities paid for years by France to England, to which he had taken exception earlier without success.¹ But, in spite of stories current after the battle, he got neither men nor money.²

Then came allusion to the truce between France and Spain, to include with the former Scotland and Guelders and with the latter England. From the phrasing of the article it is obvious that Moray in his remonstrance was acting on his own initiative, for he wrote, '*ledit ambassadeur a entendu avecques le roy trescrestien comment il a prins treves avecques le roy d'Espagne.*' Apparently he had discussed the matter with Louis; equally apparently, as noted above, he was unaware of the complete terms

¹ See p. 43 and note.

² W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden*, pp. 42, 96.

of the treaty, or had assumed that the cessation of hostilities on the Spanish frontier would enable Louis XII. to send reinforcements to Italy. The truce had been framed to include the allies of the contracting parties, and Moray took upon himself to answer on behalf of his master in a way which practically prevented the inclusion of England and precipitated the war. He may have had justification in his instructions for the conditions he imposed, but, while he gives two, he makes the acceptance of both a *sine qua non*. In that lies the difference from previous communications; previously James IV. had expressed his willingness for universal peace to enable him to accomplish his crusade; now his ambassador added that, before Henry VIII. might be included in the truce, he must recognise James as his heir, both by right of marriage with Margaret of England and by ancient right, the former improbable as Henry was still young, the latter impossible to any one with so slender a claim to the crown as Henry Tudor.

Not content to assert his master's claim to the crown of England, Moray affirmed further that it had been offered to James already by the King and estates of England, a statement for which there appears to be no adequate foundation. For there is no evidence that Dacre or West or any English ambassador made such an offer to the King of Scots. Indeed the tendency of Henry VIII. was towards more robust and less conciliatory forms of persuasion. In answer to Scottish complaints of outrages at sea and on the Border, his ambassadors had advanced counter-claims. They had told Queen Margaret that the payment of her overdue legacy was contingent on her husband's keeping peace with England. Henry, too, had gone so far as to obtain from Julius II. an interdict on the Kingdom of Scotland, to come into operation upon James' violation of the treaty of 1502 and its confirma-

tion of 1509,¹ and his ambassadors had been careful to inform him of James' expressed intention to appeal from the action of the Pope—if need be to Prester John, a flippancy which shocked his cousin of England, the more so as this, apparently, was the nickname of Prigent de Bidoulx. Such being the attitude of King Henry, it is hard to credit Moray's assertion however explicit.

Still, the ambassador was at pains to recall the promises made by the Most Christian King to his ally of Scotland on that subject and on the subject of the promised assistance, stressing the latter point, with something less than tact, by an allusion to the great cost of the French King's fleet in the past year. He ended with another appeal for the money paid to the King of England, in complete disregard of the explanation furnished already as to the reasons for that payment, which was no pension but a war indemnity.²

Master James Ogilvy, who had left Scotland with de la Mothe in April, returned to Scotland, bearing instructions dated 8th May 1513 (No. XVII.), the last recorded before the battle. Meanwhile affairs on the Continent had been drifting closer to war, in spite of the appeal of the Grand Master of Rhodes to Henry VIII. that the princes of Europe should make peace and come to the assistance of the Knights.³ The plan of the Holy League, as reported on 5th April, included invasions of Provence or Dauphiné by the Pope, of Aquitaine, Picardy, and Normandy by Henry, and of north-east France by Margaret of Savoy on behalf of the Emperor.⁴ By that month, too, naval actions had taken place between the English and the French, whose fleets were practically equal, thanks to the delay in despatching the Scottish fleet and Ferdinand's decision to involve himself in no further fighting, since he had obtained

¹ Brodie, 1735, 1769.

³ Brodie, 766, 767.

² See pp. 43, 78, *infra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1750.

Navarre. An action had taken place off the coast of Brittany in April, when the English ships had been beaten off and their admiral, Sir Edward Howard, killed. On 20th April Marchmont Herald left Dieppe, sent by the Bishop of Moray with further persuasions to send the fleet.¹

Scottish affairs, too, had been much under discussion in England. Henry VIII. had written to Cardinal Bainbridge in Rome that James' design to send the Bishop of Moray there had been in the attempt to prevent the interdict on his kingdom, apparently having small belief in James' protestations of an embassy to procure peace.² He added, somewhat unnecessarily, that he had never intended to publish it, unless James broke his oath. To the English King Dr. West wrote from Scotland on 13th April,³ that the secretary said that Pope Julius' last brief had done more harm to the amity of the two nations than all French ambassadors. The possibility of Henry turning his army on Scotland had been discussed, and the King of Scots had expressed the opinion that his cousin of England might get more than he bargained for if he did so. He added that de la Mothe was daily expected.

On the same date James wrote again to Henry,⁴ reiterating that Moray was sent to the new Pope, Leo, for the sake of peace. The Bishop, failing the desired safe-conduct, was travelling to France by sea. James also besought his cousin to give up his threatened invasion of France. In that he was too late, for on 5th April agreement was reached between the elusive Maximilian and Henry, by which the former was bound to declare himself the enemy of France and to join in the campaign to be undertaken in the north-east on terms which made him the King of England's mercenary.⁵ From such a position it was not likely that Henry would draw back, the more so that he had

¹ *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 125, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, 1775.

³ *Ibid.*, 1776.

⁴ Brodie, 1769.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1792.

with him the favour of the new Pope, who, on 29th April, wrote to the King of Denmark, bidding him not to make war on England, as a country specially dear to himself.¹

It was shortly after this, on 8th May, that Mr. James Ogilvy, who had gone to France in company with de la Mothe, returned to Scotland, bearing instructions which are the last preserved before the break with England.² It began abruptly, without the usual preamble of greetings, to request the King of Scots to send his own and the Danish fleets. It went on to commend the offices of Moray (who had recounted what aid his master proposed to give by sea and land to the French), in words which seem to justify the English accusation of the Bishop as the chief promoter of the war. Ogilvy was then charged to repeat the promises of provisioning the Scottish ships, when they should arrive, with all necessaries, and to make the definite promise of a payment of 50,000 francs to the Scots ambassador or any one deputed to receive the money, after the ships had arrived. It is not a creditable episode; the friends and allies, in spite of their protestations of friendship, apparently had no inclination to trust each other to any extent. Once the ships had been equipped, the King of France proposed to send them back to Scotland in company with the French fleet and Prégent's seven galleys, presumably with a view both to assisting the Scottish army with supplies and engaging the English ships, although neither intention is expressly stated.

Ogilvy was charged also to invite his master to declare war at once on England and, so soon as Henry had embarked for France, to invade that country. This would have been dangerous in the extreme for James, as it would have diverted the English troops to Scotland, not yet prepared to meet them. James therefore postponed his

¹ Brodie, 1827.

² P. 79.

declaration of war till August, when the English army had landed and was encamped before Terouanne, while his invasion was delayed for a month after that declaration.

The next clause in the instructions requested James' pleasure on the matter of the brother of the Duke of Suffolk, asking whether the King of Scots preferred that he should be sent to Scotland with the fleets or be detained in France. It is simple enough to imagine what was in Louis' mind, for he offered to his ally the disposal of a rival claimant to the throne of England. To Henry VIII., with but a slight claim to the throne, and to James, basing his pretensions either on his succession to Henry or to his shadowy claim through St. Margaret, Richard de la Pole was a dangerous rival, the more so as he had inherited the claim of his brother, the Earl of Suffolk, executed by order of King Henry in April 1513, as a wise precaution before passing over to France. The subject had been discussed a year earlier,¹ when James had expressed his opinion to the English ambassadors as to the possibility of Louis treating de la Pole as King of England, contrary to his interest. He had been very sure, as he told Dacre, that his brother of France would not 'tyne us for ony sic.' But it appears that the thought had crossed Louis' mind, and that he conceived the offered surrender of a rival as another inducement to James to declare himself. What answer, if any, the King of Scots made to the proposal is unknown, but de la Pole remained in France to become later a useful pawn in the game of negotiations between King Louis' successor and Henry VIII., so useful indeed as to consign to oblivion all promises regarding the King of Scots' rights.

With that unpleasing suggestion, and a detailed and categorical promise to support his ally and to make no

¹ Brodie, 1297.

peace with England without his goodwill and consent, Ogilvy's instructions close.

From that date till 4th October 1513 there is no further correspondence recorded between the courts of Scotland and France, and the battle of Flodden forms no part of this volume. Events, however, did not work out according to King Louis' plan. James, as has been noted, delayed his declaration of war and his attack by land. His fleet, too, did not sail till 25th August, and then without the hoped-for reinforcement of Danish ships. It was reported as 'a fair array of vessels,' the *Michael*, the only large ship, the *Margaret*, the *James*, and possibly about eight other vessels under the command of the King's cousin, the Earl of Arran.¹ But, while James had abandoned his scheme of causing the French fleet to come to Scotland, he had not yielded absolutely to his ally's wish, for the navy did not pursue an uninterrupted course to France. The episode at Carrickfergus was part of a concerted scheme with O'Donnell, Prince of Connal, to make another diversion for the English forces in Ireland, planned during the visit of that prince to the court of King James in June of that year. Whatever the details of the scheme, it proved unsuccessful. The invasion was limited to the storming of Carrickfergus; the ships then returned to Ayr to disembark their booty, and did not arrive at Brest till the middle of August. Although the attempt was made to intercept the English expeditionary force in recrossing the Channel, the subsequent history of the fleet was inglorious, and only a part ever returned to Scotland again.

AFTER FLODDEN.

That the great venture on behalf of France had ended in disaster was rumoured in the capital of Scotland less

¹ Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 49.

than twenty-four hours after the defeat, but it was not till a week later that any official mention is found. Then the Lords of Council, meeting at Stirling on 19th September,¹ gave official recognition to the fact of the King's death in battle by desiring that the coronation of his infant successor should take place there two days later. They further proceeded to nominate the Lords of the Daily Council, eighteen ecclesiastics and seventeen laymen. But, apart from that, there is no allusion to the battle or its consequences to the realm.

The will of the late King had appointed his wife, Queen Margaret, tutor and regent for her son, and it was resolved for the time to maintain the will and to make the Queen regent with a Council of four. That there was no opposition to the proposal was probably due to the fact that, of two members of the Council who favoured France, Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earl of Arran, the latter was still in France, where he had sailed with the fleet.

There is no record when the official intimation of the battle was made to the allies of Scotland, though it appears from the instructions that some such communication was sent. But there is a gap in the High Treasurer's Accounts, which usually chronicled the departure of envoys, possibly to be accounted for by the disorganisation consequent on the defeat. Still, the news was commented on in Italy on 1st October in a letter narrating the rejoicings in Rome and the bonfires made by the Cardinal of England and the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King of Spain.² Indeed, it was known in Flanders so soon as 20th September,³ though inaccurately, for news was sent to Cardinal Bainbridge of the casualties among French troops at Flodden partly at the hands of the English, partly at those of their Scottish allies, although there is no evidence

¹ *A.D.C.*, p. 1.

² Brodie, 2332.

³ *Ibid.*, 2286.

that French troops were present. Indeed, it seems that authentic news of the battle was long in arriving on the Continent, as the rumours which were repeated differ in many respects. But some communication must have reached the court of France before 4th October, although it was far from satisfactory or precise. Tytler states that a secret message was despatched to Louis XII. by the leaders of the opposition to the regency of Margaret Tudor.¹ In that King's instructions, dated 5th October, he complained that he had had no certain news up till that time. But it appears that some narrative of events had been despatched with certain definite requests, to which answer was made on 3rd October.

The royal instructions of 4th and 5th October and the instructions by the Duke of Albany, presumably of approximately the same date, were despatched by the same envoy. The first (No. XVIII.), dated the 4th, lacks the beginning with the name of the ambassador to whom it was committed, but the context, stating that the *Chevalier Blanc*² was the envoy, shows that it was despatched by the same bearer as the other two. For Antoine d'Arces, or D'Arcy, Seigneur de la Bastie-sur-Melan in Dauphiné, had won that name either, it is thought, because he habitually dressed in white, or because he wore white armour. A friend and companion of the Duke of Albany, he had distinguished himself in the wars in Italy, where he had commanded 500 infantry, and had fought and been captured at Agnadello. Brantôme mentions him along with so famous a commander as Bayard in his *Discours sur les colonels de l'infanterie de France*. Besides this, he was no stranger to the court of Scotland. He had been present at the marriage of James IV., had been prominent in the tournaments at that time, and had won the affection of the King.

¹ Tytler, vol. v. p. 73.

² Pp. 84, 85.

Later, too, after his release by the Venetians, he had revisited Scotland. His appointment probably had been calculated. The appearance in Scotland of one who had been a friend of the late King, though not a countryman, might have a good effect. The experience of a soldier might equally prove of service, alike to the Scots in organising defence and to the French in a trained observation of the effect of the disaster. Above all, he was a friend of Albany and might be trusted to draw his own conclusion as to the political situation and the backing behind the request for the Duke's presence.

These three matters form the substance of the messages he carried. Gratitude formed no part of Louis XII.'s character, and the news of Flodden was to him a disappointment and an inconvenience. While the diversion attempted by James IV. had failed miserably, Louis had suffered defeat in his own country: the rout at Guinegaste on 12th August, which had won the English nickname of the Battle of the Spurs; the fall of Terouanne on 23rd August; that of Tournay a month later, and the invasion of Burgundy by the Swiss. Indeed, at the date of writing, Henry VIII. and Maximilian were both in France. Obviously Louis had received from Scotland certain requests to which he proceeded to make answer with no great enthusiasm. The nature of the first is lost with the missing part of the manuscript. The second request was for assistance: the Scots, after Flodden till the season became too late for warfare, were in constant expectation of English attacks. These, as it appears from Dacre's correspondence, were imminent and postponed chiefly on account of intemperate weather¹ and because the Scottish invasion of Northumberland had wasted it so greatly as to make raids from that quarter difficult.²

¹ Brodie, 2381, 2386.

² *Ibid.*, 2382.

There is also a hint that the English were not convinced that they would meet no opposition.¹ Louis' answer to that request was characteristic; it did not differ from previous excuses made to James IV. for the avoidance of sending help. Now, however, he had very sufficient reason, being in worse case than at any time during his Italian wars: his enemies were on the territory of France, not on his conquered lands beyond the Alps. In such circumstances he was of intention to delay till a suitable time, and meanwhile desired to know if there was any truth in the rumour that James IV. had not been killed. What that had to do with the matter of assistance, he did not state, but it seems to have been so connected in his mind. Rumours had indeed been current that the King of Scots had escaped,² but since Henry VIII. was informed of his death by a letter of 16th September, it is strange that Louis had not heard definitely. He excused himself further from sending help by alleging the lateness of the season, exemplified by the late arrival of the Scottish fleet, which, he said, had taken two months to arrive from Scotland. It was an overstatement, even allowing for the fact that he had not known of the episode of Carrickfergus, but it covered his intention to retain the ships to assist in preventing Henry VIII. from returning to England.

The answer to the fourth Scottish point is particularly interesting in that it alludes to a request for the despatch of Albany to Scotland, made, apparently upon their own responsibility, by Arran and Fleming, then in France, with the fleet, at a time when the Estates had accepted Margaret Tudor as regent.³ Evidently King Louis desired to know how far their request would be endorsed, for he

¹ Brodie, 2386.

² P. 85, note 3.

³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 281. The date of the French despatch renders it improbable that Arran and Fleming had received instructions from home.

insisted that he must know the opinion of the Queen, the Estates, and the Council before parting with the Duke. But he safeguarded his assent further by laying stress on the preparations necessary before Albany might depart. He also stated that he was inquiring from the Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming what would be the Duke's duty if he were in Scotland—*ce qu'il devoit faire*. Lastly, he protested his intention to maintain the old alliance and to make no truce with England without the consent of the governors and Council of Scotland, a promise which, at the time, there was no reason not to make, but which, like others of his promises, was imperfectly fulfilled.

The instructions of the following day (No. XIX.), delivered to de la Bastie and Mr. James Ogilvy jointly, are much in the same vein. Louis protested his grief at the death of his ally, while asking, in the same sentence, definite proof of his death. He likewise protested his deep anxiety for the preservation of the Kingdom of Scotland and of the person of the young King, both from pure disinterestedness and from conviction that their preservation was 'profitable' to himself. He charged the ambassadors to explain his reasons for retaining the Scottish fleet, which were twofold: to use them against the enemy and to preserve them for the future service of the Scottish King, reasons which might well be considered contradictory. Lastly, he instructed de la Bastie and Ogilvy to tell how the former was charged with an embassy to the King of Denmark to urge him to maintain the alliance with Scotland, and to urge the Queen and Council of Scotland to do likewise.

The instructions by the Duke of Albany (No. XX.) differ considerably in their matter from those sent by his master of France. They have one or two features which are interesting in view of the more or less accepted view of the Duke as virtually a Frenchman, incapable of

understanding or ruling the men of his own race and wholly given over to the interests of France. The latter idea was one of his own day, as well as later, for it was reported to Henry VIII. that the Duke of Angoulême had said 'they had gained nothing by the death of the King of Scots nor greatly lost, seeing that Albany should shortly go to Scotland and, with his affection for France, acquit himself better than his predecessor.'¹

It may be suggested that his instructions in the present volume throw a different light on his character. His earlier letter to his cousin James IV.² seems to convey a genuine desire to be of service to that King, while the later despatches show him to be something of a diplomatist and one who, sufficiently a Scotsman to understand his countrymen, was yet sufficiently detached to appreciate their weaknesses and the danger which might result from them. And in his last communications to the court of France³ it appears that he was capable of presenting Scottish interests very forcibly to the Most Christian King.

De la Bastie was charged by the Duke to communicate his opinions on certain matters to the Queen, the Estates and the Council. He was to impress on the Queen the need to maintain the rights of her son and, to that end, to keep the French alliance. It was sound advice under the circumstances, perhaps more so than the Duke realised or intended, for a letter of Henry VIII. to Leo X., dated 12th October, was uncompromising enough in the expression of the control he wished to exercise over Scottish affairs. He demanded the suppression of the metropolitan see of St. Andrews and the disposal of bishoprics of such Scots prelates as had died in battle⁴; he expressed his intention of carrying on the war with Scotland. Such an

¹ Brodie, 2445.

² P. 56.

³ Pp. 123-40.

⁴ Brodie, 2355.

attitude did not augur well for the independence of Scotland, and in that case the kingdom had more to hope even from France.

The Duke's charge to the Council and Estates betrays a knowledge of the evils which Scotland had known during the previous Stewart minorities, the constant dissensions among the nobles. He besought them '*estre bien d'accord ensemble sans aucune dissancion,*' adding that evil coming from without might be repaired, but not the harm which came from within—a saying which, if applied, would have saved Scotland much blood and tears.

He then offered his services in Scotland and, until he should come to that country, with the King of France, and, passing to the question of external policy, advocated again the strengthening of the alliance with Denmark by the marriage he had proposed at an earlier date.¹ It is perhaps worth noting that, while urging his plan, Albany identified himself so completely with the country he had never seen as to write that it would be of advantage to 'us,' as apart from France.

The envoys arrived in Scotland on some date before 21st October, when their despatches were considered by the Lords of Council at Perth, though the bearers apparently remained in Edinburgh.² It is the first mention of external affairs since the battle. They accepted the suggestion made by the French King and Albany that an ambassador should be sent to Denmark, though their execution of the matter was delayed till January 1513-14, when de la Bastie with Mr. Andrew Brounhill, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, were despatched to King Christian.³ They also considered Louis XII.'s proposals for the renewal of the league and, according to Bapst, the Earl of Arran obtained their sanction to the summons of Albany

¹ Pp. 59, 61, note 1.

² *A.D.C.*, p. 3.

³ Brodie, 2578.

as tutor to the King and Governor of the realm.¹ But it was not till 13th November that Dacre announced to his master the return of Arran with a remnant of the fleet.² The Queen thereupon declared that she would resign her powers if the parliament ratified this arrangement.

The Duke's diagnosis of the weakness in the Kingdom of Scotland was only too true, and of this the meeting of the Lords of Council furnished proof. For the first part of their business related to the filling of benefices vacant by the death of churchmen who had fallen at Flodden. The strife over this matter was not to be settled so easily, and was for long productive of violent ill-feeling and feud between the rival candidates and their supporters. To this was to be added the divided counsels of the nobles, some of whom leaned to the old alliance with France, while others favoured Queen Margaret and the King of England. Of this there is a trace so early as 29th October in the Earl of Angus' letter to Henry VIII.³ Indeed, in July 1514, the position of affairs was such that the Lords of Council found it necessary to issue a formal denial that the Lords and Estates 'suld be disiunct and diversit in oppunyeouns and actiouns privait . . . bot all the lordis and estatis of the realme ar of ane will and mynd to remane to gidder in defence of the realme fra our inimys.'⁴ But the differences in opinion remained, in spite of official denials, and were to gain in intensity thereafter.

A General Council, held on 29th November, discussed further the communications brought by de la Bastie and Albany,⁵ particularly the matters of the alliance and the desire for Albany's coming 'since the King and his people were slain in battle principally in the quarrel of France.' It was agreed to confirm the alliance, and that Albany

¹ Bapst, *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, p. 1.

² Brodie, 2443.

³ *Ibid.*, 2407.

⁴ *A.D.C.*, p. 17.

⁵ Brodie, 2461; *A.P.S.*, vol. ii. p. 281.

should come 'home' with all the military supplies he could get. The only qualification made was that the person of the young King should be kept in the manner provided for by the late King's will.

There was to be long delay before the Duke reached Scotland, during which time a virtual state of war existed between England and that kingdom, fomented by reports of the imminent arrival of the Duke with reinforcements to attack the enemy.¹ Lord Dacre, on the Border, made preparations to raid Scotland, and in some cases carried out his intention,² while the Scots were ordered to hold weapons showings, and instructions were given to fortify such places as Dunbar and Fastcastle.³ These precautions were interpreted as showing that they had no desire for peace, and that Henry VIII.'s plans for a new campaign in France might be hampered by the settlement of affairs with Scotland.⁴

But the relations of Scotland with England and France assumed only a minor place in the negotiations of the early part of 1514, except in so much as the kingdom and its ultimate fate served as a bait to induce acceptance of other plans. For the position of affairs on the Continent was changing, and the policy of the French King changed as expediency dictated. The first sign of a breach in the alliance against him had been the truce with Ferdinand of Aragon; and when, in January 1513-14, Leo X. obtained Louis' adhesion to the Lateran Council,⁵ the balance of parties changed in favour of France, allied for the time with the Pope and Ferdinand. Henry VIII. was left with the uncertain support of Maximilian, which there was the suggestion of confirming by a marriage between Charles of Austria and Mary, sister of the English King. Meanwhile, Henry and Maximilian declined to accept

¹ Brodie, 2681, 2736.

³ *A.D.C.*, pp. 5, 8.

⁴ Brodie, 2554.

² *Ibid.*, 2406, 2443.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2399.

inclusion in the truce between Ferdinand and Louis, renewed in March 1513-14, and Henry continued preparations for a new invasion of France, while his fleet attacked Normandy in reprisal for Prégent's attack on Brighton. It was therefore to the interest of the French King to entertain the idea of Albany's going to Scotland and to allow the Scots to hope for his coming, with a view to preventing any *rapprochement* with his own enemy in the event of his present negotiations falling through.

Yet the interests of Scotland formed no part of the French King's plans. It was reported from Venice so early as January of that year that the Pope desired to reconcile England and France, by letting the King of England have the governance of Scotland,¹ a plan which commended itself to others as a bribe to Henry to discontinue his preparations for the invasion of France.² The scheme was not to take effect literally; but when, in April, negotiations were opened between England and France, the ardour of Louis for the friendship of the Scots and the need to conciliate them by the despatch of Albany became less pronounced. The French King had sent to England the General of Normandy,³ ostensibly to treat for the ransom of the Duke of Longueville, prisoner in England since the battle of Guinegaste, in reality to discuss terms of peace, as onlookers were not slow to perceive.⁴ Henry proved willing, as he explained, to negotiate, at a price. Considerable bargaining took place, but a compromise suggested the payment to him of a million crowns, by instalments of 40,000 crowns, and the marriage of Louis XII., a widower since January, to Mary Tudor, younger sister of the King.

It was while these negotiations were taking shape that the next instructions sent to Scotland appear, a diplomatic move on the part of the French King, as he could not yet

¹ Brodie, 2568.

² *Ibid.*, 2815.

³ *Ibid.*, 2956.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2815.

be sure of the expediency of casting adrift his old allies. There are two despatches (Nos. XXIII. and XXIV.), of which the first, dated 11th June, was from Louis XII., the second, dated 13th June, from Albany, and two documents, both dated 3rd June (Nos. XXI. and XXII.), which were also delivered to Ogilvy for transmission to the Queen and Council of Scotland.¹ The first of these two documents provided for the army to be sent with the Duke of Albany, apparently on the understanding that his despatch to Scotland involved the resumption of hostilities with England, a suggestion not necessarily involved in the desire of the Scots for his presence as Governor. The forces to be sent were on a large scale, including 8000 men, both soldiers and sailors, artillery valued at 10,050 *livres*, and an unlimited supply of corn and wine. The second provides for what amounts to compensation to the Scots in the event of peace or a truce, offering a cash payment of 25,000 *livres tournois* in return for the loss sustained through the death of the King and his nobles and the loss of military equipment. The sum of 50,000 *livres* promised to James IV. upon his declaration of war with England had been halved, but then the diversion, from which so much had been hoped, had been of no service to the King of France and, incidentally, had been a disaster to Scotland. Instead of the number of cannon involved in the large sum quoted above, eight guns were offered, half the amount of weapons and armour, and corn and wine as should be afterwards determined. To both of these documents reference is made in Ogilvy's instructions, dated 13th June, stating expressly that the lists had been drawn up by Albany himself with a view to either contingency.

The instructions, of which Ogilvy was the bearer, seem

¹ *A.D.C.*, p. 20.

to have been in answer to others brought by Lord Fleming and himself, apparently early in the year. According to information in the instructions themselves, the ambassadors had been driven by storm to the coast of Spain and detained there more than two months as prisoners, arriving at the court of France only on 6th April.¹

What the tenor of their instructions had been is only suggested by parts of the answers. There appear to have been the usual protestations of the Queen Regent of her desire to maintain the French alliance, for which the French King thanked her warmly. It may be permissible to doubt how far her protestations represented her real attitude, though possibly the King of France's great diamond may have had some transitory effect.² Allusion had been made also to the sending of the Duke of Albany, for Louis made answer that, in spite of the value of the Duke's services to himself, he would not fail to send him.³ Allusion was also made to the goodwill of the King of Denmark,⁴ probably as a result of the embassy of Brounhill and de la Bastie. This is rather at variance with information from other sources, which tends to show that Christian had neither means nor inclination to help his allies of Scotland.

In substance, the King's two sets of instructions differ very little, but Albany's one is considerably more detailed. In both the delay in sending back the ambassadors was explained at length, particularly the reason for retaining Lord Fleming at the court of France, that he might report on the result of the negotiations taking place there⁵ and be commissioned to bring the assistance promised in the alternative cases of peace or war. The recent truce between Louis and Ferdinand was the subject of an elaborate explanation, by which the King of France would have

¹ Pp. 102, 110.

² *A.D.C.*, p. 70.

³ Pp. 105-6.

⁴ P. 106.

⁵ Pp. 106, 112.

the Queen believe that it had been concluded in haste in order to secure the release of the two ambassadors. He also suggested that their imprisonment and consequent delay in reaching France had prevented the consultation of the Queen on the terms, and that, since Ferdinand desired to include his allies, Louis for his part had included Scotland. He further explained the delay in sending the text of the truce, of which Ogilvy was the bearer. They had been waiting to obtain ratification by the Emperor and the King of England, which had not yet been received, and he announced that, in default of such ratification, Ogilvy had been sent with offers of such assistance as Louis could afford.

He then passed to some account of the recent negotiations with England. He implied that it had been for the sake of Scotland that he had responded to the advances of that country, and that, while willing to show himself reasonable, he had insisted that Scotland should be expressly included. Should that fail, he preferred a total rupture. In justification for treating on behalf of Scotland without her knowledge or consent, he besought the Queen to remember the need of that kingdom for peace and rest—a piece of special pleading which would have carried greater weight if there had not been so much previous preparation for war, in which that kingdom was included.

The Duke, in his instructions to Ogilvy, dealt more explicitly with the matters contained in the King's, notably the reasons for which a peace would be beneficial to Scotland—the loss of the King and principal personages of the kingdom, the youth of James v. and the position in which the latter stood to the succession of his childless uncle, Henry VIII. He also insisted on the adequacy of his proffered aid. This provision had been drawn up by himself, as one unwilling to undertake the charge without proper equipment. It may be noted, however, that when

he eventually arrived in Scotland he brought none of the forces he had previously judged necessary. The help to be given in time of peace was represented as planned in spite of the great tax on the resources of France; and it was explained once more that Lord Fleming was detained in France to learn the result of the negotiations and, if peace or a truce was made, to bring the supplies.

After explaining the mission to England for the ransom of the Duke of Longueville and the negotiations for peace, Albany proceeded to send a warning to watch the King of England so as to avoid surprise in the case of war, and to endeavour to secure a promise of 6000 men in such case from Denmark, as also to obtain the money to pay them by returning to its king the lands pledged for the dowry of Margaret, wife of James III.¹ To this was added the caution that de la Bastie and the Scots ambassador must be careful not to commit themselves too far in the matter, in case peace were made.

Having done his best to prepare for either contingency, Albany turned his attention to a characteristic commentary on Scottish affairs.² He commended to the gratitude of the Queen and Council their ambassadors, suggesting a recognition of their services and great expenses, mentioning also the services of Forman, Archbishop of Bourges. Ogilvy was then charged to impress on the Queen, and particularly on the Lords of Council, the need for unity, in view of the rumours of divisions among them. These, he suggested, possibly merely diplomatically, possibly alluding to the growing demarcation between the Queen's party and those who supported France, '*peut estre ne sont que a bon fin et a bonne intencion pour le service du roy et de sondit royaume.*' In any case he condemned them as inexpedient, insisted on the weakness born of disagreement,

¹ Tytler, iv. 187.

² See No. XX.

and suggested that the differences be submitted to the Council and Estates for settlement. Then he passed to the need of filling the offices of state, particularly with regard to the administration of justice, with suitable persons, and commended to the Queen Mother the advisability of conciliating the nobles and *gens de bien* of the kingdom, a counsel doubtless rendered necessary by her growing partiality for Angus and the Douglasses, as inclined to the side of England. Albany's next point was a warning not to credit rumours or unauthenticated information as to the pending negotiations, of which neither he nor the ambassadors had dared to write for fear of provoking unconsidered action in Scotland. Instead of so doing, he invited them to keep him informed of the possible actions of the King of England, so far as they could ascertain them, and to keep all information, either gathered or taken by them, absolutely secret.

In the following paragraph, Albany explained with care the excellent intentions of his master, Louis XII., towards the young King and his kingdom, his interest in its good government, and his pleasure at their refusal of the offers made by England, though, unfortunately, these are only stated generally. This has been marked specially at some later period, but for what purpose is not obvious unless as a commentary on an expression of goodwill which did not materialise. Finally he commented on the interest of the Council of France and in especial of the Treasurer, Robertet, in the affairs of Scotland, and commended again the conduct of the Scots ambassadors, suggesting that they should be employed again, either together or singly.

After these despatches there is an interval of nearly a year before the next document (No. XXV.), the commission to Jean de Plains to ratify the alliance between Scotland and France. But the position between the old allies had changed in the interval to the detriment of Scotland. On

7th August 1514 a treaty had been signed between Louis XII. and Henry VIII.¹ for the duration of the life of either of the two Kings and one year after. By this Louis had engaged to pay to the English King a million crowns, by instalments of 40,000 crowns, and to marry Mary Tudor, Henry's younger sister. Scotland, it was true, had been included, but upon terms alike offensive and difficult to keep and without consultation with the Scottish government. The inclusion of Scotland in the treaty was made dependent upon the maintenance of peace on the Borders; if raids were made on England under constituted authority, such as the government or the warden of the marches, the kingdom's share in the treaty was forfeited; the same result followed if a raid, three hundred strong, took place, however commanded, unless compensation was made for damage done. There was no similar provision made for raids from the English side. To the Scots, sensitive after their late defeat, the condition was peculiarly galling, the more so that Lord Daere's conduct upon the Borders was, probably designedly, far from conciliatory, not to say directly threatening. It is indeed more than possible that Henry had no particular wish that Scotland should keep the peace: he wrote to Leo X. on 12th August that the Scots had been included in the treaty at the request of France, but that it was under conditions he did not think they would observe.² Others were more explicit as to the nature of Scotland's inclusion in the treaty: Cardinal Bibiena expresses his opinion that the King of France had not refrained from making a shameful agreement with the King of England, removing his protection from Scotland, and leaving that realm to the government of England³—a statement of evident fact, for it was no longer to the advantage of Louis XII. to consider his allies.

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. xiii. p. 413; Brodie, 3129.

² Brodie, 3139.

³ *Ibid.*, 3173.

One of the conditions apparently made by Henry VIII., though not expressed in the treaty, was that Albany should be detained in France.¹ Indeed, it was no longer necessary for the French King to despatch a useful man to Scotland, and he remained, it is said, to be present at his master's marriage with Princess Mary.

For the inclusion of Scotland in the treaty, acceptance within three months was necessary. An undated letter to Louis XII. sent notification of the King's willingness to accept,² probably after the decision of the Lords of Council taken on 18th September 1514 that a herald should be sent to the French King consenting to the comprehension.³ That they were under no illusions as to the precarious nature of the peace was shown by their subsequent decision that Albany should be urged to claim from Louis all munitions promised both in time of peace and war and 'in speciale our shippis and all the artalyerie being in thaim,' a reminder that the whole Scottish fleet had not been sent back.⁴ Arran, with some of them, had returned, bringing de la Bastie, but the *Michael*, the *James*, and the *Margaret* had been retained.⁵ Indeed the Lords of Council were even more explicit in a subsequent act, in which they declared roundly that the conditions 'ar understand . . . to contene rather weir than pece.'⁶

To the troubles likely to supervene through the virtual desertion of France were added others, due to what they had denied as emphatically only two months before⁷—disunion in the kingdom. It had existed from the very morrow of the battle of Flodden, when the French party, represented by the Chancellor, Betoun, and Arran, had pressed successfully the cause of the Duke of Albany. The

¹ Bapst, chap. i.

⁴ See pp. 97, 99.

⁶ *A.D.C.*, p. 21.

² Brodie, 3189.

⁵ *Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 188.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *A.D.C.*, p. 20.

proceedings recorded on 5th April are further proof of the same, when Queen Margaret deprived the Secretary, Patrick Panter, of the seals, because of his known leaning toward the Duke. The marriage of the Queen on 6th August 1514, less than a year after her husband's death, to the Earl of Angus, was to intensify the differences, though the Lords of Council on 12th July declared their intention to stand 'in ane mynd and will . . . to the plesour of our master the Kingis grace, your grace, and for the commoun weill.' But that the common weal was to be severed from the pleasure of the Queen's Grace, subsequent events were to show. It is true that on 26th August an agreement was recorded between the Queen, her husband, and the Lords of Council that the Duke of Albany, as governor of Scotland, should be sent for and that the Queen should resign all rights of government till such time as the Lords should decern whether she had any right thereto. But it was only an enforced surrender on Margaret's part, followed by a new bid for power.

That the nobles of Scotland had no intention of submitting to the rule of the Queen and Angus was shown by their act of 18th September. After noting their acceptance of the treaty, they requested Albany to come 'in all possible haist.' This decision was rendered more emphatic in the afternoon sederunt of the same day when they styled him protector and governor of Scotland, and declared that the Queen, by her marriage, had forfeited her office as tutrix to the King, her son. They amplified that declaration on 24th October, stating also that the parliament summoned by her to meet at Perth on 20th November was 'pretendit.' Though the Duke was detained in France, he appears to have communicated with the Lords of Council as governor. Thus on 14th November they referred to a request of his that Margaret should be treated with all consideration, offered terms to her, and invited her and the lords with her

to come to Edinburgh to discuss in Parliament matters needful for the general welfare.¹

But consideration and discussion of the position made no appeal to the Queen. On 23rd November she wrote to her brother, complaining that she and her party were in great trouble till they knew what help he could send, and that her adversaries continued to usurp authority in Parliament.² A letter by Lord Fleming, probably to Lord Home, shows that Henry was only too ready for any pretext to attack the Scots, based on a plan of action, which included making war on Scotland to restore to his sister her children and her dowry, and on a scheme, failing his own succession, to make the elder son King of England and the younger King of Scots. This he intimated to the King of France, according to Lord Fleming's report,³ but Louis, who had promised that neither Albany nor Forman should be sent to Scotland,⁴ and who had designs in concert with Henry against Ferdinand of Aragon, was unlikely to interfere.

On 1st January 1515 Louis XII. died and was succeeded by his cousin, Francis d'Angoulême, as Francis I. For a time it seemed as though the Scots might hope again for the assistance of France, since Maître Jean de Plains was sent to Scotland to confirm the old alliance till, as his commission bears, a league should be made for the defence of their kingdoms.⁵ His instructions bore that Albany was to be sent to aid the Scots; that the late King had only made peace with England without consulting Scotland because he was attacked on every side; that Francis I. had sent ambassadors to conclude a new peace with England in which Scotland should be included; that if England refused or proposed war on Scotland, help would be sent from France. The position with regard to England and Queen Margaret was too critical not to make

¹ *A.D.C.*, p. 25.

² Brodie, 3468.

³ *Ibid.*, 3540.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3485.

⁵ Pp. 121, 122.

acceptance of Francis' offer advisable. For although Henry had abstained from any overt act against Scotland, Daere, doubtless at his master's instigation, had urged the Queen to take refuge in England,¹ promising help to her husband against the 'rebels,' though stating that open help could not be given, lest England should appear to aim at the crown. The alliance was ratified, and the Lords of Council on 4th May 1515 agreed to the comprehension of Scotland in the treaty between Francis I. and Henry. This was to be intimated to the French King under the Great Seal, and proclamation to be made for the cessation of hostilities between England and Scotland from 15th May onward.² That this was grudgingly done, the letter referred to above shows clearly. It was stated that Scotland would take the advice of the French King and of Balthasar Stewart, the Pope's ambassador, though the people were not desirous of peace but rather of revenge.

But Scotland's attitude was of little consequence to the new King of France, who had inherited his cousin's ambitions. Before answer could be received from Scotland he confirmed the treaty with England,³ and departed almost immediately to undertake the conquest of Italy, only evading Henry VIII.'s demand that the Duke of Albany should not be allowed to return to Scotland. And, being no longer detained in France, the Duke set sail, arriving with a squadron of eight ships at Dumbarton on 18th May 1515.⁴ On Whitsunday Even (26th May) he came to Edinburgh,⁵ and on 30th May, with the Lords of Council, issued a proclamation for a parliament to meet on 12th July in that town,⁶ having previously signified to Francis I. his approbation of the treaty.⁷

¹ Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 62, 63, 66, 885.

² *A.D.C.*, p. 31.

³ P. 122; Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 476.

⁴ Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 87.

⁵ *H.T.A.*, vol. v. p. 35.

⁶ *A.D.C.*, p. 31.

⁷ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 510; Brewer, 494.

From the date of de Plains' commission till May 1517, no further instructions either to or from France have been recorded. Yet there was a certain amount of communication between France and Scotland, although, unfortunately, the despatches are not found in the present collection of manuscripts. Matthew de Villebresme, of whom there is no mention in the Treasurer's Accounts or other Scottish sources, brought on 3rd May 1515 letters dated 9th April, which told of the ratification by Francis I. of the treaty made by his predecessor with England, with the inclusion of Scotland under the same stipulation as regarded Border warfare.¹ His visit must then have occurred while de Plains was still in the kingdom, being retained there for some months in negotiations between the Regent and Lords of Council and Queen Margaret and the English court. De Plains is noted as being in Scotland on 16th February 1515-16,² but there appears to be no record of his leaving. François de Bordeaux, Seigneur de Pontoviere, or Poussiniere, brought to Scotland the refusal by Francis I. of the Scottish proposals for the marriage of James V. to one of his daughters, dated 3rd November 1516,³ but the Treasurer's Accounts seem to have no record of his arrival or departure. The Seigneur de Chanoy was in Edinburgh on 22nd March 1516-17 on an embassy, which included the presentation of the Order of St. Michael to the Duke of Albany.⁴ Probably he was also the bearer of the despatches which called forth the answers of the Regent, Lords of Council, and Estates of the realm in May of that year.

During that time the difficulties of the Duke of Albany with regard to England had been continuous. Henry VIII. had been constant in his refusal to recognise Albany as

¹ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 508.

² *H.T.A.*, vol. v. p. 72.

³ Brewer, 2505.

⁴ P. 129; *H.T.A.*, vol. v. p. 115; Brewer, 3138.

Regent,¹ had meddled continuously in Scottish affairs, notably in the matter of ecclesiastical preferments,² and, ignoring the Regent, had gone so far as to write to the Lords and Commons of Scotland, to suggest that the Duke was open to the suspicion of plotting to obtain the crown.³ To this the Scots Lords returned emphatic answer: Albany had been chosen protector unanimously; he had left his master and his lady and his living and had taken pains in the King's service; he had given and proposed to give no cause for dissatisfaction. To Henry's refusal to acknowledge the Duke as Governor, they likewise retorted that it was in exact conformity with their laws for the nearest in succession to have the governance.⁴ In addition, Lord Dacre had definite instructions to foment trouble on the Border and between the Regent and the nobility of Scotland.⁵ This policy he carried out consistently, opposing to Albany's expressed desire for peace a variety of difficulties, receiving Queen Margaret on her flight to England and forwarding her complaints to the court.

With such opposition the task of Albany was almost impossible. It was not merely a question of settling the differences between himself and Queen Margaret, in which he proved himself willing to be accommodating to a certain extent⁶; it was also that of procuring a settled peace and the inclusion of Scotland in the treaty between England and France, which, although announced to them by Francis I. on 3rd July 1515, had never taken effect, thanks to the attitude of the English King and his lieutenants on the Border. The King of France might intimate to Henry

¹ Brewer, 664.

² *A.D.C.*, pp. 40-50.

³ Brewer, 1975.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 779, 834, 850.

⁶ *A.D.C.*, p. 57. The herald sent to the Queen and Dacre was to offer her 'all the humaniteis that he (Albany) can, sa that she will return and cum in Scotland and be ane gud Scottis weman as accordis hir to doo for the grit lufe that sche suld have till hir sone the King . . . and offeris to hir ony plaiçe sche lykis best to ly intill . . .' *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71, 83; Brewer, 1928.

that he was glad of the prospective settlement of the differences between Albany and the Queen, and that his ambassadors would be present at the diet,¹ but it appears to have been well enough known in England that Scottish help was not of sufficient importance to incline him to any definite step. This is borne out by a letter of Dacre to Albany, dated 21st April 1516, even more by the tone than the words. He wrote that the Regent had been told repeatedly that the affairs of Scotland could not be mixed with those of France, for the questions between the latter and England were too important to liken the one to the other. He reminded Albany that to make war for the pleasure of France had not hitherto been much to Scotland's profit, and promised peace so soon as they abandoned that policy, stating that it was absurd to suppose that the great matters of France were to be included in a mere comprehension with Scotland.² The letter shows how the kingdom had sunk out of the number of powers to be reckoned with in European politics, where the recent death of Ferdinand of Aragon had given rise to new combinations and tentative alliances. For even though the relations between England and France were strained and the French King was on the point of a new treaty with Ferdinand's successor, Charles of Spain, Francis I. felt no need of Scottish assistance. It is true that in May there was a rumour that he would send help to the Regent that the latter might make war on England,³ but he had, for the time, a more effective weapon against Henry VIII. in the person of Richard de la Pole,⁴ the rival claimant to the throne of England, the decision of whose fate had been offered to James IV. by Francis' predecessor.

Still the Regent persisted, against opposition, both active and passive, in his attempts to secure a peace, obtaining

¹ Brewer, 1861.

² *Ibid.*, 1797.

³ *Ibid.*, 1973.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1783, 1973, 2081, 2419.

to that end with difficulty successive extensions of the truce between England and Scotland.¹ These were granted apparently with the reservation on the English side that the conditions should be untenable. Dacre's letters show his constant attempts to foment trouble between the Duke and the nobility of Scotland, while he instigated, at the same time, Scottish outlaws to commit offences on the Border in the hope of compelling reprisals.² But Albany ignored, or affected to ignore, the attempts to break the peace of the Border,³ and planned to reinforce the appeals of his ambassadors to England by taking a journey to that court himself,⁴ there to press for a treaty on the conditions proposed by his secretary, Marchal,⁵ and to procure that the three Kings should remain allies. It was even suggested that to obtain peace he would forsake France, should the French King refuse compliance.⁶ But his hopes of obtaining his desires by a personal interview with Henry VIII. and Queen Margaret, then at the English court, were frustrated by the Estates' refusal to allow him to leave Scotland till the King was of full age, unless he could obtain a prorogation of the truce, threatening that if he left he never should return and that they would forsake the French alliance.⁷

This last statement seems entirely foreign to the accepted view of the aims of Albany's government, to maintain at all costs the alliance with France, the country of his adoption and the one in which his whole interests are supposed to be centred. But the instructions of May 1517 offer proof that the continued neglect of Scottish interests by Francis I. was met at last by Albany's declaration that the Scots, if they could not obtain satisfaction from the King of France, must consider themselves free to seek it

¹ Brewer, 1710, 1720, 2081, 2253.

² *Ibid.*, 2465.

³ *Ibid.*, 2314.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2234-5, 2253.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2610.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2293, 2329.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2313.

elsewhere. Yet, while the suggestion to England was made in August, it was not till several months later that it was conveyed to France. During the interval there had been additional proof that Scotland's case was negligible in the eyes of the French King. For Henry and Francis had again embarked on secret negotiations, primarily for the cession of Tournay to the French King, then for a new alliance. Above all, Francis I. by his ambassador, François de Bordeaux, Seigneur de Pontoviere, on 3rd November had answered very curtly the proposal, made by the Bishop of Ross, for the arrangement of a marriage between one of his daughters and James V. He stated that his elder daughter was betrothed to the Catholic King, failing whom to his brother Ferdinand, and that his second daughter was similarly bound. Another daughter, should he have one, might be betrothed to the young King. He also answered the assertion of a claim to the province of Saintonge by disclaiming all knowledge of its having been granted to a King of Scotland, and reproached the Scots for mistrusting his promises of help. At the same time, he averred that he could not ratify the treaty with Scotland because it was contrary to the terms of his treaty with England.¹

The Regent, with the Estates, answered the ambassador's instructions by reminding the French King that the treaty between James IV. and Louis XII., made before the former's intervention on behalf of France, had stipulated expressly that neither party should agree with England without consent of the other; that de Plains had ratified that treaty on Francis' behalf; that the day on which they wrote, St. Andrew's Day, was the last day of the truce, and that the time had come for him to fulfil his promise.² These statements inferred plainly that the

¹ Brewer, 2505.

² *Ibid.*, 2612.

French treaty with England had been an infringement of the prior one between Scotland and France.

But the truce with England was prolonged till 27th January, for short periods, and on 15th April till St. Andrew's Day 1517.¹ During the earlier months the two countries were on the brink of war, while the Scots were encouraged in their hope of the intervention of France by the movement of parties on the Continent, as shown by the treaty of Cambrai between Francis I., the Emperor, and Charles of Spain.² At the same time negotiations were in train for the return of Queen Margaret to Scotland, upon condition that she was not admitted to any share in the administration.³ The truce between the two countries rested on a slender foundation. The English ambassador in Scotland wrote that both Scots and French were 'more high-minded than they were before' because of the agreement with the Emperor and the King of Spain.⁴ This opinion was echoed by Lord Dacre, who, however, discouraged a break with the Scots at that time of year, upon the grounds that while the Scots could be ready for war by May, the English could not meet them for another month. He suggested accepting the Scottish terms with modifications, and postponing hostilities till the winter, when they could do much damage on the Border.⁵ A month later, in response to an inquiry whether the Scots had been receiving arms from abroad, he informed Wolsey of the arrival of the French ambassador, who, apparently, had not brought extensive military supplies.⁶

This ambassador was the Seigneur de Chanoy, who brought to the Duke of Albany from Francis I. the Order of St. Michael. It is probable that he carried instructions also as to the matter of the confirmation of the league

¹ Brewer, 2620, 2845, 3028, 3109; *A.D.C.*, pp. 83-4.

² 11th March 1516-17.

³ Brewer, 3119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3021.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3028.

⁶ *Ibid.*; *H.T.A.*, vol. v. p. 115.

with France. It may be assumed that these were not of a satisfactory nature, judging from the tenor of the reply sent to them and from the subsequent departure of Albany in an attempt to force the long-delayed agreement. The leagues with France were the subject of long discussion by the Lords of Council, in presence of the Governor, on 23rd April, when it was debated which was the most profitable to be confirmed by the ambassadors to be sent to the court of France. They concluded unanimously that the first bond should be confirmed as it was 'or better gif it can be had.'¹

This final clause may be taken as the keynote of the three sets of instructions to the Bishops of Dunkeld and Ross (the latter being already in France), and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, for the tenor of these instructions is disappointment felt at the treatment accorded to Scotland by her ancient ally, a disappointment so great that it found vent in what amounted to a threat to break with France and to seek more profitable alliances wherever they might be found.

The instructions were drawn up some time in the month of May, after the decision of the Lords of Council noted above. It is probable that this was done early in the month and that the two ambassadors, then in Scotland, left to rejoin their colleague in France before the definite decision as to Albany's departure, as otherwise the charge of the negotiations might well have been left to the Duke himself. For, on 25th May, the Lords of Council consented to the departure of the Governor on the affairs of the realm and his private affairs 'sa that he may thereafter the better remane in this realme to put justice into the samin and to do service to the Kingis grace,'² giving him at the same time twelve blank parchments sealed with the

¹ *A.D.C.*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

Great Seal. As there is no mention in this act of other ambassadors, it is probable that they had already left.

There is no indication in the manuscript as to the order of the three documents, but it seems that the order in which they are printed is, at least, probable. The first (No. XXVI.) is apparently the answer to instructions brought by the French ambassadors, de Pontoviere and de Chanoy; the second (No. XXVII.), a more pressing request as to the alliance, with a commentary on the requests which had been refused by de Pontoviere; and the third (No. XXVIII.) a final appeal for consideration in the matter of the treaty, which ends with a threat to abandon negotiations with France and seek their own remedy.

The ambassadors were charged to begin their mission by expressing their thanks for the sending of Albany at a time so critical in the affairs of Scotland, and to explain that they had been despatched because of the French King's contradictory orders as to his journey. It appears that Francis had wished to complete his negotiations with Maximilian and Charles of Spain, unhindered by complications due to the Duke's arrival, possibly because of his desire for an understanding with England, negotiations for which were carried on in the later part of the year, to result in the treaty of 1518.

They were then to remind the King of their continued loyalty to his interests during his absence in Italy, in spite of his having favoured the English at their expense; how they had observed punctiliously the terms of the treaty by apprising him of all truces made with England; and how they had obeyed his wish not to make truce for any longer period than a year. It is unfortunate that there is apparently no record of this explanation of the frequent renewals of the truce for short periods. They indicate that Albany was expecting developments of French policy which might involve Scotland, and give colour to

the frequent rumours of French assistance. Then followed the justifiable reminder that Francis I. had not treated them in a similar manner, but had neglected their interests almost to the point of alienating them from his cause, and the statement that, had it not been for fear of the Scots, the English would have invaded France during Francis I.'s absence in Italy.

The next statement, justified indeed by actual events, pointed out how Scotland had attempted to keep the treaty, in spite of English provocation, and how the Regent had acted a conciliatory part towards Queen Margaret in spite of the plot to convey the young King and his brother to England.

The gift of the collar of St. Michael, brought by de Chanoy, was commented on as gratifying both to the Duke and to the kingdom. Equally gratifying was the information, also doubtless brought by him, that the Scots had been included in the new treaties made by Francis (a statement which, however, appears to be unfounded); yet a reminder was added that on subsequent occasions they would wish to be consulted before similar steps were taken.

Above all, in view of the short duration of the recent truce, the ambassadors were charged to press for an expression of the French King's future policy with regard to Scotland, so as to enable them to make terms with England.

The second despatch¹ (No. XXVII.), was still, for the most part, conciliatory in form. It began with a reminder that the time granted in the last truce was short, and a request that Francis should declare his mind as to the confirmation of the Franco-Scottish alliance, increasing its scope and improving this, if possible, and also as to the

¹ *Infra*, pp. 131-6.

proposed treaty of marriage. It went on to another request, italicised by some other hand, that he should declare what his future relation with England was to be and whether he designed '*plusgrande amitie*' with them—a clear enough indication that some hint of the new negotiations had reached the Governor and his Council. If such a *rapprochement* was contemplated, the Scots begged him to pursue his aim so long as they were included in the new peace. Then followed allusion to Francis' refusal to confirm the treaty made by his predecessor with James IV., noting three points which should have overridden the objections he had made: the first, a plea, which, however commendable in theory, was not honoured in practice, that treaties, once made, were inviolable; the second, a hit at the breach of faith he had committed in refusing to confirm the treaty ratified by his own ambassador, de Plains; the third, that Henry VIII. (according to information received) had broken the peace. Such were the reasons they considered sufficient for the confirmation of their old alliance.

The instructions then passed to a clearly expressed desire to know the King's plans in the event of war, and what help he would send to Scotland and whether that kingdom would be involved. The reasons for the desire are plainly stated, and amount to an intention not to allow Scotland to be involved again in an unprofitable and calamitous adventure.

There followed a reference to the matter of the marriage, proposed by the Bishop of Ross on behalf of the Governor and Council. It was moderately stated, especially considering the fact that Francis, by his ambassador, had relegated the possibility of its fulfilment to the dim future and a yet unborn daughter. The Scottish Council congratulated the Most Christian King on the proposed marriage of his daughter to the Catholic King, thanked the former for his offers, and desired to know more of

his intentions in the event of such a marriage. On the surface it would seem that they had not noticed the slighting manner in which the proposal for King James v.'s marriage with either his elder or younger daughter had been turned down; but the insistence on a marriage with any daughter as a proof of friendship, '*vraye et non faincte*,' and the allusion to the death of James iv. suggest that they were not wholly deceived.

The matter of the province of Saintonge is one difficult to account for. It is hard to believe that the Lords of Council, far less Albany, could really believe that Francis i. would admit of such a claim, disallowed already by a previous King, Louis xi. The Scottish services to Charles vii. had gone unrewarded, and the promises of Louis xii. to his friend and ally, James iv., had been empty air. So far Francis i. had not considered their friendship worth retaining, and it was hardly to be expected that he should consider ceding the province to them.

The final instructions are more abrupt and peremptory in tone than either of the preceding ones, and, incidentally, suggest an interesting query, for which, so far, there appears to be no answer: how far the Duke of Albany was responsible for the wording, or how far the Estates. The Duke assuredly was contemplating a return to France on his own affairs as well as the affairs of state; he is also represented as one who, more than half French by inclination, had solely the affairs of France at heart. But the conclusion of the despatch stated definitely that, failing a satisfactory answer, the Scottish ambassadors were authorised to seek favourable terms elsewhere. If the sentiments expressed were in any part those of the Duke himself, it would appear that he was prepared to put the needs of his own country before those of France—an attitude which cannot, under the circumstances, be described as interested.

Again the instructions start abruptly,¹ this time with a statement of what the Governor and Council would accept as the minimum in the way of terms, namely, a renewal of the treaty between France and England, with the inclusion of the Scots and the provision that neither English nor Scots might attack each other for the duration of the treaty, a phrasing which may have been designed to prevent the recurrence of past troubles on the Borders. The treaty was to be confirmed by all parties under Papal censures, and any breach by one contracting party should compel the two others to unite against him. The conditions which were to govern the making of truces was laid down in detail, prohibiting any such truce between two of the countries, without the inclusion of the third, for any reason whatsoever, and making it compulsory that the terms of the truce should be considered by all parties. Failing a comprehensive peace on those lines, an alternative was suggested of a defensive peace, either between the three kingdoms or between England and Scotland alone for the life of the sovereigns and one year after, upon such conditions as could be devised without infringing any existing alliances.

Having given proof of the sincerity of their desire for peace, the Governor and Council passed to more or less veiled threats. Should the King of France agree neither to peace nor war, the ambassadors had their orders to seek peace elsewhere and to communicate the results of their negotiations to Scotland, when steps would be taken to come to an agreement with their neighbours. The need was great, the King was a minor, they had spent both wealth and men, all for the service of the King of France, and, while the truce lasted, they must make an end of their difficulties. For that purpose the ambassadors were

¹ P. 136.



authorised to treat with those of England, even at the court of France, or to seek them in Flanders, and also to negotiate with the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King of Spain.

With these instructions the manuscript ends. Less than a month later the Duke of Albany embarked at Dumbarton for France, after promising to return so hastily as he might. The Lords of Council, on 25th May, had given a valedictory which sums up their opinion of his government during the two years of his stay: 'they thanked his grace at thar possible poweris of the gret labouris expens and deligence maid be him to our soverane lord and his realme sen his cummyng in the samin.'¹ His labours there had been of little avail; Scotland, deprived of his rule, fell again into disorder, during which perished the Duke's friend, de la Bastie. As regards France, whether by his mediation or otherwise, the end he had worked for was attained, for the old alliance was revised and renewed, to become a basis for future renewals.² But the secret negotiations between France and England bore fruit in a new treaty in July of the following year, and part of the price of England's friendship was the detention in France of the Governor, not to return to Scotland for another five years.

The documents comprised in the *Flodden Papers* are contained in a volume in H.M. Register House, entitled 'Instructions to the Envoys of France and Scotland, 1507 to 1517.' The instructions are chiefly, as may be seen, from the court of France, and all, save those of Cordier, are originals. The credentials of de Plains are a copy of the original in the Register House, and both are in an imperfect condition. All the instructions emanating from the Scottish court are copies. In addition to the two

¹ *A.D.C.*, pp. 92-3.

² Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 93.

documents, given in the Appendices, the volume contains a sixteenth-century transumpt of the treaty between France and Scotland in the reign of Robert II.; but, as the text is printed by Rymer, it has not been reproduced here.

In the preparation of the *Flodden Papers* I gladly acknowledge the assistance given to me by Professor Hannay and by Mr. Paton and Mr. McInnes of the Register House. To Mr. R. L. Mackie I am greatly indebted for his kindness in putting at my disposal the information collected by him as to the period before Flodden, and for his helpful criticism, as also to Mr. F. Robertson for the loan of a pamphlet dealing with the diplomatic relations between Denmark, France, and Scotland during that period. Mr. Corson's preparation of the index to this volume is acknowledged gratefully.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

FLODDEN PAPERS

I

Instructions to Master Robert Cockburn, Postulate of Ross

Briançon, 10th July 1507.

He is to convey thanks for the expression of the King of Scotland's friendship and assure him of that of the King of France; to thank King James also for his offers of service in France or elsewhere by sending troops. Remembering the ancient friendship and alliance and that Scotsmen form the bodyguard of the French Kings, Louis begs that four thousand foot soldiers should be raised in Scotland and sent either to Genoa or Savona. There they will be received, paid and employed for the defence of the Duchy of Milan, which the King of the Romans threatens to invade under colour of going to Rome for his coronation. The King prays that this may be done in all haste, although the King of the Romans is not ready yet, and though there may be no need of the troops, that all may know the friendship and alliance between himself and the King of Scots. The men should be sent with a good leader, and will be well treated, while, should the King of Scots require similar assistance, the King will help him so often as he requires it.

If the request is granted, Cockburn is to send word of the numbers of the levy, the time of embarkation and the men's armour and equipment. He is also to state how many will come by land and their route, that they may be met and provisioned.

He is also to say that the King has been informed that James has despatched ambassadors for the confirmation of their alliances, that he is glad of it and that they cannot come too soon.

I

*Instruction a Maistre Robert Coqueburne, postule de Rosse,¹
conseiller et ausmonier du Roy de ce qu'il aura a dire
au Roy d'Escosse de la part dudict Seigneur.*

Premierement luy presentera les lettres de creance que

¹ Robert Cockburn was provided to the see of Ross on 9th July 1507, and admitted to the temporality on 17th August. He may have been the same Master Robert Cockburn, 'dean of the rood' in Rouen, whom James IV. presented to the parsonage of Dunbar on 1st July 1501. He was translated to Dunkeld in 1524 (Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, p. 224).

ledit Seigneur luy escript et luy fera les reconmendacions et salutacions accoustumees.

Et apres luy dira que ledit Seigneur a veu ce que derniere-ment il luy a escript, et entendu bien au long par ledit aumosnier ce qu'il luy a fait dire et declairer et mesme-ment l'amour et fraternelle dillection qu'il porte audit Seigneur et au bien de ses affaires, dont tant et si affec-tueusement que faire se peut il le mercede de bon cueur et luy prie continuer et demeurer en ce bon vouloyr et propos. Car ledit Seigneur n'a ne n'aura jamais moindre volente et affection envers luy et les siens maiz s'employera tousiours pour luy et ce qui luy pourroit survenir tout ainsi qu'il voudroit faire pour son fait propre et comme pour son bon frere et singulier amy et allye. Et pource que entre autres cordialles offres et parolles que ledit aumosnier a portees audit Seigneur de la part dudit roy d'Escosse il luy a dit que s'il advenoit qu'il se trovast en quelque affaire, feust en son royaume de France ou ailleurs et que besoing luy feust recouvrer quelque nombre de gens pour le servir en icelluy, que tres volentiers et de bon cueur il luy envoyeroit tel nombre de ses subjectz escossoys que voudroit avoir et qu'il luy feroit demander et requerir, et que l'un des plus grans plaisirs que ledit roy d'Escosse pourroit avoir seroit qu'ilz luy feissent quelque bon service, de quoy ledit Seigneur semblablement le mercede tant et si grandement qu'il peut. Et considerant ledit Seigneur que entre les autres princes roys avec lesquelz luy et son royaume ont eu amyctie, confederacion et alliance, les roys et royaume d'Escosse ont tousiours este, comme encores sont, les premiers et plus anciens alliez et confederez dudit Seigneur et de son royaume en maniere que l'amyctie, foy, loyaulte s'est trouvee telle entre lesdits roys de France et d'Escosse, leurs royaumes et subjectz que aujourdhuy la principale garde de son corps et personne est entre les mains de la nacion d'Escosse, a ceste cause, se confiant singulierement audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere et a ladite nacion, desireroit qu'il pleust audit roy d'Escosse faire choisir ou lever en sondit royaume le nombre de quatre mille bons hommes de pye experimentez et pour servir a

la guerre et les envoyer par mer jusques a Genes ou Savonne pour le service dudit Seigneur.¹ Et la ilz trouveront gens qui les recueilleront et commissaires et tresoriers pour leur faire payement et pource ledit aumosnier priera et requerra ledit roy d'Escosse de la part dudit Seigneur, son bon frere, amy et allye, que pour luy aider a la garde, caicion et deffence de son estat et duche de Millan,² lequel le roy des Rommains menasse de invahir soubz couleur d'aller a Romme pour soy courroner,³ il luy vueille, incontinent et le plus tost que possible luy sera, envoyer iiiij^m hommes de pye et les faire promptement embarquer pour eulx rendre audit lieu de Genes ou Savonne le plus dilligement que faire pourra. Car, combien que ledit roy des Rommains ne soit prest ne pourveu de ce qui luy est requis pour executer sa mauvaise et dampnee volente et entreprise qu'il a faicte conceue et deliberee contre ledit Seigneur et de sondit estat et duche de Millan et que peut estre il n'aura nul besoing desditz iiiij^m hommes, ce neantmoins icelluy Seigneur que desire que ung chacun congnoisse et entende l'amycie, bonne et ancienne alliance qui est entre ledit roy d'Escosse son bon frere, son royaulme et subgetz, et ledit Seigneur, son royaulme et les siens, luy prie et requiere faire tant pour luy que presentement il luy envoie lesdites iiiij^m hommes de pie avecques quelque bon chef pour les mener et conduire.⁴ Et il [les] recueillera

¹ Louis XII. had, in April 1507, repressed a revolt of the city of Genoa, which had been in French hands since 1499. He travelled thence to the Duchy of Milan, received the ambassadors of Venice at Milan and had an interview with Ferdinand of Castile at Savona in June.

² From his accession Louis XII. had taken the title of Duke of Milan. He founded his claim on the marriage of his grandfather, Louis d'Orleans, with Valentine, daughter of John Galeas Visconti, Duke of Milan. An imperial fief, Milan did not invariably descend in the female line, and the reigning Duke, Ludovic Sforza, had at least as good a title as the French King.

³ Maximilian, King of the Romans, had announced his intention, at the Diet of Constance in May 1507, of going to Rome to be crowned Emperor. On 4th February 1508 he took the title of Roman Emperor Elect, till he should receive the imperial crown in Rome. Julius II. formally authorised this declaration.

⁴ James IV. answered Louis' suggestion with no great enthusiasm, proposing that the French fleet should pick up the soldiers at some Scottish port (Ruddiman, *Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 83, 84).

tresbien et traicterá de sorte quilz auront cause de bien servir et eulx contenter, et si il tiendra et reputera ledit Seigneur en singulier plaisir et grande aide et secours, en sorte que, si [ledit roy] d'Escosse avoit quelque affaire et qu'il vouldist requerir ledit Seigneur luy faire le semblable, il le feroit et fera toutes et quantes [foys] qu'il le requerra de bien bon cueur et tresvoulentiers.

Item et si tant est que ledit roy d'Escosse octroy ledit nombre audit Seigneur et qu'il le face preparer et lever, ledit aumosnier escripra en toute dilligence par l'un des chevaucheurs d'escuierye qu'il mene quant et luy la forme et maniere dudit octroy et aussi le temps qu'ilz se pourront embarquer et les armoures et [bastons] qu'ilz auront avecques eulx et ce qu'il leur faudra, ensemble le nom de celuy qui sera ordonne de par ledit Seigneur, roy d'Escosse les mener et conduire.

[Item] dira ledit aumosnier audit Seigneur, roy d'Escosse, que le roy a este advertye comme il a depesche ses ambassadeurs pour venir devers luy pour la confirmacion des alliances qui sont entre luy et ledit Seigneur, dont il a este et est tresioyeulx, luy faisant savoir qu'ilz ne viendront jamais si tost qu'il le desire et seront a toute heure les tresbien venuz, et de bon cueur les verra et entendra a leur expedicion et bonne depêche.

Fait a Briancon le x^{me} jour de juillet l'an mil cinq cens et sept.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

II

*Instructions to the Seigneur de la Mothe*¹

[Undated, probably 1510.]²

The King thanks James iv. for his goodwill and unfailing loyalty.

As to the latter's enterprise, the King intends to help him as much as the Pope does. Though he has not raised the matter previously, his

¹ Charles de Tocque, Seigneur de la Mothe.

² There is nothing to determine the place of this letter except that it seems to precede 'The calculation, demand, etc.' (No. III.), in view of the fact that that document alludes to Louis' signed engagement to help James iv. on his crusade.

intention has been always the same, to unite Christian princes and make war on the Infidel. Though he may not assist in person, he intends to employ the wealth of his kingdom and to place in command the King of Scotland.

He begs James to outline his plans to the Pope and to the other princes, from whom he hopes for help. The King will assist with ships, men and other things in his power.

II

*Instruction au Seigneur de la Mothe de ce qu'il aura a dire
de la part du Roy au roy d'Escosse son bon frere et allye*

Premierement le merciera du bon vouloir qu'il a envers luy et qu'il scet bien que quant tout le monde luy voudroit faillir qu'il ne seroit pas de ce nombre car l'amour reciproque de l'un envers l'autre est trop grand et la proximate de sang et de lignage tant prouchaine que plus ne pourroit.

Et apres luy dira que touchant son emprise dont maintesfoys il a ouy parler et de laquelle il luy a aussi fait savoir son vouloir et intencion, le roy est bien delibere luy aider a icelle entreprendre et executer, et toutes et quantesfoys que notre saint pere le pape luy aidera ainsi qu'il a promis et accorde icelluy seigneur fera le semblable et luy fera telle ceste bonne aide et faveur qu'il s'en contentera, et quant les choses seront a ce disposees il le congnoistroit par effect.

Et combien que le roy n'ayt devant tenu gueres de propos de ceste nature ce neantmoins sa volente a tousiours este et sera telle, c'est assavoir de faire tout ce qu'il pourra pour unir en paix et unyon avecques les princes crestiens et faire la guerre contre les Infidelles, congnoissant les grans honneurs et graces que Dieu luy a faictes par plusieurs et diverses foys et qu'il luy fait encores journellement pour partie de la reconnoissance desquelles il s'emploieroit volentiers le reste de ses jours en son service et principalement contre les Infidelles.

Et quant ainsi seroit que personnellement il n'y pourroit vacquer sy est son intencion d'y employer des biens de son royaume et de ses subjectz en bon nombre pour la conduite desquelz il entend bien ordonner et commander aller soubz ledit roy d'Escosse, et qu'ilz luy obeysent

entierement tout ainsi qu'ilz feroient a sa propre personne. Et quant il adviendrait qu'ilz feroient autrement ilz pourroient estre seurs de jamais ne retourner en France qu'il ne leur feist couper les testes.

Luy dira en apres que le roy prie et requiert ledit roy d'Escosse son bon frere qu'il vueille dresser le faict de son dit voiage et emprise tant envers notredit saint pere que envers les autres princes chrestiens desquelz il espere avoir aide et faveur, et que au regart dudit seigneur il luy aidera de navires, de gens et autres choses qui seront en son pouvoir et necessaires pour faire sondit voiage, et de sorte qu'on congnoistra qu'il n'y a chose en ce monde que tant il desire que de son temps veoir une bonne, saincte et fructueuse expedicion contre lesditz infidelles, ennemys de notre saincte et catholique foy, et y emploier les biens de son royaume, terres et seigneuries et pareillement ses subjectz.

[Undated.]

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

III

James IV.'s Requirements for his Crusade

[Undated, c. December 1510.]¹

The writer reminds Louis XII. of his signed engagement to James IV. to help him on his voyage to Jerusalem, his letters on that subject to the Pope, as also of his intention to put James in command, helping him with cannon, ships and men.

James wishes to know the number of ships, the quantity of cannon and the time for which they will be sent ; the number, equipment and pay of the men ; in what time it will be done and where the Infidels should be attacked, Alexandria or Constantinople.

If Louis will send a detailed answer, James will be able to obtain the rest of the help from other allies.

¹ This document probably was presented to Louis XII. at Blois some time in December 1510, by Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray. He was sent about 22nd October by James IV. to the Pope 'to promote peace among Christian princes' with the intention of carrying out a crusade (Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, 1509-13*, No. 598). He was at the court at Blois on 21st December and departed 29th December (*ibid.*, 645, 649).

Then too James can show his allies the harm the King of Spain and the Pope are doing in preventing Louis from fulfilling his promises by the war they are waging against him. The King of Scots with his allies may attack these hinderers, explaining that he is not attacking the Church, but cannot accomplish his journey without the help of Louis and counts all who prevent him as enemies of the Faith and so open to attack.

(A slip of paper is attached with calculations of money needed for the troops.)

III

The calculation demand and the King of France answers therupon

Sire, vous congnoissez assez et devez bien congnoistre de long temps la grande amour et entiere affection que le roy des Escossoys votre cousin et allye et frere mon souverain et maistre a envers vous dessus tous les princes et hommes du monde comme souvent il vous a escript et m'a donne charge vous dire, ce que j'ay faict et tout ainsi le trouverez.

Sire, il vous plaira avoir souvenance comme vous avez escript et mande articles au roy mondiet maistre comme vous feustes delibere luy aider a son saint voyaige de Hierusalem¹ et aussi avez escript au pape semblable choses toutes subscriptes de votre main a votre tres grant honneur et gloire et comme roy tres chrestien, principalement de vous monstre si tres affectueux a l'avancement de votre sang comme est le roy d'Escosse² non obstant que les autres princes ne soient comptans dequoy vous avancez ledit votre cousin devant eulx, comme souvant m'avez dit, dont ledit roy mon maistre vous est fort tenu comme luy ay monstre et monstrey.

Sire, le contenu de vos articles³ est de aider icelluy roy

¹ James iv. had proposed a crusade to the Venetian ambassador in London, according to his letter of 30th April-1st May, if he should be appointed Captain-General (*Calendar of Venetian Papers*, vol. ii. No. 66). He also wrote to the Marquis of Mantua to ask what hopes he had of a crusade (Brodie, No. 598).

² The relationship was distant enough: there was a connection through Joan Beaufort, wife of James i., with Isabella of France, and through Margaret Tudor, James' wife, with Katherine of France.

³ There appears to be no record of these articles, except in the preceding despatch.

mon maistre en gensdarmes, en artillerye, en navires et en argent.

Sire, comme votre serviteur depar le commandement de mondiet souverain je voudroys entendre votre vouloir es choses qui s'ensuivent :

Premierement combien de navyres votre grace veult fournir pour lediet passage et en quel maniere et combien de artillerye et pour quel temps.

Item, combien de gensdarmes et commant ilz seront acoustrez et payez, car vous entendes telles choses mieulx que homme vivant.

Item, combien d'argent et commant il sera delivre et en quel lieu.

Item, en quel temps tout sera faict.

Item, en quel an et en quel moys.

Item, en quel lieu il vous semblera mieulx d'entrer sur les Infidelles, par terre ou par mer.

Item, s'il vous semblera mieulx descendre [a] Alexandrye ou a Constantinoble, car tout sera faict par votre commandement ainsi que la raison le veult.

Sire, de votre treshaute et tresexcelante mageste en s'ensuivant la charge que m'a mandee le roy mon maistre il plaira a votre bonne grace :

Premierement a l'honneur de Dieu et apres pour l'amour que vous portez au roy mon maistre qu'il vous plaise me donner responce a toutes ces choses cy articulées a ce que le roy mon maistre puisse myeulx entendre le bon voulloir que avez envers luy et qu'il ayt meilleur occasion de faire toutes choses qui vous seront agreables, car en vous est tout son entiere et parfaicte confidence, et tout ce dont vous advertiz est couche dans les articles qu'il vous a pleu anvoyer au roy mondiet maistre, toutesfoys non pas si expres.

Sire, la cause pourquoy mondiet maistre demande particullierement responce et aide s'est a ceste fin qu'il puisse mieulx entendre l'aide qu'estes delibere luy faire pour apres du demeurant qu'il s'aide des autres princes ses alyez et amys pour le reste de son affaire a celle fin qu'il puisse mieulx equipper son cas, toutesfoys la plus

grant esperance qu'il ay en ce monde touchant cest affaire c'est en vous.

Sire, en faisant ce pour le roy mon maistre qui est contenu dedans les articles touchant son voyaige de Ierusalem ledit seigneur mon maistre aura cause de remonstrer a tous les princes de la chrestiente, tant ses parans allyez que autres, le grant mal que le pape et le roy d'Espagne font ¹ pource qu'ilz sont causes de garder que le roy icy son bon frere ne luy peult faire le contenu desditz articles a cause de la guerre que luy font et davantaige ledit roy d'Escosse ayant de son bon frere le roy icy acord dudit contenu s'en tiendra a jamais oblige, et veu l'ampeschement que ledit notre saint pere fait qui est cause que un si honneste entreprinse n'est executee le roy d'Escosse avecques tous ses alyes par raison se pourra esmouvoir et courir sus a tous ceulx qui metent et donnent ledit empeschement en disant et remonstrant au pape qui ne court point sus a l'eglise, mais qu'il s'en veult aller et accomplir sondit voyaige ce qu'il ne peult bonnement faire sans l'aide du roy son bon frere et qui tient ceulx qui sont cause que telle belle entreprinse ne se execute pour ennemys de la foy et de raison tresjuste le peult courir sus comme a Infidelles.

[Undated and unsigned.]

X^o Januarij [1511]

Item heirefter followis quhat waigis vil serve in an hail yeir to xxx^{tl} thousand men evere man in the moneth vj frankis onelie, by gret lordis and capitanis.

Item an man in the yeir for his waigis in the moneth vj frankis extendis to lxxij frankis.

Item ij men in the yeir extendis to vij scoir and iiij frankis.

Item iiij men extendis in the yeir to ij^{clxxx} and viij frankis.

¹ In spite of the treaty of Cambrai the Pope had made terms with the Venetians, and he had instigated the Swiss to attack the Duke of Ferrara, ally of Louis XII., with the added insult of outbidding the King of France for their services. He had also confirmed to Ferdinand of Spain the possession of the Kingdom of Naples to which Louis, like the late Charles VIII., laid claim.

Item viij men extendis in the yeir to v^{cl}xxv frankis.
 Item xvj men extendis to j^mj^{cl}ij frankis.
 Item xxxij [men] extendis to ij^mij^{cl}iiij frankis.
 Item lxiiij men extendis to ij^mvij^c and viij frankis.
 Item lxxx men extendis to v^mviiij^{cl}lx frankis.
 Item j^c men extendis to vij^miii^c frankis.
 Item j^m men extendis to lxxiiij^m frankis.
 Item ij^m men extendis to j^cxlviij^m frankis.
 Item iiiij^m men extendis to ij^{cl}lxxxxij^m frankis.
 Item viij^m men extendis to v^{cl}lxxxiiij^m frankis.

IV

*Copy of Instructions to [Pierre Cordier, Doctor of Decrees]*¹

Blois, 8th November 1511.

. . . It must be considered that they [the Holy League] are not content to make schism in the Church and to compel the Council to be held at Rome, but have collected 20,000 men to choose a Pope at their pleasure.

Before the publication of the League the Pope sent the Bishop of Moray to the King of France with certain articles, and then the Pope, the King of Spain [and the Venetians] made the said League.

The articles are: (1) that they are not bound to help the Emperor against the Venetians; (2) the Pope requires the restoration of Bologna; (3) the Pope requires the restoration . . . of the part which is of the duchy of Ferrara, and on which condition the King may have peace.

Yet when Moray and M. de Tyboly were asked if, when Bologna was restored, they would abandon the league, they said they did not know . . .

The King hopes that the King of Scots will keep the alliances he has with him and desires him to support his proposition to hold the Council in a neutral place. Also if the Pope and the King of Spain had kept their promise to the emperor he would have regained his lands in Italy. As to Bologna, the inhabitants are determined to have their rights.

The King is vexed at the differences between James iv. and Henry viii. which he would like to see settled.

He begs the King of Scots not to join the Holy League, but to help his allies. As to the Pope's excuses in which he says that the King, by making war on the lands of the Church, has prevented him from helping the Emperor, Louis answers that he fought only to protect his duchy of Milan. Also the Pope has never desired to help the Emperor but rather to help the Venetians.

¹ The beginning of the MS. is wanting and the margins are much defaced.

As to the accusation that Louis prevented the Pope from regaining the lands of the Church, the contrary is true, for, after the King's victory over the Venetians, the Pope regained Romagna and Bologna, which he lost again by his ill-treatment of the inhabitants.

Also the King did not help Ferrara till the Pope made war on him by sea and land at Genoa.

The Pope allied himself with the Venetians to make war on Ferrara and attack the King in Milan. And the war which Louis and the Duke of Ferrara made was defensive only; otherwise the former, after the Pope's defeat before Bologna, would have marched on Rome.

It may be objected that by the treaty of Cambrai the King is bound to defend the Pope, but that must be understood only in reasonable matters.

IV

. . . soit a qui le pourra prandre et par respect s'il y a aucunes places appartenans ausdictz confederez que l'on la puisse recouvrer et que l'on en [] a l'election du pape.

Item, des aultres qui se sont prinses que les confederez en ordonneront et demeurera l'on a leur congnoissance a qui elles devront appartenir et. . .

Item, fault considerer qu'ilz ne sont seulement contans de mettre sisme en l'esglise et contraindre d'aller tenir le concille a Rome,¹ mais ont dresse une grosse puissance de xx^m hommes ou plus pour faire ung pape a leur volunte et [fer . . .] que c'est air que les cardinaulx ayent leur voix franches en conclave qui est une chose que ung chacun peult pretendre a quelles fins ilz le font.

Item que auparavant la publication de ladite ligue² le pape a fait par [] monsieur l'evesque de Mouray ambassadeur du roy d'Escosse³ . . . [] rechef devers

¹ This, the Fifth Lateran Council, was the answer by Julius II. to the Council of Pisa, originated by Louis XII. and backed, somewhat half-heartedly, by the Emperor Maximilian. It was summoned for 19th April 1511 and met in the beginning of May.

² The Holy League, between Julius, Ferdinand of Castile and Venice, was not signed till 4th October 1511. The avowed aims were the recovery of Bologna and of the lands taken from the Holy See. The real aim was the expulsion of the French from Italy.

³ Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, had been sent as ambassador to Louis XII. and to the Pope about 22nd October 1510. In Rome some time in January 1510-11, he had been sent by Julius to the court of France (*Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. pp. 111, 135).

le roy avesques articles. . . seigneur pere et ledit seigneur et que depuis . . . le pape, le roy Catholique et le . . . ladite ligue qui est une guerre . . . de l'esglise et du saint siege appostolique . . . crestiente entre eulx tant tempor[] . . . est dist.

Item, que ledit de Mouray a appourtez aucuns [articles] et qu'ilz ont contenues troyes choses.

La premiere est qu'ilz dient qu'ilz ne sont aucunement tenuz de bailler secours et ayde a l'empereur contre les Venissiens¹ pour le recouvrement de ses terres, pays et seigneuries que lesdits Venissiens luy detiennent encores, qui est totalement rompre le traicte de Cambray par lequel ils y sont tenuz et obligez.

La seconde est que notredit Seigneur et pere veult et demande que la ville et tout le conte de Boulougne luy soit entierement rendu et remis en ses mains.²

La tierce que notredit Seigneur et pere veult aussi qu'on luy rende tout ce qui est de la [. . .] du par qui est de la duche de Ferrare et dit que en ce faisant le roy aura paix avecques luy.³

Item ce neantmoins que l'on a demande audit de Mouray et a Monsieur de Tyboly qui sont icy pour le pape si en rendant ladite Boulougne et ce qui est dela le par s'ilz departiroient de ladite ligue, mais des dessusditz [dient] qu'ilz n'en scavent aucune chose . . . ladite ligue ilz ont promis de ne ce departir et de ne faire . . . autres sans le contentement les ungs des autres. . .⁴

¹ The League of Cambrai (1508) provided that the participants should unite to recover from the Venetians the lands to which each laid claim. Maximilian had serious grievances against Venice and had not yet broken with Louis (Brodie, No. 783).

² Bologna, revolted from the Holy See, had been recaptured with French help in 1506. It had revolted again under the misgovernment of the Pope's deputy, with the help of French troops who secured the town in May 1511.

³ The Swiss, whom the Pope, with the collaboration of the Bishop of Sion, had won over to his service in March 1510, invaded Italy under pretext of attacking the Duke of Ferrara, one of Louis' allies. They, however, retreated suddenly with no apparent reason (Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. v. p. 96).

⁴ Forman, when in Rome (see p. 11, note 3), presented Louis XII.'s conditions, that he would resign Bologna and Ferrara to the Pope if the latter

. . . dit est pour faire ung pape a leur mode ilz ont prins . . . colege de messeigneurs les cardinaulx et doit durer le . . . apres la mort du pape qui est aujourduy et . . . fait ung aultre.

Item, pource que le roy a tousiours congneu le roy d'Escosse estre son bon frere amy et confedere espairt qu'il entretiendra les alliances et traictes qu'il a avecques luy et sera cause que cisme ne survienne en la crestiente, il a envoye devers luy pour le prier d'adherer avecques luy en ceste partie de eslire en lieu neutre et que l'on re[] si le pape et le roy catholique sont tenuz ayder a l'empereur, lesquelz s'ilz eussent aussi bien garde leur foy que le roy si a a l'empereur il eust recouvert tout le sien et feust maintenant sa maison grandement ex[] et y eust paix et tranquillite en la crestiente.

Item, quant au fait de Boulougne dira que les Boulouignoys sont constans que l'on voye leurs droitz et se souzmettent a toute raison.

Item, dira que le roy est tresdesplaisant du differend qui est entre ledit roy d'Escosse et le roy d'Angleterre lequel il desire bien estre paciffie, et de sa part il se veult employer de tout son pouvoir a le paciffier et accorder comme celluy qui ne demande que paix amytie [et] benivolence entre les princes crestiens et principalement entre . . . bons freres, cousins et alliez.¹

Item, luy declairera que ladite ligue est de . . . temeraire et faicte au grant deshonneur et con[] [des] princes crestiens, car par icelle ilz ont . . . loy et decret irrevocable que quiconque se vo[] . . . et confederation, ilz opposeront et devront en perdre ses biens, terres et pays,

would abandon the league with Spain and Venice. Julius answered that he would neither accept the towns on such conditions nor leave the League (Brodie, 1020).

¹ A commission had been granted on 22nd June 1511 to Lord Dacre and Sir Robert Drury to redress injuries on the Borders. On 26th July safe-conduct was granted to the Earl of Argyle, Lord Drummond, Scott of Balwearie and others to meet them (Brodie, Nos. 804 (34), 824). Also in June had taken place the fight off the Downs in which Sir Andrew Barton was killed, and his ship, the *Lyon*, and another, the *Jennett of Purwyn*, were captured by Sir Edward Howard.

et a ceste cause priera audit roy d'Escosse qu'il ne vueille adherer a une telle ligue si deshonneste, si presomptueuse et si arrogante, faicte en grant dommage de la crestiente et grant deshonneur de tous roys crestiens et principalement de ses bons cousins, freres, amys et allyez l'empereur et le roy, mais au contraire qu'il vueille assister a sesditz freres et alliez et en ce faisant il gardera que sisme ne survient en l'eglise et sera cause ung grant bien de paix universelle en toute la crestiente et acquerra une grant gloire et louange immortelle envers tous princes et s'aquitera des traictez et alliances qu'il a avecques le roy.

Item et pour respondre a certaines excusacions proposees de la part de nostre Seigneur et pere sur . . . que l'empereur pretend notredit Seigneur pour estre tenu par le traicte de Cambray luy ayder a recouvrer toutes les terres dont mencion est faicte audit traicte jusques a ce que entierement il les ait recouvertes [par] laquelle excusacion il dist que le roy l'a empesche de bailler ladite . . . de la guerre qu'il luy a faicte et continuer en . . . de recouvrer les terres de l'eglise commant Ferrare [a laquelle le] roy respond et dit qu'il n'y a aucune apparance en ladite . . . [] pource que toute la guerre qu'il a faicte a este . . . en tuition de sa duche de Milan, seigneurie de grant . . . et autres ses estatz d'Ytalie¹ et non point pour entre prendre aucunement sur les terres de l'eglise, lesquelles il vouldroit plustost conserver et augmenter au pape et au saint sieg apostolique que diminuer et ensu[ivre] les vertueulx faiz de ses predecesseurs roys de France lesquelz se sont tousiours demonstrez devotz filz et primogenites de l'eglise Romaine, et de sa part n'a pour des . . . de ladite devotion de ses predecesseurs en ladite eglise Romaine et pource faire n'y a espargne sa propre personne ne des princes et noblesse de son royaume comme est tout notoire par tout le monde.

Item, et pource monstrier dira que notredit saint pere, en parlant toutesfoiz de sa Saintete en telle reverence que l'on doit pour l'honneur de nostre Redempteur, n'a jamais

¹ See p. 3, notes 1, 2, 3.

eu volunte de donner ayde audit empereur maiz plustost de ayder aux Venissiens en tout ce que possible leur a este, ce que apparoit manifestement par ce que bientost apres la victoire qu'il pleut a Dieu donner au roy sur les Venissiens¹ et . . . estant encores en Italye notredit seigneur pere commanca traicter alliance et intelligence avecques lesditz Venissiens et depuis a tousiours continue, qui est venir directement contre ledit traicte de Cambray par lequel ny . . . aucuns des confederez faire traicte de paix ou de tresve avecques . . . les aultres.

Item, et depuis notre dit seigneur pere a fait ligue . . . et a dit tout publiquement que c'estoit pour . . . qui estoit a entendre desditz empereur et roy. . . .

Item, et au regard de ce que dit le pape que le roy l'a empesche de recouvrer ses terres de l'eglise sera dit que notredit Seigneur pere seet bien le contraire, car au moyen de la victoire que Dieu donna au roy contre les Venissiens notredit saint pere recouvra toute la Romaine et pareillement luy avoit fait rendre Boulougne laquelle il a perdue au moyen du mauvais traictement qui a este fait aux habitans de ladite ville, lesquelz ne pouvoient comporter les opprecions et rapines des officiers de notredit saint pere, et aussi que notredit Saint pere vouloit appliquer a son profit particulier tous les deniers et tout le revenu de ladite ville, et le roy ne tient point en ses mains ladite ville de Boullongne.

Item, au regard de Ferrare ledit roy tres crestien ne luy envoy a jamais secours jusques a ce que le pape eust commence la guerre ouverte contre le roy par mer et par terre sur sa terre et seigneurie de Gennes sans avoir este offense dudit roy de maniere que ce soit, parquoy notredit Saint pere estoit agresseur et par ce estoit licite au roy luy faire guerre quelque part que besoing en feust.

[Item nostrredit] Saint pere s'estoit allie des Venissiens ennemys du Roy pour destruire [le duc de] Ferrare² et

¹ The battle of Agnadello, 14th May 1509.

² The Duke of Ferrara was Alphonso I. d'Este. His second wife was Lucretia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI. He had joined the League of Cambrai, and, after Julius II. had withdrawn from it, was

prendre ladite ville et apres courir sus au Roy [en son] duche de Millan.

Item et quant le roy et ledit duc de Ferrare seroient oys devant juges non suspectz ilz pourroient bien justifier ladite guerre qui n'estoit que pour deffendre et non point pour ofenser, et s'il eust voulu offenser il le pourroit tres-bien faire apres la deffaicte de l'armee du pape et de celle des Venissiens devant Boulougne, car s'il eust voulu il pouvoyt prendre toute la Romaine et aller jusques a Rome sans resistance comment il est tout notoire.

Item si on luy obiect que par le traicte de Cambray le roy est tenu conserver la personne de notre saint pere, auctorite et jurisdiction d'icelluy et du saint siege appostolique contre quelzconques ennemys qui le voudroient inquieter ou perturber, respondroit ledit ambassadeur que cella se doit entendre es choses justes, licites et de raison, et que le roy est tousiours deslibere de ce faire en toutes choses raisonnables, mais quant au regiment de Boulougne laquelle le pape vueilt toutallement soubzmettre a luy que le roy ne luy doit ayder veu que de toute anciennete comm[] . . . est elle n'a este subjecte aux papes que soubz cer[tains] conventions et pactions lesquelles les Boulougnoyz . . . observer et garder comme dit est . . . Ferrare qu'il n'y a aucun propoz que le pape vueille chasser le duc hors de sa duche, terres et seigneurie desquelles luy et ses predecesseurs ont joy plus de deulx cens ans ainsi que dit est, et que en semblable cas le pape vouloit faire la guerre au roy Catholique et luy hoster le royaume de Naples lequel il tient de l'esglise il ne seroit pas raisonnable et ne souffreroient les autres princes crestiens que le roy baillast secours et ayde au pape pour courir sus au roy Catholique et aultres princes crestienz tenanz de l'esglise.

excommunicated by a papal bull which also deprived him of Ferrara and the lands he held of the Holy See. From that time he found himself in constant conflict with the papal forces. In 1512, after contributing to the French victory of Ravenna, he went under safe-conduct to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope, but while he was there the Pope's nephew, the Duke of Urbino, captured several of his possessions in Romagna.

Fait a Bloys le viij^{me} jour de novembre ¹ l'an mil cinq cens et unze et signe Loys et au dessoubz Robertet.

Endorsed, Presuppositum et visa collatione [] Cordier.²

V

Instructions to the Bishop of Moray

Blois, 17 January 1511-12.

He is to inform the Kings of England and Scotland of the King's constant desire to make peace with the Pope, but that the latter, at the instigation of persons whom they know, will not hear of it.

The two Kings are begged to find any way to make that peace and to persuade the Pope to choose a neutral place for the Council, so that peace may be reached and an expedition planned against the Infidels. They should lay aside all discord and uphold the friendship confirmed by the Holy See.

The bishop is to do all in his power to persuade his master, with assurances of the King's pleasure if he agrees, and of his displeasure otherwise, because of his desire for the King of Scotland's crusade, impossible without peace with England. Also, if these Kings were at war, they could not so well make peace between the Pope and the King of France, assist with the Council, remove differences in the Church.

V

*Instructions baillees de par le roy a monsieur l'evesque de Murray pour icelles dire aux roys d'Angleterre et d'Escosse ses bons freres, cousins amys et alliez.*³

Premicrement fera ses salutations et recommandacions du roy ausditz roys d'Angleterre et d'Escosse ses bons freres, cousins et alliez et leur comptera de ses affaires

¹ The ambassador, to whom these instructions were committed, was in Scotland at Christmas 1511 (*Accounts of the High Treasurer*, vol. iv. p. 318). It was probably Pierre Cordier (*Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 129; Brodie, 1039). A letter from James IV., 29th January 1511-12, commends him to John, King of Denmark, to whom he was sent on behalf of the King of France.

² This despatch is the only one from the court of France which is not an original.

³ On 12th February 1511-12 James IV. wrote to Moray, then in London as ambassador for a league between France and England (Brodie, 1058), and on his way home from Rome by way of France.

comme celui qui les a veuz et entenduz, ensemble de sa prosperite et sante.

Item, leur dira et declarera comme celui qui bien le scait le bon et entier vouloir en quel le roy s'est tousiours mys de son couste pour faire la paix avecques notre saint pere et qu'il point tenu a luy que icelle paix ne soit faicte et encores de present il est prest et dispose a entendre non seulement a ladite paix avecques notre saint pere mais a la paix universelle et generalle en la crestiente, mais que notre saint pere n'y a jamais voullu ni ne veult entendre a l'instigation d'aucuns que l'on entend bien. Et pource que ledit de Moravye a manye ceste affaire mieulx que nul autre et qu'il entend entierement le tout il leur declarera au long la verite des choses ainsi qu'elles ont passe comme ung bon et veritable ambassadeur doyt faire.¹

Item, les priera tresacortes de par le roy qu'il leur plaise trouver tous les moyens et expediens que faire se pourra pour faire ladite paix et aussi pour faire condescendre notre saint pere a eslire lieu neutre pour tenir le concille et que a ceste fin ilz vueillent envoyer ambassades a fin que en icellui concille l'on puisse composer et accorder toutes choses et faire une paix universelle en la crestiente et ce fait faire une bonne expedition contre les Infidelles a l'honneur et louenge de Dieu et au prouffit et credit de la crestiente.

Item, priera lesditz roys d'Angleterre et d'Escosse de par le roy qu'ilz vueillent delaisser tous discordz et differens qui pouvent estre entre eulx et entrer ensemble en une bonne paix et union et entretenir l'amytie qu'ilz ont ensemble, laquelle est establye et confirmee par le saint siege apostolique.² Et le roy prie tresacortes ledit de Moravye qu'il vueille a ce travailler de tout son pouvoir et insister et faire tant envers ledit roy d'Escosse son maistre que de sa part il se vueille mectre en son bon et loyal devoir envers ledit roy d'Angleterre a entrer en ladite paix et union et delaisser tous discords qui sont entre eulx et luy declarer qui si ainsi il le fait que le roy luy en

¹ See p. 12, note 4.

² The treaty in 1502 on the marriage of James IV. with Margaret Tudor.

saura aussi bon gre comme de chose qui sauroit faire pour luy, comme cellui qui fort desire veoir paix et amytié entre lesditz roys d'Angleterre et d'Escosse ses bons freres, cousins et alliez, autrement que si le roy d'Escosse ne le fait que le roy le prendra tresmal a gre et en sera autant deplaisant que de chose qui lui feust advenu, pour le grant desir et affection qu'il a que ledit roy d'Escosse son bon frere perface sondit voyage, ce qu'il ne pourroit bonnement faire s'il n'avoyt bonne paix et amytié avecques ledit roy d'Angleterre. Aussi pource que estans lesditz roys d'Angleterre et d'Escosse en guerre ensemble ilz ne pourroient pas si bonnement estre moyens de ladite paix entre notredit saint pere et le roy, dont le roy les prie et requiert comme s'ilz estoient en bonne fraternité, amytié et union ensemble ; aussi qu'ilz ne pourroient vacquer d'entendre au fait du concille ne a composer et accorder les differens qui sont de present en l'eglise tant en temporel que spirituel pour puis apres faire une paix universelle et generale en la crestiente, qui est la chose que sur toutes choses le roy demande et desire.¹

Fait a Bloys le xvij^{me} jour de janvier l'an mil cinq cens et unze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

VI

Instructions to the Bishop of Moray

Blois, 18 January 1511-12.

The thanks of the King are sent for James iv.'s friendship and overtures of peace sent with the Bishop of Moray to himself and to the Pope. The Pope had refused the terms proposed to him by the King, and, instead of making peace, is making war and has compelled the King to take up arms

¹ Apart from the trouble on the Borders (Brodie, 984), in December 1511, Henry VIII. was writing to Margaret of Savoy that he could not lend her his artillery any longer, needing it for his expedition against the Scots (Brodie, 992). News was sent to Venice on 8th January 1511-12 that 'all the island' was in arms because the King of Scots, at the request of France, was moving war (Brodie, 1016).

for defence of his lands. The King has been victorious, while Bologna has freed itself from the Pope.

The King still desires peace, but the Pope demands part of Ferrara and Bologna and has helped the Venetians, enemies of the Emperor and the King. The King has offered, if the Pope would give up the Venetians, to make some arrangement about these places, but the Pope would not listen, made his League, wages war on the King and has induced the Swiss to invade his lands in Italy and other princes to attack his kingdom. Hence the King cannot help James on his crusade.

He regrets that the time is not propitious for the voyage, which he has desired and desires that the King of Scots should accomplish, even though other princes have required his help for that purpose. He answers James' article as follows: one year after peace is made he will grant a tithe from his lands in France and Italy to James: he will give him cavalry, infantry, cannon and ammunition and provide ships for his forces—all this within the said time.

To this end James is exhorted to keep peace with England and to try to find means of making peace with the Pope. The King knows that the Pope and others are trying to make James join the League, but this would only produce a greater war. The King hopes that at the Council the matter of universal peace may be treated. The Pope has appointed it in the Lateran, which is not safe for the cardinals, but he dare not come to them. Hence schism may arise. It would be better to hold it in a neutral place. The cardinals sent to request this, but were refused a safe-conduct, proof that the Pope does not desire peace either in temporal or spiritual matters. Unless James and other princes insist on a neutral place, the Pope will not consent, but, if they support so reasonable a request, he must yield.

The good offices of the Bishop of Moray are commended, as also the conduct of the Duke of Albany, who has done good service in the King's wars and desires to serve James. The King desires to see the Duke restored to James' favour.

VI

*Instructions et responces baillees de par le roy a monseigneur l'evesque de Moravye ambassadeur du roy d'Escosse son bon frere, cousin et allye.*¹

Premierement fera les salutations et recommandacions du roy audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere cousin et allye et luy comptera ses affaires comme celluy qui les a veuz et entenduz ensemble de sa prosperite et sante.

¹ See p. 17, note 3.

Item le remerciera de la bonne remonstrance que ledit de Moravye a faicte au roy de par le roy d'Escosse que quant tout le monde seroyt contre luy que non seulement il luy presente ses gens et subjectz mais sa propre personne quoy faisant il oublige le roy de plus en plus de sa part a luy rendre le semblable.

Item le remerciera aussi de ce qu'il a envoye ledit de Moravye par devers luy et nostre saint pere pour trouver facon et moyen de paix universelle en la crestiente en laquelle charge ledit de Moravye s'est porte tres vertueusement et saignement et aussi bien que nul autre et n'a tenu a luy que les choses ne soient parvenuz a une bonne paix universelle et aussi luy declairera qu'il n'a tenu au roy et que de sa part il s'est tousiours mys en son bon et loyal devoir.¹

Item luy dira comment l'empereur avoit envoye Monseigneur de Gurce² par devers notre saint pere auquel le roy aussi de sa part avoit donne charge de conclurre l'appoinctement et de tout communiquer avecques ledit de Moravye et lors Boulogne estoit entre les mains de nostredit saint pere et n'avoit le roy une seule querelle avecques luy mais oncques il ne voullut entendre a la paix par le conseil d'aucuns que ung chacun entend bien.

Item, que en lieu de faire la paix feyt guerre au roy par mer et par terre ainsi que ledit de Moraye est de tout bien adverty et le roy ne doute point qu'il ne declare audit roy d'Escosse la verite de l'affaire comme ung vrai et bon ambassadeur doyt faire, et que le pape constraignyt le roy l'annee passee se mettre en armes pour la tution de ses terres et seigneuries et prynt la Mirandolle, et neantmoins

¹ See p. 12, note 4. Julius II. had written to James expressing his high opinion of the Bishop (*Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 133; Brodie, 760). The letter was answered by the King while Moray was still in France (*ibid.*, p. 142).

² The Bishop of Gurck, ambassador of the Emperor Maximilian to Rome. He was made a cardinal by Julius II. in March 1511, at the same time as eight other cardinals were created, but refused the office till after peace should have been made. His cardinalate was reserved *in pectore* (Brodie, 718).

le roy de puis a l'aide de Dieu et de sa force eut la victoire telle que ung chacun scet, et pour le mauvais traictement que notre saint pere et ses gens avoient fait en Boulougne elle se revolta et myt en liberte telle qu'elle avoyt este cent ans et en ensuyvant les privileges mesmes baillez et confermez par ce pape icy.¹

Item, dira que maintenans le roy a tousiours desire la paix et en a fait porter les parolles par ledit de Moravye, mais jamais le pape n'y a voulu entendre ² et vouloyt avoir la pluspart de l'estat de Ferrare et que le roy luy rendist Boulougne, laquelle il ne tient point et n'y pretend riens, et neantmoins bailloyt continuellement ayde aux Venissiens ennemys communs de l'empereur et du roy.

Item que le roy avoyt tousiours ouffert que en delaisant les Venissiens l'on trouveroit moyen d'appoincter le fait de Boulougne et de Ferrare et que l'on prinst des juges neutres sans venir a ouverture de guerre, ausquelles ouffres notredit saint pere n'a jamais voullu entendre, mais a fait une ligue telle que ung chacun scet et fait la guerre au roy tant du couste de Venise que de Boulougne, a fait venir les Suysse en ses pays, terres et seigneuries, a suscite tous les princes chrestiens pour l'ynvader et luy faire la guerre en son royaume ³; pour lesquelles choses le roy ne pourra pas si promptement satisfaire a la voulunte dudit roy d'Escosse touchant son voyage d'oultremer, dont grandement luy deplaist.

Item, ledit de Moravye dira audit roy d'Escosse que, quant a sa premiere venue il requist le roy de par ledit roy d'Escosse luy donner secours et ayde pour sondit voyage

¹ The war in Italy in the summer of 1511 had resulted in the capture of Concordia, Mirandola, and Bologna, the last when the inhabitants, revolting under the papal misrule, were assisted by the French. In December 1511, the Swiss, at the instigation of the Pope, invaded Italy for the second time (Brodie, 982).

² See preceding instructions. Julius wrote to James on 4th January 1511-12 that Moray could bear witness that it was not his fault peace had not been made, but that Louis did not desire it (Brodie, 1014).

³ See p. 12, notes 2, 3; also note 1, above. The Pope's version was that he had been compelled to appeal to Ferdinand and the Venetians for protection.

d'oultremer, que des lors le roy luy feyt responce et luy en bailla aucuns articles signez de sa main.¹

Item, que deplaist bien au roy que le temps n'est convenable pour faire sondit voyage, car il avoyt et a de present bon desir que ledit roy d'Escosse le perface et de luy ayder de gens, navires, argent et artillerie nonobstant que autres princes ayent grandement sollicite et insiste envers le roy d'avoir ladite ayde et de ne la bailler audit roy d'Escosse, a quoy le roy n'a voulu condescendre et a ceste cause, comme ledit de Moravye scet il est en malveillance desdits princes.

Et pource que de present il a requis au roy et a baille memorial par articles a ce qu'il luy pleust declarer l'ayde, le temps et le lieu, le roy l'a fait tresvoulontiers, et dira ledit de Moravye audit roy d'Escosse qu'il congnoist bien que le temps present n'est convenable pour faire ledit voyage veu la guerre qui est de present entre les princes chrestiens et que ung tel et si grant voyage ne se pourroit bonnement conduire s'il n'y avoit paix en la chrestiente et se doyt entreprendre par le conseil et ayde de tous princes chrestiens et principalement de notre saint pere lequel devroyt commencer le premier et inciter tous autres princes a ce faire. Neantmoins le roy voullant satisfaire au desir et voulloir dudit roy d'Escosse et a la petition et demande dudit de Moravye respond ausdits articlès et memoire comme il s'ensuyt.

Premierement que ung an apres que paix sera faicte entre notre saint pere et luy et autres princes chrestiens avecques lesquelz le roy a affaire qu'il baillera audit roy d'Escosse pour l'ayder a faire sondit voyage plus grant ayde que jamais roy de France ne bailla en tel cas pour l'honneur et louenge de Dieu et pour la grant amour et affection qu'il porte audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere ; car il luy baillera une decyme generale a prendre par tout son royaume de France et generalmente par tous ses pays, terres et seigneuries tant de deca que de dela les montz.

¹ No. III. gives James iv.'s request. These instructions are probably what James showed to West, as a conclusive reason for not abandoning France (Brodie, 1735).

Et ledit roy d'Escosse levera a son plaisir ladite decyme avecques le consent du roy son bon frere, laquelle ayde montera a une grosse et inestimable somme d'argent comme ung chacun peult facilement comprendre, ce que le roy ne voudroyt faire a nul autre prince sinon pour sa propre personne.

Item, luy baillera tels gens de cheval qui luy seront necessaires pour ledit voyage.

Item, un bon nombre de gens de pie.

Item, bonne quantite d'artillerie et de munitions.

Item, luy baillera des navires qu'il aura en son royaume en regard au nombre de gens que ledit roy d'Escosse menera pour sondit voyage et qui sera adijuste entre le roy et luy dedans la terme dudit an, et si possible est le faire plustoust le roy a ce sera tousiours prest comme celui qui desire que ledit voyage se perface plus que chose du monde, et ainsi le roy respond audit memorial, articles et petition.

Item, et a ce que paix en la chrestiente se puisse faire et que plustoust ledit roy d'Escosse puisse accomplir sondit voyage ledit de Moravye dira audit roy d'Escosse et le pryera et exhortera de par le roy qu'il vueille faire paix avecques le roy d'Angleterre et n'entrer point en guerre avecques luy,¹ qui est la chose qui grandement luy desplairoit tant pour l'amour fraternelle et singulier affection qu'il luy porte comme aussi pour le dommage irreparable qui pourroyt venir en la chrestiente et singulierement pour le retardement de sondit voyage ; et que au regard du roy on le trouvera tousiours dispose de faire paix avecques notre saint pere et autres princes pour le bien et utilite de la chrestiente, en luy pryant de sa part que en cest affaire il vueille prendre la peine de trouver tous les moyens de paix que faire se pourra et qu'il trouvera tousiours le roy prest a se condescendre a choses plus raisonnables.

Item dira que le roy a bien sceu que notredit saint pere et aultres font toutes les diligences du monde de faire entrer ledit roy d'Escosse en ceste ligue et se declarer

¹ See Nos. IV. and V. James' grievances against Henry are given in his letter to the Pope of 5th December 1511 (Brodie, 974 ; *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 122).

apertement contre le roy,¹ qui n'est pas bon moyen de parvenir a la paix mais a plus grant guerre que jamais, toutesfoys que le roy a tousiours ledit roy d'Escosse ferme et constant a entretenir la fraternite, confederation et amytié qui est entre eulx et que ledit roy d'Escosse trouvera tousiours le roy non seulement ferme et constant mais prest et appareille a l'augmenter et accroistre en tous les affaires dudit roy d'Escosse.

Item luy dira que le roy espere que au concille qui se pourra faire l'on pourra traicter ladite paix universelle, et pource que depuis que messeigneurs les cardinaulx ont indiet ledit concille notredit saint pere l'a intime et mys a Saint Jehan de Latran a Rome ou ne leur est seur, et au regard du pape il ne veult aussi venir ou sont les cardinaulx et par ce moyen pourroit survenir sisme en l'eglise qui seroyt le retardement de ladite paix et dudit voyage. A ceste cause dira audit roy d'Escosse que le roy ne scet autre moyen pour bien accorder et appaiser toutes choses que de eslire un lieu neutre pour y tenir ladite concille.²

Item, luy dira que combien que messeigneurs dudit concille ayent envoye ambassadeurs envers notredit saint pere pour le pryer et requerir de ce faire et de eslire lieu neutre, toutesfoys oncques ne leur a voullu bailler sauf-conduyt ne seurete de venir a luy, qui est clere demonstration que le pape n'a aucung voulloir de mectre pacification en l'eglise soyt en temporel ou spirituel, et que si ledit roy d'Escosse et autres princes qui ont affection a ladite paix universelle ne tiennent facon que notredit saint pere se condescende a eslire lieu neutre jamais il ne le fera, mais s'il congnoist que ledit roy d'Escosse et autres princes vueillent adherer a ceste requeste si honneste et si raisonnable de eslire lieu neutre que notredit saint pere s'y inclinera et faultra que ainsi il le face ; en le pryant de

¹ The letter of Julius II., alluded to on p. 22, note 2, expressed the hope James would join the Holy League or, at least, abstain from helping France.

² See p. 11, note 1. The Council of Pisa having failed of its intention (Brodie, 1127), Louis turned his attention to an attempt to change the place of the General Council, summoned to the Lateran, to any place other than Rome. He appears to have succeeded in convincing his allies of the desirability of the change, but with no other effect.

par le roy tresacortes qu'il luy plaise envoyer ambassadeur a ceste fin. Et il espere que par ce moyen paix universelle se fera en la chrestiente et son voyage s'accomplira qui ne luy sera pas petit honneur et louenge envers Dieu et les hommes.

Item le roy remercie ledit roy d'Escosse du bon et entier office que ledit de Moravye a fait envers luy, lequel s'est tousiours monstre bon et loyal serviteur du roy et autant que dudit roy d'Escosse son maistre, ce que ledit de Moravye a dit au roy avoir aussi eu en commendement par ledit roy d'Escosse son maistre dont le roy le merceye et prie audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere que pour l'amour de luy il vueille tousiours traicter ledit de Moravye comme celluy de qui ledit roy d'Escosse se peult assurer d'avoir este et estre tousiours bien et loyallement servy et que le roy a tousiours trouve par effect tout ce que ledit roy d'Escosse luy a rescript dudit de Moravye.

Item, dira ledit evesque de Moravye audit roy d'Escosse l'amour que le roy porte a monseigneur le duc d'Albanye et que tant pour icelle que pour les bons et grans services qu'il luy a faiz tant en ses guerres que autrement,¹ et pour le congnoistre vertueux et desirant sur toutes choses faire quelque bon et grant service au roy d'Escosse le roy desire le veoir en sa bonne grace tellement qu'il puisse recouvrer le sien qui sera non pas audit duc d'Albanye mais audit roy d'Escosse et pour son service toutes et quantes foys qu'il luy plaira l'employer, et qu'a ceste cause le roy luy prie tresaffectueusement que pour l'amour de luy et a sa requeste il luy vueille avoir regard et le traicter comme son bon parent, en quoy faisant il luy fera tressingulier plaisir ainsi que ledit de Moravye a peu congnoistre par ce que le roy luy en a par plusieurs foys dit et declare.

Fait a Bloys le xviiij^{me} jour de janvier l'an mil cinq cens et unze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

¹ John, Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, brother of James III. He was brought up in France, whither his father had escaped in consequence of the discovery of his treachery in Scotland. Albany had

VII

*Instructions by Louis XII. to the Bishop of Ross*Blois, 4th April 1512.¹

The King sends him to report on his affairs in France as in Italy.

The King has heard from the ambassador lately sent by the King of Scotland of the latter's intention to send to the Council and to uphold it. The King begs him to persevere in his intention and to beg the King of Denmark, his uncle, to join with him.

He trusts that by this action the King of Scotland will bring peace and union to the Church and prevent the schism, which is probable if James and other princes do not find some expedient. This will be done easily by choosing a neutral spot where the Councils of the Pope and of the cardinals may meet and make peace, after which the King of Scotland could make his voyage overseas with the promised help of the King.

He is informed credibly that the King of Aragon is the cause of all the differences at present in Christendom, would be ill pleased if peace were made, intending during these troubles to make himself King of Italy, and urges the King of England to declare war on the King, a proceeding which would delay the King of Scotland's voyage.

To know the intentions of the King of England, the Bishop of Rioux informed him that the King had raised the siege of Bologna, retaken Brescia and defeated the Venetians, with other victories. In spite of that the King of England continued preparations for war and said that it was for war with France. Therefore the King begged James to declare his will as all great and chivalrous princes, who have long been allies, should do.

To this the King of England sent answer to the Bishop of Rioux by certain of his Council that, as the King of France wished to defend his friends such as the Duke of Ferrara and the people of Bologna, so he wished to help the King of Aragon.

The said Bishop asked those sent to him whether, if their master declared war on the King, the French in England would be safe or have time to leave. It was answered that merchants would be safe for two months. He asked further if towns and castles would also be safe and learned that they had no further instructions.

Since that answer appears to be a half-declaration of war, and since it is

been employed by Louis on the same embassy to the Pope as Moray. A letter from the Venetian ambassador, 15th March 1510-11, narrates how Julius objected to giving him a hearing (Brodie, 720).

¹ The date 1511 on p. 32 appears to be a slip. It was only ten days after the new year, and the two following instructions, evident continuations of this one, are endorsed as having been presented by the Bishop of Ross on 21st April 1512.

probable that the King of England will attack to make the King withdraw forces from Italy, the King sends the information to the King of Scots, hoping that he will help his ally and attack any who attack the King.

The Bishop of Moray is exhorted to continue his good offices towards his master and to show his desire to serve the King of France, who will keep the promise he made.

As the ambassador lately despatched to the King of Scots has given the causes for which the Council has been assembled and the King's wrongs at the hands of the Pope and the King of Aragon, he says no more.

The King of Aragon stirs up this war under a cloak of religion, saying that it is to defend the Pope, though letters by him show his intention to cause war in France, drive the King out of Italy and to rule there himself.

Wherefore the King of Scots is begged to send promptly to the Council and to exhort the King of Denmark to do the same, and to send an ambassador to the King of England to inform him that if he attacks the King on behalf of the King of Aragon, the King of Scots is resolved to assist the King.

The King of Aragon, under colour of the marriages he has made, desires to form alliances to the detriment of Christendom.

If, by chance, the King of England makes war in France, the King begs the King of Scots to pursue his rights, in which he will receive all possible assistance.

VII

Instructions baillees de par le roy a Monseigneur l'evesque de Rosse conseiller et ausmonier dudit seigneur et son ambassadeur devers le roy d'Escosse son bon frere, cousin, allye et confedere.

Premierement luy presentera ses lettres et fera les recommandations du roy en tel cas accoustumees.

Luy dira que le roy l'envoye devers luy pour luy faire entendre comment se portent ses affaires tant en son royaume de France comme es autres ses terres et seigneuries de dela les montz et aussi pour s'enquerir de la prosperite et sante dudit roy d'Escosse son bon frere et des affaires de son royaume.

Item luy dira que le roy a este adverty par son ambassadeur qu'il a dernièrement envoye devers luy du bon recueil et bonne responce qu'il luy a faicte et de ce qu'il avoit delibere d'envoyer au concille et d'y adherer, dont le roy luy remercie luy pryant qu'il vueille tousiours continuer

en ee propoz et pryer et exhorter le roy de Dannemarehe son oncle qu'il y vueille aussi adherer et envoyer.¹

Item, luy dira que en ee faisant il espere qu'il sera cause de meetre paix et union en l'esglise et de eviter et ouster le seisme qui est apparent de survenir si ledit roy d'Eseosse et autres princes ehrestiens n'y tiennent quelque expedient, laquelle chose se fera aisement en eslesant lieu neutre auquel les deux concilles tant celle du pape que de messeigneurs les cardinaulx se pourroient assembler et la faire une bonne paix, laquelle faiete le roy d'Eseosse son bon frere pourroit aecomplir son voyage d'oultremer et lors le roy luy bailleroit l'ayde et secours qu'il luy a promis qui est la chose que plus il desire.²

Item, luy dira que le roy est bien adverty que le roy d'Aragon est cause de tout le different qui est de present en la chrestiente et seroit deplaisant qu'il y eust paix a fin que durant ee trouble il se puisse faire roy d'Ytalye et qu'il est tousiours apres le roy d'Angleterre pour le faire declarer a l'eneontre du roy, laquelle chose si elle se fait le voyage dudit roy d'Eseosse seroit retarde et empesehe qui seroit la chose que plus deplairoyt au roy.³

Item luy dira que pour savoir le voulloir et couraige dudit roy d'Angleterre le roy luy avoyt fait dire et notiffier par l'evesque de Rioux son ambassadeur comment il avoit leve le siege de devant Boullogne, reprins Bresse⁴ et deffait grosse bande des Venissiens et autres belles victoires que Dieu luy avoit donnees et que neantmoins le roy estoyt adverty que ledit roy d'Angleterre faisoit tous les jours de grans

¹ See p. 25, note 2. The King of Denmark was John II., son of Christian I. Margaret, his sister, had married James III. By Cristine, daughter of the Elector of Saxony, John II. had a son, Christian II., who succeeded on his death on 21st February 1512-13.

² See Nos. II. and IV.

³ A letter of James to Moray in London, 12th February 1511-12, states that the Spanish ambassador had been seeking to alienate Henry VIII. from him. The Venetian ambassador at Rome reported in March that Ferdinand was negotiating a truce between the Emperor and Venice and was preparing to attack France, and that Henry was also ready to invade that country (Brodie, 1119).

⁴ Spinelly to Henry VIII., 17th March 1511-12, gives an account of the French capture of Brescia (Brodie, 1100).

preparatifz de guerre et disoit que c'estoit pour faire la guerre en France,¹ a ceste cause le pryoit qu'il voulsist declarer sa voullunte ainsi que tous grans princes et chevallereux qui ont este long temps en alliance ensemble doyvent faire.

Et que ledit roy d'Angleterre avoit fait faire responce audit evesque de Rioux par aucuns de son conseil que tout ainsi que le roy vouloit entretenir et deffendre ses amys comme le duc de Ferrare et ceulx de Boulongne aussi de sa part ledit roy d'Angleterre vouloyt ayder au roy d'Aragon.²

Et que en oultre ledit evesque de Rieux demanda a ceulx que ledit roy d'Angleterre luy avoyt envoyez pour luy faire ladite responce si d'aventure ledit roy d'Angleterre faisoit declaration contre le roy si les Francoys qui estoient en Angleterre seroient en seurete et s'il leur bailloit point temps d'eulx retirer, a quoy luy fut respondu que les marchans seroient en seurete deux moys apres. Sur quoy ledit de Rioux leur demanda si les villes et chasteaulx seroient aussi en seurete durant ledit temps de deux moys et ilz luy respondirent qu'ilz n'avoient charge de luy declarer autre chose.²

Item, et pource qu'il semble que ladite responce soit une demye declaration contre le roy et qu'il est vraisemblable que ledit roy d'Angleterre vueille courir sus au roy en son royaume pour luy faire retirer l'armee qu'il a dela les montz le roy a ceste cause a bien voulu faire savoir ce que dit est audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere, esperant que tout ainsi que le roy d'Angleterre veult ayder a ses amys le roy d'Escosse pareillement aydera au roy comme a son bon frere, cousin, amye et allye, luy faisant savoir que quant quelcunque luy voudra courir sus qu'il luy feroit le semblable.

Item dira a monsieur l'evesque de Moravye qu'il face tousiours bon office envers le roy d'Escosse ainsi qu'il a

¹ In May 1512 the English army, under the Marquis of Dorset, embarked for Spain, on the expedition for the reconquest of Guienne with the help of Ferdinand of Spain. In April the English fleet was cruising unopposed in the Channel (*The Navy Record Society*, vol. x. pp. xv, xvi).

² See Brodie, 1127, which gives practically the same wording.

acoustume et qu'il monstre qu'il a desire de faire service au roy et que le roy luy tiendra la promesse qu'il luy a faicte.

Item, et pource que l'ambassadeur que le roy a derniere-ment envoye audit roy d'Escosse luy a amplement declare les justes causes et raisons pour lesquelles le concille a este assemble et les grans tortz que le pape et roy d'Aragon luy ont faitz et font de jour en jour, a ceste cause le roy se depporte maintenant de les luy faire plus reciter.¹

Item, luy declarera que le roy d'Aragon meut ceste guerre icy soubz couleur d'ung manteau de religion de Boulongne disant que c'est pour deffendre le pape toutesfoys que la verite ainsi qu'il appert par lettres qu'on a trouvees signees de la main dudit roy d'Aragon que son intencion est mettre la guerre en France et deschasser s'il peult le roy hors d'Italye pour s'en faire seigneur.

Et a ceste cause pryera de par le roy ledit roy d'Escosse de deux choses, l'une de envoyer promptement au concille, comme dit est, et d'enhorter son oncle le roy de Danne-
marche qu'il y envoye aussi.

L'autre qu'il envoye ambassadeur devers le roy d'Angle-terre luy declarer qu'il a entendu de par le roy ladite responce faicte audit evesque de Rioux et luy faisant savoir que s'il veult faire la guerre et courir sus au roy soubz coulleur de ce qu'il veult bailler ayde audit roy d'Aragon que pareillement ledit roy d'Escosse est delibere bailler secours et ayde au roy comme a son bon frere, amy et allye.

Item remonstrera que le roy d'Aragon soubz coulleur des mariages qu'il a faitz veult faire ligues au grant dommaige de la chrestiente lesquelles si elles estoient faictes pourroient porter grant prejudice aux deux Majestez et a ceste cause le temps passe il y a tousiours eu ligue perpetuelle entre les roys de France d'Escosse et de Dannemarche a fin que quant les autres princes voudraient aucune chose entreprendre sur l'un d'eulx qu'ilz se peussent ayder l'un de l'autre.

Item dira que si d'aventure ledit roy d'Angleterre faisoit

¹ See p. 11, note 1, and p. 25, note 2.

la guerre en France que le roy pryve le roy d'Escosse qu'il se mecte en son devoir pour poursuyvre ses droictz et au regard du roy qu'il luy baillera tout le secours, ayde, port et faveur qu'il pourra et seroit la chose que plus il desireroyt car il luy semble qu'il demeureroit perpetuellement en paix, union et tranquillite.

Fait a Bloys le iiij^e jour d'avril mil cinq cens et unze avant pasques.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

VIII

Additional Instructions to the Bishop of Ross

[Presumably of the same date as the preceding.]

As to the second article, the Most Christian King believes that, if the King of Scots has not yet wished to send to the Council because the place was not chosen, it was because he thought a neutral place could not be chosen till peace were made. Still the King holds that were the King of Scots to send, the Pope would make peace sooner, for the more princes he should see assembled, the more care he would take lest the Council acquired strength and reputation, for he fears reform of the Church, particularly *in capite*, and presumably fears peace among the princes for dread of that reform. Wherefore the King of Scots is begged to send to the Council of Pisa, at present at [], at least two persons with powers from himself.

As to the third article, the King commends the answer made to the letters of the King of England, because there can be no peace till the two Councils meet in a neutral place. As to what the King of England wrote to the King of Scots on the 18th March last, it seems to the King that James must understand that Rome is not safe for the members of the Council of Pisa. And as to Henry's assertion that he joined the Holy League and took up the defence of the Church to assist his father-in-law, the King of Aragon, it should be said that Aragon invented that pernicious and ambitious league to make the King lose his Italian lands. As to the King of England's assertion that he cannot make peace with the King because of the ill-treatment given to his ambassador, it shows that he only wants a pretext for war, for the ambassador was not ill-treated but honoured. The grievance may be that he did not receive a present, such as is given to those who treat for peace, of which number he was not, and so deserved no present.

As to the fourth article, it is answered that truly the King of Aragon is the cause of the war against the King, and without reason.

As to the sixth and seventh articles, the King understands that the King of England has made open declaration against him, though, because of the alliances between them, he ought rather to help the King against the Pope, who began hostilities against the King by attacking Genoa.

As to the other article, the King thanks the King of Scots for his intention of maintaining their alliance and expresses his intention to do the like, with all possible assistance.

As to the ninth, the King has found the Bishop of Moray very wise and prudent, having done good service to himself, as knowing he equally served his master.

As to the tenth, the King declares that he desires universal peace as much or more than any prince for the sake of an expedition against the Infidels, but he believes that the Council will procure peace best, since reform in the Church, both head and members, is needed. It must be understood that the King does not desire the Council for his private profit and was incited to summon it by the King of Aragon and by the Emperor. He renews his protestations and offers of help for the King of Scots' journey.

As to the eleventh, he states that if previously he esteemed the King of Aragon it was to procure peace, and that all that has happened otherwise is due to the ambition of the said King, who has led the King of England to follow him, making him believe that he carries the banner in this war on behalf of the Church for his own glory, a thing which rouses young princes to make war without thinking of the end.

As to the twelfth, the King thanks the King of Scots for sending to the King of Denmark about the Council and help against the King of England. He assures them of his readiness to help them against the said King.

As to the thirteenth, the King thanks James for his declaration against the King of England in the event of his attacking France.

As to the fourteenth, he thanks him for his advice anent alliances by marriages, as Aragon has done.

As to the last, if the King of England invades France, the King will send to the King of Scots all the help he can to conquer the Kingdom of England.

VIII

Aux premières Instructions

Sur le second article soyt respondu que le roy trescrestien croyt que si le roy d'Escosse son bon frere, allie et cousin n'a voulu encores envoyer au concille pource que le lieu neuttre ou ledit consille se devoit tenir n'estoyt encores esleu ¹ il a fait a bonne fin cuydant que ledit lieu neuttre ne se peult eslire que premierement la paix ne se feust

¹ See p. 29.

faicte ou que par force le lieu feust esleu, toutesfoys semble audit roy trescrestien que s'il plaist au roy d'Escosse son bon frere envoyer ses gens audit concille que le pappe en viendra plus tost a une bonne paix car tant plus verra de princes assemblez pour ledit consille il aura plus de regard a ne se mettre en dangier que ledit consille preigne force et reputacion parce qu'il crainct la reformacion de l'eglyse mesmement *in capite* et est aussi a presumer que encores il crainct la paix universelle d'entre les princes pour doubte de ladite reformacion, par quoy prie ledit roy trescrestien a son bon frere le roy d'Escosse qu'il vueille le plus tost que possible sera envoyer audit consille pisan qui est de present a [. . .]¹ aucuns bons personaiges ayans pouvoir de luy et a tous le moyns jusques au nombre de deux.

Au tiers article sera respondu que ledit roy trescrestien a trouve tresbonne et vertueuse la responce faicte par sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse aux lettres du roy d'Angleterre a luy presentees par l'ambassadeur du roy d'Arragon² parcecque jamais paix universelle ne se pourra faire ne traicter sinon que les deux concilles soyent assemblez en ung lieu neuttre non suspect a ceulx qui n'ont suyvi le pappe en ses entreprinces, et au regard de ce que le roy d'Angleterre a escript a mondit bon frere par ses lettres du xvij^e du moys passe il semble audit roy trescrestien que sondit bon frere entend bien que notoirement la cite de Rome n'est lieu seur pour ceulx du consille de Pise ne pour autres subjectz, serviteurs et amys dudit roy trescrestien. Et quant a ce qu'il dit qu'il est entre en la sainte ligue et prins la deffence de l'eglyse pour l'assistance de son pere le roy d'Arragon sera dit que ledit roy d'Arragon a este inventeur de ladite ligue pernicieuse et ambitieuse pour mettre ledit roy trescrestien en dangier de perdre sa duche et estat de Milan et autres estatz en Italie dont ledit

¹ The Council had been at Milan, but retired to France.

² See Brodie, 1106 and 1108. James begged Ferdinand to use his influence to reconcile Louis and the Pope. There is no word of relations between Scotland and England, but Queen Margaret had received a letter from Henry by the hands of the Spanish ambassador bespeaking her favour (Brodie, 1109).

roy trescrestien fera deument apparoir quant besoin en sera et quant a ce que a escript ledit roy d'Angleterre qu'il ne se veult plus mesler devers le roy trescrestien de faire la paix pource qu'il a honteusement et tresmal traicte son ambassadeur venu devers luy¹ il appert bien par cela que ledit roy d'Angleterre ne demande que occasion de guerre contre ledit roy trescrestien, mais il debvoit premierement pincer qu'il n'est pas assure d'estre victorieux car cela vient de Dieu et non des hommes et ne se trouvera que ledit roy trescrestien ayt maltraicte ledit ambassadeur dudit roy d'Angleterre, mais au contraire l'a honnore et extime. Peult estre qu'il s'est plaint pource que aucun present ne luy a este fait qui n'est chose dont l'on doibve parler car se sont choses de grace que l'on fait communement aux mediateurs de la paix, mais ledit ambassadeur estoyt contraire a la paix par quoy ne meritoit present.

Au quart sera respondu que la verite est telle que ledit roy d'Arragon est cause et inventeur de ceste present guerre contre ledit roy trescrestien combien qu'il n'a cause de s'en mal contenter dudit roy trescrestien ; les raisons sont si notoires et evidentes qu'il n'est besoing de les reciter.²

Au vj^e et vij^e articles le roy trescrestien entend bien que ledit roy d'Angleterre a fait declaracion ouverte contre ledit roy trescrestien combien que par raison par les alliences qui sont entre ledit roy trescrestien et luy il devroit plus tost ayder audit roy trescrestien et se declairer contre le pape que pour le pape par ce que notredit saint pere est celui qui a commence le premier la guerre contre ledit roy trescrestien en envoyant gens par mer et par terre a Gennes pour faire revolter ou prandre sa bonne cite de Gennes et ce devant que ledit roy trescrestien eut fait aucun effort de guerre contre notredit saint pere.

A l'autre article ledit roy trescrestien remercie bien fort

¹ A letter of the Marquis of Mantua, 5th May 1512, related that the herald of the King of England had not been allowed to make the declaration of war against France in his tabard (*Cal. Ven. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 158 ; Brodie, 1157). This may be the event to which allusion is made.

² The bait to draw Henry VIII. into the Holy League had been the promise of Spain's assistance to recover Guienne.

le roy d'Escosse son bon frere du bon vouloir qu'il a a demeurer en ladite allience et fraternite avecques luy comme son bon frere et cousin et luy prie qu'il veulle croire que le semblable vouloir et cordial est envers luy de la part dudit roy trescrestien qui a tresbon vouloir de luy donner secours, ayde et faveur en tous ses affaires.¹

Au ix^{me} respond que le roy trescrestien a trouve l'evesque de Murray tressaige et prudent et qu'il a fait bon office envers luy sachant que en ce faisant faisoit service audit roy d'Escosse son maistre dont remercyé ledit roy d'Escosse et auegard dudit evesque de Murray il ayme et cherist plus que s'il estoit son conseiller et serviteur et a desir de reconnoistre les bons services qu'il luy a faitz.

Au x^{me} dit le roy trescrestien que de sa part il desire la paix universelle autant ou plus que prince de la crestiente pour apres conclure une bonne expedition et armee contre les Infidelles comme assez a declaire audit evesque de Murray, mais luy semble que par le moyen du consille se pourra myeulx faire ladite conclusion et entreprinse par ce que a grand poyne sans reformacion de l'eglise en chef et membres ne se pourra faire ladite expedicion et fault entendre que le roy trescrestien ne demande point ledit consille pour son prouffyt particulier mais seullement pour le bien universel de la crestiente et a ce faire a este plusieurs foys persuade et incite par ledit roy d'Arragon et aussi par l'empereur qui a commence ledit consille avecques ledit roy trescrestien : dit oultre que toutesfoys et quantes qu'il sera advise de faire ladite expedicion contre les Infideles il sera prest de s'en y employer autant ou plus que nul autre prince de la crestiente tant de gens de guerre par mer et par terre, navires, vivres, argent, munitions et toutes choses necessaires de laquelle entreprinse desire le roy d'Escosse estre chef et portant la banniere pour toute la crestiente.²

¹ James iv.'s offer of a league with France, dated 6th March 1511-12. Unicorn Pursuivant was despatched to France on 10th March, de la Mothe on 21st March, 1511-12 (*H.T.A.*, vol. iv. pp. 334 and 335). See Appendix II. and Brodie, 1089, 1206).

² See Letter II.

A le xi^{me} dit ledit roy trescrestien que si par cy devant il a chery et estime le roy d'Arragon ce n'estoyt que a bonne fin pour nourrir une paix universale en toute la crestiente affin de ladite expedicion contre les Infideles et si autrement en est advenu s'a este par l'ambicion dudit roy d'Aragon quy a conduyt le roy d'Angleterre a sa bande par persuasions dont il est tout plain auquel il a donne entendre que c'est celuy que porte la banniere de ceste guerre pour l'eglise pour luy donner gloire quy est une chose qui fait eslever les jeunes princes a faire la guerre volontaire mais ne pencent quelle en sera la fin.

Au xij^{me} ledit [roy] trescrestien remercyé ledit roy d'Escosse son bon frere de ce qu'il a envoye devers le roy de Dannemarq son oncle affin d'envoyer au consille et aussy pour donner secours contre ledit roy d'Angleterre et autres ses ennemys et se doivent tenir assurez lesditz roys d'Escosse et de Dannemarq que ledit roy trescrestien sera tousiours tout prest a leur ayder et secourir contre ledit roy d'Angleterre et a faire pour eulx le semblable comme veullent faire pour luy tout ainsy qu'il feroyt pour ses propres affaires.¹

Au xii^e ledit roy trescrestien remercyé grandement sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse de la declaracion vertueuse et ouverte faicte contre ledit roy d'Angleterre ou cas qu'il veulle courir sus et faire guerre audit roy trescrestien et luy prie qu'il croye que ainsy de sa part fera semblable declaracion contre tous ceulx quy luy voudront faire guerre et si employra de tout son pouvoir.

Au xiii^e ledit roy trescrestien remercyé de bon cueur le roy d'Escosse son bon frere du bon conseil qu'il luy donne de faire alliances de mariages pour resister a ses ennemys comme fait aussy le roy d'Aragon.

Au dernier dit le roy trescrestien que si ledit roy d'Angleterre fait la guerre en France que ledit roy trescrestien baillera a sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse port, faveur,

¹ Cordier went from Scotland to Denmark (Letter IV.). James' letter regarding the Holy League and the General Council accompanied him (Brodie, 1039; *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 129). James' letter is no more than a list of the matters at issue.

ayde et tout le secours qu'il pourra pour conquerir le royaume d'Angleterre et n'y aura faulte de son couste comme plus aplain luy a fait dire par son ambassadeur et depuys par Monseigneur de Mourraye et persiste et [persistera] ledit roy trescrestien en ce que luy en a este dit. De par luy

Loys.

Endorsed, Articuli Christianissimi regis et postulata eiusdem per R. P. Ep^m Rossen., 21 aprilis pñti 1512.¹

IX

Louis XII.'s Answer to the Secret Credentials

[Undated, April 1512.]¹

As to the first two articles in which the King of Scots declares that, as requested by the King's ambassador, Cordier, and by the Bishop of Moray, he has kept peace with the King of England, and, if he breaks with him, he loses the reason of his marriage, the succession to the crown of England, to which he, by that marriage, is the nearest heir, apart from his ancient right. He therefore considers that the King should assure him in his claim to that end and in no way make treaty with his enemies and those of France without his consent, as he will not do without the King's.

It is answered that the King thanks him for maintaining the friendship with England which was desired for good reasons, particularly for the sake of universal peace and the expedition against the Infidels, that the King of England broke the alliance at the instigation of the King of Aragon, without adequate cause, and that the King promises to assist him in his just quarrels, whether in the matter of the Kingdom of England or other affairs, and to make no engagement with his enemies without his consent, or without including him.

As to the third article, the King thinks best that the King of Scots should make war by land, rather than by sea, since a navy cannot be so readily prepared, though he might arm a few ships and barques to help the King who is making ready his navy and hopes to be able to attack in July. Thus there is no immediate need for the King of Scots' help by sea until both see what their common enemies will do. The King begs him to strengthen his forces in order to divert the King of England from his war against France, because he has trouble in Italy and besides must guard

¹ This endorsement is on the covering paper to Nos. VII., VIII., and IX.

all his frontiers. So the King of Scots could do no greater service than by beginning a war against the King of England and doing for the King what the King of England is doing for the King of Aragon. When the King's affairs are quieter he will send help by land and sea to the King of Scots as shall be decided for his welfare and prosperity.

As to the help asked by the King of Scots for that war in money, provisions, artillery, gunners, cavalry, infantry and engineers, the King represents his great expenses both in France and in Italy, where he maintains 25,000 infantry besides cavalry and artillery, and must continue to do so since his enemies are being reinforced against him. He begs the King of Scots to remember these things and to rest assured that he will send help when he can, and, for all that, to declare war against England by land, while the King wages war by sea.

As to the King of Scots' request that the King should inform the King of Denmark that he is willing to give the English pension to the King of Scots, it is answered that the money is not given as pension but to repay the sum for which the Duchy of Brittany was pledged to the English, in return for help to the Queen, but that the King will spare neither his goods nor his soldiers, ships nor navy to help the King of Scots in any enterprise and will never abandon him in prosperity or adversity. He begs the King of Scots to impart these matters to his uncle, the King of Denmark, and to the King of Norway, the latter's son, so that they four may be united for the good of their kingdoms and increase of their lands, the peace of Christendom and the exaltation of the Catholic faith.

IX

Responce a la creance secreete

Sur les deux premiers articles par lesquelz le roy d'Escosse mon bon frere, cousin et allie declare que aumoyen des requestes souvantesfoys a luy faictes en nostre nom et mesmement par nostre ambassadeur Cordier¹ et depuis par Monseigneur de Mourray il a myeulx et plus volontiers garde l'amytié et paix qu'il a avecques le roy d'Angleterre son frere et confedere et que s'il vient maintenant a rompre contre ledit roy d'Angleterre comme est requis de par nous il luy fault perdre la cause de son mariage qui est la succession de son frere le roy d'Angleterre, duquel est hoir plus prochain par ledit mariage, reserve tousiours son droit ancien audit royaulme, par quoy luy semble que les devons

¹ Possibly James iv.'s despatch, to which this is an answer, was sent at the same time as the offer of a league with France (p. 36, note 1).

asseurer luy, ses hoirs et successeurs au royaume de prandre et continuer sa part en ladite poursuyte jusques au bout et par nulle maniere faire appointement avecques ses ennemys et nostres sans le consentement dudit roy d'Escosse et de sa part ne le fera sans le nostre.

Responce que nous remercions de tresbon cueur nostredit bon frere le roy d'Escosse de ce qu'il a eu regart aux requestes que luy avons faictez pour l'entretenement de l'amytie entre luy et le roy d'Angleterre,¹ ce que faisons pour bonnes causes et premierement pour nourrir paix en la crestiente a l'onneur et exaltacion de la foy et a ce que plus aisement ce peut conclure entre les princes crestiens une bonne et grosse armee contre les Infideles de laquelle avons tousiours desire et desirons que notredit bon frere le roy d'Escosse preigne la charge et qu'il en soyt le chief, pour laquelle expedicion faire nous ne voudrions riens espargnier mesmement quant nostredit bon frere en sera le chief, mais ledit roy d'Angleterre a la persuasion et instigacion du roy d'Arragon, son beau pere s'est departy de l'aliencie d'entre nous sans cause vallable comme assez a entendu le roy d'Escosse nostre bon frere, combien que nous avons tousiours garde foy a tous nos alliez sans venir au contraire, par quoy nous avons tousiours esperance que Dieu sera de nostre couste et qu'il nous aydera en noz bonnes querelles; et au regart de asseurer ledit roy d'Escosse de prandre et continuer sa part nous sommes trescontans de l'asseurer et le asseurons des a present et luy promeez de demourer perpetuellement son bon allye, frere, cousin et amy et de jamais ne nous departir de son alliance et de luy ayder en toutes ses justes querelles, soyt du royaume d'Angleterre et d'autre seigneurie et faire envers luy comme voudrions qu'il feist envers nous; aussy sommes contens de ne faire par aucune maniere appointement avecques ses ennemys sans le consantement dudit roy d'Escosse ou qu'il n'y soyt comprins.

Sur le tiers article dit le roy trescrestien que luy semble pour le bien d'entre eulx deulx bons freres et allies le

¹ See Letter VI.

myeux sera que sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse entende a faire la guerre par terre audit roy d'Angleterre a telle force et puyssance qu'il verra et plus tost que par la mer, pource que l'equipaige de la marine ne se peult si tost apprester comme scet ledit roy d'Escosse¹: bien pourra faire armer quelques navires et barques et le plus tost qu'il pourra pour ayder audit roy trescrestien a faire la guerre contre ledit roy d'Angleterre et auegard dudit roy trescrestien il donne continuellement ordre a mettre sus son armee de mer et si a intencion de la faire si bonne et forte qu'il espere que dedans le moys de juillet il aura armee si puyssante sur la mer qu'il pourra non seulement resister audit roy d'Angleterre sa puyssance et de ses allicz, mais pourra les invehir et assailir quelque part qu'il les trouve. Les preparatifz y sont de present biens grans et ne sera ja besoing pour ceste heure que ledit roy d'Escosse employe sa personne sur mer jusques a ce que l'on voye ce que feront leurs communs ennemys. Bien pryé ledit roy trescrestien sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse qu'il se face le plus fort qu'il pourra par la terre pour faire destourner le roy d'Angleterre de la guerre contre le roy trescrestien,² lequel a de present plusieurs affaires en Italye ou il a grosse puyssance et fault d'avantaige qu'il tiegne ses frontieres bien guarniez de tous les costez de son royaulme, comme Guyenne, Bretagne, Normandie, Bourgonne, Picardie et Champagne, esquelz lieux luy convient avoir bon nombre de gens d'armes et aussi gens de pie³; par

¹ James had been occupied for most of 1511 in shipbuilding (*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xiii., Introduction). In March 1511-12 he was sending to Norway and Denmark for timber for masts (Brodie, 1116, 1117). Louis' own preparations for sea warfare were far behind those of England in 1512, but in July, when Prégent de Bidoulx, Knight of Rhodes, was recalled from the Mediterranean with his galleys, the preparations were hastened. (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. xxii-xxiii).

² On 15th April, commission was granted to Dacre and West, as ambassadors to James, to receive his oath to the treaty made with Henry VII. and to settle differences (Brodie, 1140, 1170 (14 and 15)).

³ By the end of the summer of 1512 Louis had withdrawn from Lombardy and Genoa, keeping only four castles, those of Milan, Cremona, Brescia and the Lanterna of Genoa. The English were sailing through the Channel in May (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. xv and xvi), and invaded Brittany in

quoy s'il plaist a sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse il aura regart ausdits choses et a luy ayder selon que le temps le requiert et ne luy pouvroit jamais plus grant service faire que de commancer bonne guerre audit roy d'Angleterre par terre comme dit est et faire pour luy contre ledit roy d'Angleterre comme fait icelluy roy d'Angleterre pour le roy d'Arragon contre ledit roy trescrestien. Et apres que les affaires dudit roy trescrestien seront plus appaisees pourra ledit roy trescrestien bailler grosses aydes et secours audit roy d'Escosse par mer et par terre et en toutes manieres qui seront advisees pour le bien et prosperite dudit roy d'Escosse, ce qu'il fera de tresbon cueur et tout ainsy comme pour son propre affaire et myeulx s'il est possible.

Item, et au regaird de l'ayde que notredit bon frere le roy d'Escosse nous demande pour faire ladite guerre contre les Angloys tant d'argent, vivres, artilherie, cannoniers, gens de cheval, de pie et de pyonniers prie ledit roy trescrestien a sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse qu'il veulle bien considerer les grandes et excessives despences qu'il luy convient faire tant deca les montz comme dela ou de present fault payer et souldoyer xxv^m hommes de pie, ij^mij^c lances et grant nombre de chevaulx legiers, aussy fault entretenir son artilherie et outre ce l'on scet combien il y a de temps que ledit roy trescrestien soustient tous lesditz fraiz et encores qu'il les convient continuer d'icy a long temps, veu que ses ennemys tous les jours se renforcent contre luy et sont plusieurs et luy tout seul a soustenir tout le faiz et despence de ladite guerre qui sont choses tresdifficiles comme chacun scet. Par quoy prie audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere que pour le present veulle avoir regart aux choses dessusditz et qu'il tiengne assure que quant il pourra faire aydes grandes et prouffitables a sondit bon frere qu'il y fera comme pour soy mesmes et se monstrera envers luy pres a luy complaire en ce qu'il pourra, et neantmoins prie a sondit bon frere que cependant

June (*ibid.*, pp. xvii and xviii and No. XIX.). The expedition to Guienne was ready to start on 8th May (Brodie, 1186) and landed in Spain on 7th June 1512.

lui donne le secours tel qui verra estre convenable et qu'il se veulle declairer tousiours ouvertement contre ledit roy d'Angleterre et lui faire la guerre par terre et aussy ledit roy trescrestien luy fera de son coste par mer forte guerre et y continuera tant qu'il sera besoing et sera ceste guerre le commencement de donner a congnoistre audit roy d'Escosse l'ayde qu'il luy peult et veult faire.

Item, et auregart de ce que ledit roy d'Escosse desire que ledit roy trescrestien face entendre au roy de Dannemarq son oncle qu'il veult donner la pencion des Angloys audit roy d'Escosse, sera respondu que l'argent qui se baille ausditz Angloys ne se baille par maniere de pencion mais pour acquicter la duche de Bretaigne qui estoyt obligee ausditz Angloys en grans sommes pour le secours qu'ilz avoyent baillez a la royne,¹ et pour le present desire et veult ledit roy trescrestien donner a entendre audit roy de Dannemarq que pour ayder audit roy d'Escosse pour parvenir aux fins qu'il pretend il ne espargnera ses biens ne ses gens d'armes, navires ne son armee de mer et tout ce qu'il pourra faire quant le temps et opportunité sera de faire aucune entreprinse et que l'on congnoistra qu'elle pourra proffyter et que jamais ne abandonnera ledit roy d'Escosse en quelque fortune que ce soyt, prosperite ou adversite; et prie ledit roy trescrestien sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse qu'il veulle bien donner a entendre les choses dessusdites au roy de Dannemarq son oncle et au roy de Norvay son filz affin que eulx quatre roy soyent ensemble tout une chose et se portent l'ung envers l'autre comme bons freres, alliez et confederez de alliance perpetuelle et inviolable pour le bien et conservacion de leurs royaulmes et augmentation de leurs estatz et seigneuries a l'onneur de notre seigneur, paix de la crestiente et exaltacion de la saincte foy catholique.

Loys.

¹ The marriage of Charles VIII. with Anne, Duchess of Brittany, involved the King in hostilities with Maximilian, to whom she had been betrothed, and with Henry VII., who attacked Boulogne and was only bought off, by the treaty of Etaples, with an exorbitant money ransom for which the duchy itself was surety.

X

Instructions by Louis XII. to the Seigneur de la Mothe

Blois, 24th May 1512.

The King sends thanks to the King of Scots for his desire to maintain the alliance and for having sent the confirmation of the said alliance.

As to the offers, made through the Seigneur de la Mothe, to take his part against every one and to come with an army in person, if need be, to the help of the King, to invade England and to lay sieges to force his enemies to fight, the King sends warm thanks and begs him to persevere in his intentions so as to fulfil them when necessary. The King will inform him in time so that he may do so easily, and assures him that he wishes to do the like for him.

The treaty is to be presented to the King of Scots, confirmed save for the following article *Treugis nihilominus captis*, etc., which, although it was in the old treaties, is now to no purpose because of the war between the Kings of Scots and England, and the King of Scots, by reason of the said article, could not then help the King.

Besides de la Mothe and others from Scotland have always said that, if the King of England made war on the King, the King of Scots would declare openly against England.

Wherefore it is most necessary that the said article should be removed, and the King begs the King of Scots to remake the treaty with that omission.

The King is informed certainly that the King of Aragon and other enemy princes have tried and are trying by all means to force the King of Scots to make a treaty against the King, under colour of the defence of the Church. Although he does not doubt the King of Scots, he sends this information as to one whom he wishes to know anything that touches the maintenance of their friendship, begging him to pay no attention to such attempts, and to be assured that the King will make neither treaty, truce nor engagement in which the King of Scots is not included.

X

*Instructions au Seigneur de la Mothe de ce qu'il aura a dire et declairer de la part du roy au roy d'Escosse, son bon frere.*¹

Premierement, fera audit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere,

¹ De la Mothe, who had left Scotland only towards the end of March, was at Queensferry on 28th June 1512 (*H.T.A.*, vol. iv. p. 350). His stay seems to have been a short one, for on 7th July there is a payment recorded to a skipper to take him to France (*ibid.*, p. 352), and a payment for the

les recommendations en tel cas accoustumees et luy presentera les lettres que ledit Seigneur luy escript.

Le remerciera en apres de la bonne amour fraternelle et singuliere affection qu'il a tousiours demonstre et demonstre avoir au Roy, son bon frere, et du grand desir qu'il a a tousiours entretenir la confederacion, fraternite, alliance et amytié qui est entre eulx deulx, et de ce que par luy il a envoyee audit seigneur ladite confederacion et alliance renouvellee et confirmee.

Et au regard des belles et grandes offres que par ledit seigneur de la Mothe ledit roy d'Escosse a faictes de vouloir se declairer entierement pour luy et tenir son party envers tous et contre tous et de venir avecques gens et en propre personne, sy besoing est, au secours et ayde dudit seigneur ou de entrer dedans les pays du roy d'Angleterre et de assieger places pour faire venir ses ennemys a la bataille,¹ ledit Seigneur de la Mothe l'en remercyera grandement de par le roy et luy dira que ledit Seigneur tient, repute et extime icelles offres tresgrandes, luy priant tant et si affectueusement que faire se peut continuer et perseverer en ceste bonne volonte pour les mettre a effect quant le cas le requerra, ainsy que ledit Seigneur a en luy sa parfaite et entiere confidence, et que ce iceluy Seigneur l'avertira en temps et heure en sorte qu'il le pourra facilement faire, l'assurant que le roy de sa part voudroit et desire faire le semblable pour luy et la deffence de son estat.

Item, presentera audit roy d'Escosse ladite confederacion et alliance que le roy de sa part a aussy renouvellee et confirmee de mot a mot et tout ainsy que celle que ledit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, luy a envoyee sauf et excepte l'article qui s'ensuit : *Treugis nihilominus captis inter illustrissimos Scocie et Anglie reges pendentibus finitis, etc.*

board of himself and his servants from 18th June to 11th July (*ibid.*, p. 352). On his journey from France he had sunk three English merchant ships and captured seven which he brought into Leith (see complaint, Brodie, 1262).

¹ A letter from a councillor of the King of England, 18th September 1512, reported that the English ambassadors, returned from Scotland, stated that the King desired peace but his people were otherwise inclined (Brodie, 1268).

Lequel article combien qu'il soit es vielles alliances neantmoins sy de present il estoit insere en ladite alliance elle seroit de nul prouffit au roy veu la guerre qui est entre lesdits roys d'Escosse et d'Angleterre.¹

Et ne pourroit ledit roy d'Escosse a l'occasion dudit article secourir au roy son bon frere et luy donner l'aide qui est tenu par vertu de ladite alliance.

Aussy ledit de la Mothe et autres qui sont venuz d'Escosse ont tousiours dit que sy le roy d'Angleterre faisoit la guerre au roy que ledit roy d'Escosse se declaireroit apertement contre ledit roy d'Angleterre, ainsy que dit est.

Et a ceste cause remonstrera de par le roy audit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, qu'il est tresnecessaire oster ledit article et le priera qu'il vueille faire reffaire ladite alliance qu'il avoit envoyee et oster ledit article, c'est assavoir, *Treugis nihilominus* etc.

Item luy dira que le roy est certainement adverty que le roy d'Arragon et aultres princes ennemys dudit Seigneur ont tasche et taschent par tous moyens et persuasions de faire faire quelque traicte, promesse et obligacion audit roy d'Escosse contre et au preiudice dudit Seigneur et de ses estatz et soubz couleur de la deffence de l'eglise.² Et combien que ledit Seigneur soit assure que icelluy roy d'Escosse ne le voudroit pour chose du monde faire, ce neantmoins comme a son bon frere, amy et allye il a bien voulu le luy faire dire et declairer, non pour doubte qu'il ayt de luy, maiz comme a celui a qui il veult franchement et ouvertement faire entendre tout ce quy peult toucher l'entretienement de leur bonne et ancienne amytie, en luy priant trescordialement et fraternellement d'adjouster foy ne donner l'oreille a telles choses non plus qu'il a fait jusques icy, car ledit Seigneur ne voudroit pour honneur ne bien qu'on luy seust offrir ne presentement autrement faire, et sy se peut tenir seur que, quelque traicte, treve, paix ou appointment que ledit Seigneur puisse faire cy

¹ See Appendix II.

² There had been no Spanish ambassador in Scotland since March 1511-1512 (*H.T.A.*, vol. iv. p. 336). Letters had come from Julius II. on 14th April (*ibid.*, p. 340).

apres, qu'il y comprendra ledit roy d'Escosse comme le premier et plus ancien de ses bons freres, amys, confederez et alliez.¹

Fait a Bloys le xxiiij^{me} jour de may l'an mil cinq cens et douze.

Loys.

Endorsed, Articles credenciales de la Mothe, presentes xviiij Junij 1512.

XI

Instructions by Louis XII. to Monsieur de la Mothe, in answer to those Instructions recently brought by him

Blois, 2nd October 1512.²

He is to present the treaties, corrected according to the wish of the King of Scots, with thanks for his affection and for the treaty, renewed and confirmed by himself in the form which each of them desired.

The King has decided to send help to the King of Scots, such as he can in view of his other affairs and for the defence of his towns and fortresses both in Italy and France.

To hear more fully what must be done by them against their enemies, de la Mothe is sent to the King of Scotland, charged with certain messages to which the King desires an answer so soon as possible, when the King will be able to do what is best for the defence of their kingdoms and attack on their enemies.

To attack at an unsuitable time would be to weaken their armies, but, awaiting the proper season, they can provide themselves for war by sea and land. The King thinks that to make preparations early they will have their armies and navies so great and so well equipped that the enemies will not be the stronger.

As regards the clause *Aut saltem que dictus rex Scotorum, etc.*, contained in the treaty, the King had not inserted it except for a good purpose, because sometimes it is convenient for good reason to make short truces with the enemy, and the two Kings are far apart, wherefore they could not in time notify each other of the truces which might be necessary. But the King is willing the clause should be removed and has removed it.

He thanks the King of Scots for his open declaration to the ambassadors

¹ James IV. confirmed the treaty with France on 10th July 1512 (Brodie, 1287).

² See p. 44, note 1. De la Mothe was still in Scotland in December of that year (*H.T.A.*, vol. iv. p. 339), for one of his servants danced 'ane moris' before the King and Queen on the 16th of that month.

of the King of England, as showing the cordial affection he bears to his cousin and ally and his willingness to help him against the King of England and all others.

He also thanks the King of Scots for his perseverance in his friendship and alliance, the more honourable in that the Kings of Aragon and England, against their oaths, have solicited him to join their party by all the means they could, and because all their crafty persuasions have not profited them because of his great constancy. The Kings of France and Scotland, besides their ancient treaties, are allied by blood more than any other kings. He begs the King of Scotland to have confidence that he will always be a good and loyal brother and cousin to him and will never abandon him.

Though there was no need for other assurance of his friendship, still, since it pleased the King of Scots that the Bishop of Moray should write, that has been very welcome to the King, as knowing the Bishop to be a good and virtuous prelate, a favourer of the alliance. The King makes answer to him also and desires to pleasure him as he deserves for his virtues and loyalty and for his friendship to himself, in imitation of his master, the King of Scots.

As to the Council, it was summoned by the cardinals, who said they could do so, following the example of the General Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Bâle, and because the Pope had sworn to assemble the Council, and had not done so. Since the cardinals, who summoned it, knew the intention of the Pope to be the making of war, troubling of Christendom and disturbing the peace of the Church, to restrain him they resolved to assemble the Council and for others concerning the Church and Christendom. The Emperor adhered to the Council and sent procurators, as the King of France, the King of Scots and other princes were informed, that they might do likewise. The King of Scots may know that the King had cause to adhere to the Council, knowing that the Pope had no other aim than the ruin of the states of the King and his allies. As to the King of Scots sending to the Council, it will be soon enough at the time of their enterprise against their enemies.

XI

Instructions a Monsieur de la Mothe de la part du Roy trescrestien de ce qu'il aura a dire au trespuissant Roy d'Escosse son bon frerc, allye et cousin, en luy faisant response aux instructions par luy dernièrement apporteez.

Premierement fera les recommandacions et luy presentera ses lettres et les alliances reformees selon le voulloir et plaisir dudit roy d'Escosse en le remercyant grandement et

cordialement de la bonne affection et amour qu'il porte audit roy trescrestien et aussi de ce qu'il a envoye la confederacion et alliance renouvellee et confirmee de sa part par ledit de la Mothe en la forme que chacun desdits roys la vouloit avoir.¹

Item, et a delibere ledit roy trescrestien bailler une bonne ayde audit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, telle qu'il pourra en ayant regard aux affaires dudit roy trescrestien qui sont telz comme scet icelluy roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, qui ne sont en ung lieu seulement mais en Italie pour saulver les places et forteresses que tient le roy trescrestien et en France de tous les costez du royaume ou convient avoir grant nombre de gens d'armes aussi gens de pie souldoyez.

Item pour plusamment entendre ce qui sera de faire par lesdits deulx roys contre leurs ennemys envoye presentement ledit roy trescrestien devers ledit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, ledit de la Mothe auquel a donne charge luy dire plusieurs choses touchant leurs affaires et entreprises, desquelles choses prie ledit roy trescrestien audit roy d'Escosse luy en faire responce le plustost qu'il pourra, et incontinent icelle ouye fera ledit roy trescrestien de son coste ce qui sera advise entre eulx deux pour le myeux a la tincion et deffence de leurs royaumes, pays, terres et seigneuries et aussi pour invader leurs ennemys communs par mer et par terre a la plus grant puissance et dilligence que possible sera.

Item, et de faire l'entreprinse en temps indeu et non convenable ce seroit gaster leurs armees et les affoiblir, mais en attendant le temps et leurs propres se pourroient ce pendant lesdits roys pourvoir de toutes choses necessaires pour la guerre tant par mer comme par terre, a quoy faire veult ledit roy trescrestien non seulement adroisser sadite armee, mais aussy veult ayder de ce qu'il pourra audit roy d'Escosse, et semble bien audit roy trescrestien que en faisant de bonne heure lesdits provisions pour mettre a execution leur entreprinse en temps deu et raisonnable qu'ilz auront leurs armees tant par mer comme

¹ See preceding letter and p. 36, note 1.

par terre si grosses et bien esquippees de toutes choses que les ennemys ne seront les plus forts.

Item, et au regard de la reservation de la clause qui s'ensuit: *Aut saltem*¹ *que dictus rex Scotorum* etc., contenue es lettres d'alliance, ledit roy trescrestien ne l'avoit mis en son alliance sinon a bonne fin pource qu'il convient aucunesfoys pour quelques bonnes causes faire tresves pour quelque peu de temps avec les ennemys et sont lesdits deux roys loing l'un de l'autre par mer et par terre, parquoy ne pourroient a heure deue notiffier l'un a l'autre lesdits tresves qui pourroient aucunesfoys estre necessaires a quelque bon fin. Mais ledit roy trescrestien a este content que ladite clause feust ostee desdites alliances et de fait l'a fait oster comme on pourra veoir par la teneur desditz alliances que porte audit roy ledit de la Mothe.

Item, et remercyé de rechef trescordialement ledit roy trescrestien icelluy roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, de ce qu'il luy a pleu faire si ample et ouverte declaracion aux ambassadeurs du roy d'Angleterre en demonstant le bon amour cordial et entier qu'il luy porte comme a son bon frere, cousin et allye, et qu'il luy vouloit secourir et ayder contre ledit roy d'Angleterre et tous autres et de tant de bonnes choses contenue en ses instructions dont ledit roy trescrestien se tient grandement tenu et oblige a sondit bon frere et cousin, desirant le recongnoistre de tout son pouvoir.²

Item, et aussi remerciera tresgrandement de la part dudit roy trescrestien sondit bon frere et cousin le roy d'Escosse de la grande et ferme perseverance qu'il demonstre avoir a continuer et demourer perpetuellement en bonne amytie, confederacion et alliance avec ledit roy trescrestien

¹ See Appendix II.

² James had written to Lord Dacre, 18th July, anent lack of redress for grievances (Brodie, 1297). But the tone of his correspondence with Henry and his ambassadors does not seem to be such as could be called 'so ample and open a declaration' (Brodie, 1302, 1314, 1315, 1340, 1342). The English were preparing for possible war with Scotland (*ibid.*, 1317, 1363), and knew of the French persuasions to James. It was reported that James would make war if he received the tribute that the French King pays to England (Brodie, 1380), a partially true statement of one of the conditions in No. IX.

qui est chose a luy tant agreable, prouffictable et honorable que plus ne pourroit et de tant plus que ledit roy trescrestien a este adverty comme les roys d'Arragon et d'Angleterre ses ennemys en venant toutesfoys directement contre leurs sermens, foy et promesses l'ont sollicite et prochasse pour le tirer a leur secte, mauulvaise et damnee pallyce d'un manteau de faulxsemblant et simulacion, par tous les moyens qu'ilz ont peu, de soy departir de l'amytie du roy trescrestien, mais toutes les persuasions cauteleuses procedans des inventions et cautelles dudit roy d'Arragon ne leur ont peu proufficter pour la grande constance, vertus et vraye amour causee de toute anciennete entre les roys d'Escosse et de France, leurs subgetz, et depuis renouvellee par lesditz roys successivement et de nouveau entre lesditz roys a present regnans. Lesquelz, oultre lesditz alliances et confederacions anciennes sont alliez par consanguinite et proximate de sang plus que tous les autres roys de crestiente, desquelles demonstracions et perseverances si vertueuses, amyables et cordialles ledit roy trescrestien en aura perpetuelle memoire et recongnissance et sera prest a le monstrier par effect quant besoing sera, et prie ledit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere aussi avoir ceste confidence de luy que a tousiours [ete] et perpetuellement luy sera bon et loyal frere et cousin et que jamais pour prince ne autre personne ne l'abandonnera, mais en tous ses affaires luy donnera secours et ayde a luy possible pour la conservacion de ses royaulmes, pays, estatz et seigneuries.

Item, et combien que besoing ne feust avoir autre tesmoignaige ne approbacion de ladite amytie et loyaute audit roy trescrestien toutesfoys, puis qu'il a pleu audit roy d'Escosse, son bon frere, que Monseigneur de Moraye luy en escripvist, cela a este tresagreable audit roy trescrestien congnoissant que ledit evesque de Moraye est tresbon prelat et vertueulx qui a tousiours desire ladite amytie et alliance et l'a preferee a toutes autres pratiques et inventions que lesdits ennemys luy avoient voullu mectre en avant, auquel seigneur de Moraye ledit roy trescrestien fait aussi response et luy desire faire plaisir comme il merite

assez pour sesdits vertus et loyaute et aussi pour l'amour qu'il luy porte, qui procede parce qu'il congnoist que sondit frere le roy d'Escosse a ce voulloir envers le roy trescrestien et fait comme le bon serviteur qui suyt la voulonte de son maistre et aussi ledit seigneur de Moraye congnoist estre le bien de tous lesditz deux roys.

Item, et quant au fait du consile sera respondu que le consile a este assigne et indiet par messeigneurs les cardinaux qui ont dit le povoir faire en ensuivant les consiles generaux de Pise, Constance et Basle, et aussi parce que le pape avoit promis, jure et voue assembler le consile en cas qu'il ne le feist assembler, c'est assavoir a la plus grande partie desditz cardinaux et en la negligee de la plus part a la moindre part. Et pource que lesditz cardinaux qui ont assigne ledit consile congnoissoient l'intencion du pape estre tout a faire guerres et esmouvoir la crestiente et troubler toute la paix de l'eglise, a ceste cause pour y donner ordre et refrener son impetuosite auroient este d'adviz de assembler ledit consile pour ladite cause et autres qui concernent le fait de l'Eglise et crestiente, a laquelle indiction du consile l'empereur le premier a adhere et envoya sa procuracion speciale y comparoistre, aussi y envoya ses gens et procureurs et pareillement le roy trescrestien, dont fut adverty le roy d'Escosse et autres princes pour faire le semblable. Et parce peult entendre ledit roy d'Escosse que ledit roy de France a eu cause d'adherer sachant que le pape ne tendoit a autre fin que a la ruine des estatz dudit roy trescrestien et de ses amys et alliez. Et au regard d'envoyer au consile par ledit roy d'Escosse il sera assez au temps de l'entreprinse qui se fera par eulx deux contre lesditz ennemys.¹

Fait a Bloys le ij^{me} jour d'octobre l'an mil cinq cens et douze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

¹ Contrary to the implication in this paragraph, the Council of Pisa was almost entirely French in inception; it had only a minority of cardinals, without counting Julius II.'s creation of a new block of those disposed to favour himself; the emperor was never more than half-hearted in its support, while James was always lukewarm.

XII

Secret Instructions by Louis XII. to the Seigneur de la Mothe

Blois, 2nd October 1512.

He trusts the King of Scots more than any other prince because they are near of kin and because he has found in him cordial and loyal affection as in no other prince.

He begs him to consider the ancient enmity which the English have borne to France and Scotland and still bear, and that it is necessary to diminish their pride and rashness because they intend to fight both countries at once, and think nothing of it. Also they are allies of the King of Aragon, who, hiding his ambition under cloak of the Church, and founding in the Holy League a sect most dangerous to the Church, has joined the Pope, who approves his enterprises. Under the shadow of the Church the King of Aragon is a great oppressor. As to the Church of Rome it may be seen how she is ruled, where all vices prevail and virtue is only used to colour the evil intentions of the Pope and King of Aragon. The King of England thinks by their favour to succeed in his enterprises.

To resist that schismatic sect the King of Scots must do all he can, which is much, for he is powerful, has good soldiers and many valiant men in his kingdom. Equally the King will make his effort and yet will be glad to help the King of Scots as time and his affairs permit, and at the beginning of their campaign against the English will send 50,000 francs, artillery, cannon-balls and powder. He begs the King of Scots to approve this offer, in which there will be no failure.

De la Mothe will tell how many ships the King intends to put to sea from Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne, and Pregent's galleys. He hopes to be more powerful on sea than the English and Spanish, with the help of the King of Scots.

The King of Scots may rest assured that, once divisions and war are appeased, the King will help him in his holy voyage against the Infidels.

De la Mothe will tell what was done by the Spaniards at Florence and at Prato, at the capture of the latter town such cruelty was seen as was never done by the Saracens. They killed men, women, and children, priests and monks, besides committing other nameless crimes, and the greater part of these Spaniards were circumcised persons not Christians, at least unbelievers in God and the Christian faith.

XII

Instructions secretes au Seigneur de la Mothe de ce qu'il aura a dire de la part du roy au roy d'Escosse

Premierement dira audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere,

allye et confedere qu'il a singulier fiance en luy et plus que en tous autres princes de la crestiente pource qu'ilz sont prouchés parens et plus que lesditz autres roys et princes et en luy a trouve cordialle amour et loyalle, ce qu'il n'a trouve aux autres princes comme assez a peu entendre le roy d'Escosse.

Item, luy prie qu'il considere bien les anciennes inimitiez que les Angloys ont tousiours portees aux Francoys et Escossoys et encores de present portent et qu'il est besoing de leur diminuer leur grant orgueil et temerite pource qu'ilz leur semble que sont pour combatre lesditz Escossoys et Francoys ensemble et n'en font extime et leur croist tousiours l'orgueil. Lesquelz a present se sont alliez du roy d'Arragon qui a prins le manteau de l'esglise pour couvrir son ambition et mauvaise voulonte et a trouve un secte tresdangereuse a la crestiente qu'il appelle la sainte ligue, s'est joint avecques le pape auquel complaist en ses invencions et dampnees entreprises soubz umbre de l'esglise laquelle ledit roy d'Arragon opprime plus que ne feist jamais prince. Et au regart de l'esglise de Rome on voit comment elle est gouvernee en laquelle tous vices regnent et de vertuz l'on ne se ayde sinon pour donner couleur aux mauvaises intencions desditz pape et roy d'Arragon. Et semble au roy d'Angleterre que au moyen des faveurs desditz pape et roy d'Arragon il viendra a fin de ses entreprises.

Pour resister a ladite dampnee secte scismatique en crestiente il est besoing que ledit roy d'Escosse face de son couste ce qu'il pourra, lequel peult beaucoup car il est puissant et a bons combatans et grand nombre de vaillans et preux en son dit royaume, et pareillement ledit roy trescrestien fera de son couste son effort et neantmoins sera ledit roy trescrestien content de aider audit roy d'Escosse de ce qu'il pourra et ainsy comme le temps et ses affaires le pourront porter, et au commencement de l'entreprise qui se fera par lesditz deux roys contre lesditz Angloys luy enverra la somme de cinquante mille francs et de belles et bonnes pieces d'artillerie, des boulets et pouldre pour ayder a la conduite de son armee, et prie audit roy d'Escosse son

bon frere que pour ceste foys se vueille contenter et prendre en gre ledit offre auquel n'y aura faulte au jour et temps qui sera advise de commencer la guerre contre lesdits Angloys.¹

Item, dira ledit de la Mothe le nombre des navires que ledit roy trescrestien a intencion de faire mectre sur mer au temps de ladite entreprinse tant de Normandie, Bretagne et Guyenne et pareillement des galleres de Pregent qui est arrive en Guyenne et Bretagne, et fera ladite armee si grosse qu'il espere estre plus puissant sur la mer que lesditz Angloys et Espaignolz a l'aide de sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse.²

Item, et se treuve seur ledit roy d'Escosse que les divisions et guerres appeasees et venu le temps qu'il pourra estre hors desditz grosses affaires qu'il fera pour luy aider comme pour soymesmes et le monstrera par effect et mesmement a parfaire son saint voiage et entreprise contre les Infidelles.³

Item, luy dira ce que a este fait par les Espaignolz a Fleurance et a Prato a la prinse de laquelle ville ont este faictes tant de cruaultez et inhumanitez que les Sarrazins n'en feront jamaiz autant : ilz ont tue hommes et femmes, enffans, prestres, religieux, violez filles et femmes religieuses et enfermees lesquelles ont commence et use de peche contre nature et autres telles inhonnestes choses et estoient la pluspart desditz espaignolz gens

¹ Brodie (1501) gives the warrant by Louis XII. for payments in connection with sending de la Mothe, Peguineau, and Piefort to Scotland with a present of 100 puncheons of wine, 800 iron cannon-balls and 15,000 lb. weight of powder. The arrival of the ships was noted by Dacre on 8th December, who added that eight serpentines of brass had been sent as well (Brodie, 1504).

² Gaston Prégent de Bidoulx, French Admiral in the Mediterranean, had, on his return, greatly advanced the preparation of the French fleet. Prégent had brought seven galleys, ships had been fitted out in Normandy and Brittany, and the French fleet numbered, towards the end of the autumn of 1512, twenty-two, as against twenty-five English ships. The largest French ships were of lighter tonnage than the latter (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. xxiv, 47, note 1).

³ One of the ostensible reasons of the Lateran Council was the preparation for a crusade.

circoncis non crestiens, aumoins mal croyans en Dieu et
notre foy crestien.¹

Fait a Bloys le ij^{me} jour d'octobre mil cinq cens et douze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Scott : scriba consilii.

XIII

Instructions by the Duke of Albany to Jacques Marchal

Bayonne, 3rd November 1512.

He sends the bearer because he wishes to have news of the King of Scots and because he was absent in the lands of the King of Navarre when the King of Scots sent his last ambassadors, and thus was not able to be of service to him.

The bearer is to give news of the retreat of the Spaniards and English and other recent events.

He is to thank the King for his kind messages by the Bishop of Moray and others.

He is also to express the Duke's desire to do service to the King and to see him, and to remind him that the Duke has begged to be allowed to see him, even in disguise, to do such service as he might please, and that the Duke would have taken pains to tell him all he knew to be profitable and necessary for his service, to which effect the Duke sent notes. But the King of Scots sent word that he was not yet prepared to see him and would tell him when it would be time, being anxious to see and speak with him.

The bearer is to thank the King for this and also for his offer touching Naples, of which Marchal will speak privately if he is asked.

Marchal is sent with two requests of which the first seems reasonable, since the Duke is of the King's own house, and which, without great expense, can procure him both benefit and much honour, which he values more. He will give the scheme for the Duke's marriage and the money necessary, assuring the King that he would not urge the matter save that pressure has been put on him to settle it.

The bearer is to beg the King of Scots to write in his favour to the King

¹ The Spanish troops, under the command of Ramon de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, acting in conjunction with those of the Pope, captured Florence, which was punished for its support of France by the restoration of the Medici. The capture of Prato was distinguished for its barbarity (*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i. p. 199).

and Queen, so that, when it comes to the wedding, they may be pleased to give him some property in their country.

He is also to touch on the matter of the other daughter, aged thirteen years. If at this time it should please the King to carry through the match, the King of Denmark would have no reason to be discontent with it.

The Secretary of the King of Denmark spoke of a great marriage due to the King of Scots by the King of Denmark and suggested that if the King of Scots would prefer to take the money which would come of this marriage in deduction of that sum, he could do so. The marriage would also confirm the alliance between the King of Scots and his friends and would be useful to the Kings of France and Denmark as well.

The bearer is to repeat the Duke's desire to serve his sovereign and his wish that he would command some service to prove and test him, and after that to use him according to his pleasure, for no one will dare to say that the Duke ever wished any other thing, as the Bishop of Moray and others who have seen and met with him would say.

XIII

ALBANY

*Instructions et memoires [] de ce qu'il a adire
et [] mon souverain seigneur*

Premierement fera mes treshumbles recommendacions [] luy presentera mes lettres de credence.

Secondement lui dira la cause pourquoy je l'envoye la qui est [pource que] je desire savoir de ses nouvelles et bonne prosperite et pource que [] le temps qu'il renvoya la Mothe et Maistre Jacques Ogulby pour accorder d'entre luy et le roy mon maistre j'estoys pardeca en Biscaye aux terres du roy de Navarre ou je receuz ses lettres qu'il luy pleust me rescripre, bien marry que je n'estoys en court pour luy faire tout le service a moy possible ainsi que luy escripvys deslors.

Item luy dira de l'estat des affaires de deca tant de la retraicte des Espagnolz que des Angloys et consequemment des autres choses qui sont advenues jusques a present.¹

Item, le merciera treshumblement des bonnes parolles que son plaisir a este me mander tant par escript que par la bouche de ceulx qu'il a envoyez de deca et mesmes a la

¹ The English left Spain on 30th October 1512.

venue de monseigneur de Murray par luy et depuis par maistre Jaques Ogulvy,¹ la Mothe et autres.

Item, dira a mondict souverain seigneur l'envye que j'ay de luy faire service et de le veoir, dont plusieurs foiz luy ay rescript affin qu'il congneust mieulx et plusamment mon vouloir et eust entiere science et parfaicte fiance en moy.

Item, luy ramentevoir que je l'ay supplie et requis que son plaisir fust estre contant que je le fusse veoir en quelque sorte qu'il luy plairoit pardela, fust en habit dissimule ou autrement pour luy pouvoir faire quelque service ainsi qu'il eust bien sceu adviser et aussi que j'eusse mis peine l'advertir de tout ce que j'eusse sceu estre utile prouffictable et necessaire pour sondit service et sur ce en ay envoye memoires [] dire, surquoy son plaisir fut me mander et rescripre que [] n'estoit dispose pour ce faire encores et que quant il seroit temps [] me manderoit volontiers et avoit envye de me veoir et parler a moy desirant mon bien et en iceully m'aider.

Item, de ce bon vouloir ledit Marchal merciera tres-humblement le roy mondit souverain seigneur et semblablement de l'oeffre qu'il luy pleust me faire par le sieur de la Mothe touchant le fait de Napples duquel ledit Marchal parlera a mondit souverain seigneur s'il luy en demande a part.

Item luy dira et remonstrera que consideree toute choses et le temps qui s'en va de jour a autre je bien voulu envoyer par devers luy a deux fins, le premier est pour luy faire une requeste qui me semble honneste et raisonnable veu le lieu et la maison dont je suis sorty qui est la sienne mesmes, et sans grant coustance me peut beaucoup faire de bien et beaucoup d'honneur que plus je prise. C'est que si son

¹ Mr. James Ogilvy was the second son of Sir James Ogilvy of Deskford, Kt., by Agnes, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. He was the first professor of Civil Law in Aberdeen. After the death of Bishop Elphinstone in 1514, Albany presented Ogilvy to the see of Aberdeen, but Alexander Gordon, cousin of the Earl of Huntly, was elected. In compensation, Albany presented Ogilvy to the commendatorship of Dryburgh and rectory of Kinkell. He died in Paris, 30th May 1518.

plaisir est que le mariaige se perface d'entre mademoiselle de Bouloigne et moy veu que les parens d'elle qui sont grans seigneurs desirant en scavoir la fin, dont en ceste matiere je n'ay jamaiz rien voulu faire sans son bon plaisir vouloir et consentement comme la raison est et ne suis delibere autrement faire son plaisir soit me mander par ledit Marchal se qu'il luy plaira que j'en face.¹

Item, et si son plaisir est que ledit mariaige se perface et consomme il luy sera supplie et requis treshumblement par ledit Marchal de ma part affin de valider les donacions que ladite damoiselle me fait de tous ses biens qui sont de la valeur et estimacion de xxxv a xl^m livres de rente qu'il plaise au roy mondit souverain me donner et octroyer lettres de sceurte pour luy et ses hoirs de quelque somme de deniers jusques a six ou huit mille francs chacun an pour pouvoir asseoir la douaire de ladite demoiselle ainsi qu'il est accorde et convenu au traicte de mariaige, lequel douaire je ne puis ailleurs asseoir ni assigner comme mondict souverain est assez adverty et pource qu'il est requis par la coustume des lieux et pays ou les biens de ladite damoiselle sont situez et assis pour vallider lesditz donnacions comme dit est que je luy donne comme elle fait a moy ; le plaisir du roy mondit souverain seigneur soit me faire ce bien autrement lesditz donnacions seroient nulles et de nul effect ou valleur et ne pourroie joyr des choses a moy donnees moy survivant ladite demoiselle.

Item, qui si le bon plaisir et vouloir du roy mondit souverain seigneur est me faire ce bien il le tiendray par maniere de pencion ou autrement par maniere de provision jusques a ce que son plaisir sera autrement vouloir pour-

¹ Anne, elder daughter and heiress of Jean III., Count d'Auvergne, Seigneur de la Tour and Jeanne de Bourbon, daughter of Jean, Count de Vendôme. She was a first cousin of Albany, as his father had married Anne, third daughter of Bertrand, Count d'Auvergne and Boulogne, father of Jean III. The title, Mlle. de Boulogne, was not strictly correct, as Comte Bertrand had exchanged Boulogne for the 'jagerie' (later *comté*) de Lauraguais in Languedoc. Countess Anne succeeded her father on his death in 1501, and the contract of marriage between her and Albany was dated 13th July 1505. As her father's marriage was in 1494, Anne can only have been a child of about ten years at that time.

veoir de mon affaire quant a la reintegracion des biens que feu monsieur mon pere avoit ¹ affin que ce pendant mon affaire ne demeure, car apres la consommacion dudit mariaige les donnacions que nous pourrions faire l'un envers l'autre ne vouldroient riens par la coustume dudit pays.

La seconde raison pour laquelle j'envoye ledit Marchal devers le roy mon souverain Seigneur est pour luy dire et remonstrer que quelque affaire que j'aye jamais eu je ne l'ay aucunement voulu presser de ceste maniere ne d'autre chose fors d'avoir sa bonne grace, le veoir et luy faire service de tout mon pouvoir et luy dire verite de toutes choses que je verroye estre utiles et prouffictables pour sondit service comme dit est, et n'estoit que je suis presse dudit affaire je n'eusse encores presse mondit souverain seigneur de la requeste que je luy fais presentement, parquoy ledit Marchal luy suppliera treshumblement qu'il luy plaise vouloir prendre la chose a bonne part, car de ce et tout autre chose ne le vouldroyt presser si n'est tout ainsi que son bon plaisir sera faire et ordonner de disposer sur le tout.

Item, et si le roy mondit souverain seigneur ne trouve cela bon son plaisir soit me mander a ceste foiz que c'est qu'il luy plaise que je face pour dela prendre quelque resolucion d'avoir quelque estat et forme honneste de vivre actendu que d'icy en avant j'ay perdu l'aaige dequoy la honte y pourra desormais estre et que j'ay essaye assez necessite pour maintenant vivre d'autre sorte, et luy remonstrera ledit Marchal que son plaisir soit avoir regard et consideracion affin qu'on ne se puisse mocquer de moy, luy suppliant treshumblement qu'il luy plaise mander a ceste foiz pour ma premiere requeste ainsi que tousiours comme raison est y ayant ma parfaicte esperance et confidence.

Item, que la principale raison pourquoy je le desire est affin qu'on ne puisse dire que ladite damoiselle ait espouse

¹ Dacre reported on 8th April 1514, that the bill for the Duke of Albany's restitution was read, but not yet determined (Brodie, 2793).

ung homme de si pouvre ou estrange pays qu'il ne luy ayt secu et peu faire aucun bien.

Item et en oultre ledit Marshal suppliera ledit seigneur de par moy treshumblement qu'il luy plaise vouloir rescripre au roy et a la royne en mon favcur leur recommandant mon affaire quant ce viendra au faict des nopces de sorte qu'il leur plaise faire en maniere que j'aye quelque bien en leur pays.

Item parlera ledit Marchal au roy mondit souverain seigneur touchant l'autre fille qui a xiiij ans et luy remonstrera que ung segretaire du roy de Dannemarch m'en avoit parle comme de luy pour le filz du roy son maistre.¹ Il peut avoir environ de iiij a v ans et deslors j'en rescripvys au roy mondit souverain seigneur a ce qu'il en feist partie ainsi que bon luy sembleroit et que si encores son plaisir estoit le faire et qu'il eust la chose agreable il luy pleust de nouveau remectre la chose en termes de la traicter en maniere qu'elle sortist effect et l'on fera tel party a ladite fille que ledit seigneur roy de Dannemarch n'aura cause de s'en mescontenter.

Item, que deslors ledit segretaire me parla de quelque mariaige bien gros qui estoit deu au roy mondit souverain a cause de ses predecesseurs par ledit seigneur roy de Dannemarch et que s'il estoit ainsi que le roy mondit souverain aymast mieulx prendre l'argent qu'il perviendroit dudit mariaige en deduction de sa somme pour s'en aider si besosing estoit le pourroit faire.

Item, que moyennant ledit mariaige l'alliance seroit tousiours plus scure et plus conserve entre mondit souverain ses amys et alyez que jamaiz et ne pourroit estre que

¹ The letters of James IV. to the King of Denmark during 1512 do not mention the marriage. It is noted in the instructions to Andrew Brounhill sent to Christian, King of Denmark, 16th January 1513-14 (Brodie, 2578; *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 186). The sister of Countess Anne was Madeleine, born two years before her father's death. This marriage did not take place: Madeleine was married in 1518 to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino, nephew of Leo X., and her daughter, Catherine, married Henri II., King of France. To her Countess Anne bequeathed Auvergne. Christian, King of Denmark, married, 12th August 1515, Isabella of Austria, sister of the Emperor, Charles V.

bon tant pour le roy mon maistre que pour mondit souverain et ledit roy de Dannemarch.

Item, luy dira ledit Marchal en oultre et pour la fin que son plaisir soit entendre le desire que j'ai de luy faire service et sur ce son plaisir soit se vouloir enquerir de la verite et me donner a congnoistre qu'il l'entend ainsi, c'est a dire de me commander chose ou il me puisse esprouver, congnoistre et essayer et ayant ceste congnoissance son plaisir soit me faire ce bien et honneur de me donner a congnoistre qu'il me tient pour tel en m'employant en ce que son bon plaisir sera, car je n'euz jamais autre vouloir et n'est nul qui l'auzast autrement soustenir qu'il vint jusques a ma congnoissance ainsi que j'estime que monseigneur de Murray le scet et les autres gens de bien qui m'ont veu et hante s'ils veullent dire le vray, ce que croy qu'ilz feront et ont fait, et aussi ay charge mondit segretaire present porteur plusamment dire et remonstrer a mondit souverain seigneur auquel son plaisir soit vouloir donner credence comme a moymesmes.

Fait a Bayonne le trois^{me} jour de novembre l'an mil cinq cens et douze.

Ainsi signe Albanye et scele du scel a ses armes.

MARCHAL.

XIV

*Instructions by Louis XII. to Jacques Marchal,
Secretary of the Duke of Albany*

Blois, 5th December 1512.¹

He is to relate the affection which the King bears to the Duke of Albany as much for his near relationship to the King of Scots as for his virtues, because of which the King desires his advancement.

He is to explain that the Duke is no longer of an age to live as he has done hitherto, and that the King desires that the marriage arranged between the Duke and the eldest daughter of the house of Boulogne, a

¹ The *Treasurer's Accounts* have no note of Marchal's presence in Scotland at this time. He seems to have been in Scotland previously, for the accounts show a payment of 40 crowns on 30th April 1512 to 'Monsieur de Albanais Secretar' at his passage to France (*H.T.A.*, vol. iv. p. 344).

great match for the said Duke, should take place. The King has thought good to inform the King of Scots that her parents and friends are pressing for its accomplishment, and that Albany will do nothing without his sovereign's consent.

If this seems good to the King of Scots, the King begs that he will restore the Duke to the duchy and other goods of his late father, that he may assign a dowry to his wife, who brings, by her marriage contract, all, or the greater part of her property, amounting to 35,000 or 40,000 *livres* of income. It is necessary by the custom of the places where the said property lies that the Duke should give to his wife as she does to him, which he cannot do unless he is reinstated in his lands, for otherwise the Duke could not succeed to his wife's property if he survived her.

Should the King of Scots not please to reinstate the Duke at present, he is begged on behalf of the King to allow him 6000 or 8000 francs a year as pension until he shall have provided otherwise for him, so that it may not be said that he comes of too poor a country to give anything to his wife.

The King of Scots is to understand that Albany has never pressed him for that or any other business, and were it not for the said marriage, he would not have done so at this time.

Four or five years past, when a secretary of the King of Denmark was at court, he spoke with Albany of the marriage of Madeleine, younger sister of Mademoiselle de Boulogne, with the son of the King of Denmark, concerning which the Duke and the King of Denmark both wrote to the King of Scots; yet there has been no answer. Marchal is to say that the King of France would like that marriage to take place, as it appears suitable and would confirm the alliance between the three kings. If the King of Scots approves, he is begged to take the matter in hand and write to the King of Denmark, as the King of France is writing. Should the King of Denmark consider it, he will have reason to be content with the arrangements made.

XIV

LOYS POUR ALBANY

Instructions a Jacques Marchal secretaire de Monseigneur le duc d'Albanye et ce qu'il aura a dire et remonstrer au roy d'Escosse de la part du roy touchant l'affaire de mondit seigneur le duc d'Albanye pour lequel ledit seigneur duc l'envoye presentement envers ledit roy d'Escosse.

Premierement apres la presentacion de ses lettres, salutations et recommandacions accoustumees faictes audit seigneur roy d'Escosse de la part du roy dira et remonstrera

l'amour que ledit seigneur a tousiours eu et porte a mondit seigneur d'Albanye mesmement tant pour l'affinite et consanguinte dont il luy actient et a la maison dont il est yssu qui est celle mesmes dudit roy d'Escosse que aussi pour ses vertus qui sont grandement a recommander, et que a ceste cause le roy a tousiours desire et desire de tout son cueur son honneur, exaltacion et advancement selon qu'il appartient a son estat et qualite.

Item dira et remonstrera audit seigneur roy d'Escosse que le roy considerant que ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye n'est plus en aage pour vivre en la sorte qu'il a fait jusques icy et qu'il est temps qu'il preigne quelque estat et forme de vivre ledit seigneur desireroit que le mariaige entremise par le moyen d'icelluy seigneur et de la royne entre mondit seigneur d'Albanye et la fille aisnee de Boulongne,¹ qui est un gros party et tresavantageux pour mondit seigneur d'Albanye se perface car il en est presse par les parens et amys de ladite demoiselle de Boulongne dont le roy a bien voulu advertir ledit seigneur roy d'Escosse comme son bon frere et alye et parent prouche dudit duc d'Albanye, et sans le bon plaisir, vouloir et consentement duquel ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye ne voudroit riens faire ne conclurre en ceste matiere comme raison est.

Item priera et requerra ledit roy d'Escosse tresaffectueusement de la part du roy que, si son plaisir est telle que ledit mariaige se face et consume, il luy plaise ayant regard a la qualite de la personne de mondict seigneur le duc, a sa maison et proximate de sang dont il luy actient vouloir reintegrer mondit seigneur d'Albanye en sa duchie et autres biens de feu monseigneur le duc son pere pour en joyr et pouvoir assigner douaire a sa femme ainsi qu'il est accorde au traicte dudit mariaige par lequel traicte madite demoiselle de Boulongne donne a mondict seigneur le duc en contract de mariaige tous ses biens ou la plupart d'iceux qui sont a la valeur et estimacion de xxxv a xl^m livres de rente et requis a ce que ladite donacion puisse estre bonne et vallable par la coustume des lieux ou lesdits biens sont

¹ See p. 59, note 1.

assis que semblablement mondit seigneur le duc donne a sadite femme comme elle fait a luy ce qu'il ne pourroit faire sans estre reintegre en sesdits biens ; et par ce moyen seroient lesditz donacions nulles et de nul effect et valleur et ne pourroit mondit seigneur le duc joyr des choses a luy donnees, luy survivant sa femme.

Item, et si le plaisir dudit seigneur roy d'Escosse n'estoit reintegrer mondit seigneur d'Albanye en sesdits biens pour le present, luy priera et requerra de la part du roy qu'il luy plaise donner sceurte a mondit seigneur d'Albanye pour recouvrer chacun an jusques a la somme de six ou huit mil francs, soit par maniere de pension ou autrement de provision actendant qu'il luy ait autrement pourveu en maniere qu'il puisse asseoir et assigner ledit douaire et qu'on ne puisse dire qu'il soit yssu de si povvre lieu qu'il n'ait donne quelque chose a sa femme.

Item remonstrera et fera bien entendre audit seigneur roy d'Escosse que mondit seigneur d'Albanye, quelque affaire qu'il ait jamaiz eu, ne l'a presse en facon du monde dudit affaire ni d'autre chose fors d'avoir sa bonne grace, le veoir et luy faire service de tout son pouvoir et n'estoit qu'il est presse dudit mariaige comme dit est cy dessus il ne l'en eust encones voulu presser, luy suppliant vouloir prendre en bonne part ce qu'il en a fait presentement et vouloir considerer le besoing et necessite que ledict seigneur d'Albanye en a.

Item, pource qu'il y a environ quatre ou cinq ans que ung segretaire du roy de Dannemarch estant icy devers le roy eust quelques parolles avec mondit seigneur d'Albanye du mariaige de Mademoiselle Magdelaine, seur puisne de Mademoiselle de Boulongne avec le filz dudit roy de Dannemarch¹ et dont ledit seigneur d'Albanye deslors escripvist audit seigneur roy d'Escosse et pareillement ledit roy de Dannemarch, et neantmoins n'en a depuis eu aucune responce, ledit Jacques Marchal dira audit roy d'Escosse de la part du roy que ledit seigneur desireroit bien que ledit mariaige se fist et sortist effect car il luy

¹ See p. 61, note 1.

semble estre bien sortable et convenable pour les parties et en sera l'amytie et alyance qui a de tous temps este envers le roy et lesdits roys d'Escosse et de Dannemarch de tant plus augmentee et corroboree, et a ceste cause la requerra de la part du roy et s'il a la chose agreable qu'il vueille prendre la matiere en main et en escrire audit roy de Dannemarch auquel le roy en escript semblablement affin que par son bon moyen et conduite ledit mariaige puisse sortir effect, et si ledit roy de Dannemarch y veult entendre l'on luy fera party si bon et si raisonnable qu'il aura cause de se contenter, et de la responce qu'il aura sur ce tant dudit roy d'Escosse que dudit roy de Dannemarch advertira incontinent ledit seigneur.

Fait a Bloys le v^{me} jour de decembre l'an mil cinq cens et douze. Ainsi signe Loys et au dessoubz contresigne Robertet.

MARSHAL.

XV

Instructions by Louis XII. to the Seigneur de la Mothe

Blois, 5th March 1512-13.¹

He is to thank the King of Scots for his willingness to observe the close alliance between the kings, kingdoms and subjects of Scotland and France, recently renewed, which the Most Christian King will keep in all the heads and articles agreed on.

The said King remembers having often warned his brother of Scotland of the evil intentions of the English, which he could never have believed to be such as they have shown, because of the alliances between him and the King of England, which he himself has always observed most loyally. But the King of England waited to break them only till he found the Pope

¹ These instructions were not presented till 19th May 1513, according to the endorsement. The long delay is possibly explained by Dr. West, English ambassador, in his letter to Henry VIII. of 13th April. He reported that James said that de la Mothe had been taken by the English, or else was with the French, for his ship was laden with biscuit and beer, ready to come forth when Jok a Barton came away, three weeks ago (Brodie, 1775). The *Treasurer's Accounts* (vol. iv. p. 411) note a payment on 15th May to a man of Lord Sempill's who brought word of de la Mothe's coming. But according to vol. x. of Navy Record Society (p. 179), de la Mothe did not leave France till May, when he went 'querir les navires d'Ecosse.'

and other princes the open enemies of the King of France, having no regard to oaths and promises made by him to the King or to his ambassadors nor to the honours and benefits received by his father and himself from the King and his predecessors, who placed his father on the throne of England, a deed for which neither has been grateful, especially the present King of England.

As the King of Scots has said, it is better that the King of England should have declared himself so that they should never trust him, but guard against him as their ancient enemy and make a great army to diminish his pride and reconquer the kingdom of England for the King of Scots, as having the real right to it, so that for ever they may be secure against the English. The King of France thinks the sooner it is done the better.

To do this the King will give all the help he can, as he has made known by de la Mothe and other ambassadors.

He also desires that the war against the English should end soon, so that he may help the King of Scots in his voyage against the Infidels.

If the King has formerly begged the King of Scots to keep peace with the English, he begs him to consider that the reason was his desire for a universal peace in Christendom that its princes might, with one accord, collect a great army against the Infidels, of which he desired the King of Scots to be the leader.

The King thanks the King of Scots for his advice to make ready his navy, as the first ready have the advantage, and to put in it good captains and the best fighters as do the English. This the King intends to do, and indeed his navy is mostly ready and will be finished in a week, according to those who have charge of it. He has chosen some of the best fighters for his ships among those of Brittany, Normandy, Guienne and Picardy, and in great numbers, so that he hopes with the help of God and of the King of Scots to be the stronger.

Because the English are making the greatest navy they can, the King begs for some of the ships of the King of Scotland, principally the largest, of which he understands that there is none like it in Christendom and of which de la Mothe has spoken. These should be sent so soon as possible that the navy may make sail against the English. De la Mothe is charged to remind the King of Scots that he has had what he wished from France for his ships and other affairs.

As to the army which the King of Scots intends to lead into England at midsummer, because then grass may be found, the King finds the idea good. He thinks that, when the two navies are united, they will more often have news of each other than now.

As to the help by the King to the King of Scots, de la Mothe will explain that it will be ready so soon as the Scots navy is joined to that of France, in money, artillery, ammunition and other things, but it cannot be sent safely till the navies are together.

The King thanks the King of Scots for his offer to invade England in person and for his information of the journey of the English ambassador to him and for his intention to persevere in the alliance notwithstanding all promises, threats, and persuasions.

The King offers to help the King of Scots in the conservation of his kingdom and the recovery of those lands to which he has right.

De la Mothe will beg for the ships, so that the King may send the money and artillery, which are ready, and so that they may be the first to put to sea to fight the common enemy. He will tell how the King has given orders for victuals and other things for the ships when they come.

XV

Instructions au Seigneur de la Mothe, ambassadeur du roy trescrestien devers le roy d'Escosse son bon frere cousin et amy.

Premierement apres les recommandations fetes remerciera cordialement ledit roy d'Escosse de son bon et entier vouloir qu'il a de garder, observer et continuer la bonne vraye et estroicte alliance, confederation et intelligence qui est commance de toute anciennete entre les roys royaulmes et subiectz d'Escosse et France et renouvellee entre lesdits roys d'Escosse et France qui sont a present,¹ laquelle aussi ledit roy trescrestien de son couste gardera et entretiendra de son pouvoir en tous les chappitres et articles acordez et [] entre eulx et en ce ne fera jamais faulte comme se peut tenir asseure ledit roy d'Escosse.

Item, ledit roy trescrestien a bien memoire d'avoir este souvans adverti de la part de son dit bon frere le roy d'Escosse de la mauvaise intencion des Angloys laquelle n'eust jamais cuide estre telle qu'ilz ont monstre par effect veues les alliances qui estoient entre ledit roy trescrestien et le roy d'Angleterre, lesquelles alliances ont tousiours este bien et loyaulment observees par ledit roy trescrestien mais ledit roy d'Angleterre a actendu a les rompre jusques a ce qu'il a veu le pape et autres princes et potentatz declarez ennemys dudit roy trescrestien sans avoir regard au sermenz et promesses par luy faictes audit roy trescrestien ou a ses ambassadeurs ne pareillement aux grans plaisirs,

¹ See p. 49, note 1.

honneurs et bienfaits que son pere et luy ont receues du roy et ses predecesseurs qui ont mis son pere oudit royaume d'Angleterre, ce qu'ilz ont tresmal recongneu et principalement ledit roy d'Angleterre qui est a present.

Item, comme mande ledit roy d'Escosse a sondit bon frere mieulx vault que ledit roy d'Angleterre se soit declare afin que lesditz roys d'Escosse et de France ne se fient jamais en luy mais s'en donnent garde comme de leur ennemy ancien, et aussi que par ensemble facent une bonne grouse armee pour diminuer et abaisser l'orgueil dudit roy d'Angleterre pour luy resister et reconquerir le royaume d'Angleterre pour ledit roy d'Escosse comme ayant le vrai droit en icelluy¹ a ce que perpetuellement soyent assurez desdits Angloys leurs ennemys anciens et est ledit roy treschrestien bien d'avis que le plustoust sera le meilleur.

Item, et pource faire ledit roy treschrestien baillera tout l'aide qu'il pourra ainsi qu'il a fait savoir audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere par ledit de la Mothe et aussi par autres ses ambassadeurs et entend bien ledit roy treschrestien que le bien et augmentation du roy d'Escosse est le sien propre.

Item, a ledit roy treschrestien grand desir que fin soit mise a ceste guerre contre les angloys afin que apres il puisse donner aide et secours audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere et cousin pour faire son voyaige d'oultremer en grouse puissance et reputacion a l'honneur de Dieu et exaltacion de la saincte foy catholique, terreur et crainte des Infidelles.

Item, si ledit roy treschrestien a autre foiz conseille audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere d'entretenir l'amitie et alliance avecques les Angloys comme est contenu es instructions dudit Sieur de la Mothe² parquoy ne s'est pourveu de armys, ledit roy treschrestien pryé ledit roy d'Escosse qu'il preigne cedit advertissement en bonne part et qu'il veille considerer la cause pour laquelle luy donnoit ledit

¹ James claimed England, as nearest male heir to Henry VIII., who was childless, but the reference here is probably to the far-fetched claim as a descendant of Queen Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling.

² The first time such a request appears is in the instructions to Cordier (No. IV.).

conseil qui estoit pource qu'il a tousiours desire une bonne paix universelle en la chrestiente afin que les princes chrestiens peussent d'ung commun assentement faire une grouse armee contre les Infidelles de laquelle desire ledit roy d'Escosse estre le chef et conducteur.

Item, remercyé ledit roy treschrestien son bon frere et cousin ledit roy d'Escosse des bons advertissemens qui luy donne tant pour faire avancer son armee de mer par ce que les premiers y ont l'avantage et aussi de mectre bons capitaines et des meilleurs combatans tout ainsi comme font les Angloys, lesquelz advertissemens ledit roy treschrestien a bien intencion de suyvre et pource faire il a fait faire si bonne diligence que sondit armee de mer est depiecha pour la plus part toute preste et que le reste sera prest dedans huyt jours ainsi comme luy ont fait savoir ceulx qui en ont la charge, et a fait choisir de meilleurs combatans pour mectre dedans ses navires de ceulx de Bretagne, Normandie, Guyenne et Picardie et en bon nombre tant qu'il espere a l'aide de Dieu et de sondit bon frere d'estre le plus fort sur la mer.

Item, pour ce que lesdits Angloys font la plus grouse armee qu'ilz peuvent par mer ¹ ledit roy treschrestien pryé si affectueusement que faire se peut sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse qu'il luy veille aider d'aucunz de ses navires et principalement de la plus grande accompaignee des autres laquelle comme a entendu est si puissante qui ne s'en treuve une telle en chrestiente ² dont luy a parle ledit sieur de la Mothe, lequel plaira croire et luy adiouster foy comme a soy mesmes et qu'elles soyent envoyees le plustoust que possible sera afin que sadite armee de mer puisse plustoust

¹ In February 1512-13 the English fleet numbered twenty-three King's ships and five hired vessels. Henry also was pressing Ferdinand to send him another fleet (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x., Introduction).

² James had boasted to West of the 'Great Michael,' with sixteen pieces of great ordnance on each side (Brodie, 1775). The Venetian ambassador at Rome reported on 21st March 1512-13, that the King of Scotland had fifty ships. A letter of Spinelly, 21st March 1512-13, gives as his opinion that the Scots boasted of their ships 'parquoy ne scet qu'il doit dire. L'on dit par dela pour vray qu'il y aura en tout 300 navires de guerre, avec les aventuriers qui n'ont gaiges ni soule de du Roy' (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*,

faire voile et aller contre lesditz Angloys leurs ennemys communs et anciens et a donne charge ledit Roy tres-crestien audit Seigneur de la Mothe de dire audit Roy d'Escosse que jamais n'a tenu a luy qu'il n'eut ce qu'il a voulu de France pour faire ses navires ne pour ses autres affaires et si aucun empeschement y a este fait en aucunes choses ce n'a este depuis son advenement a la coronne car ledit roy treschrestien n'a chose si chere en son royaume de laquelle ne vouldist complaire a sondit bon frere le roy d'Escosse.

Item et au regard de l'armee par terre que entend faire ledit roy d'Escosse en royaume d'Angleterre a la my este pource que lors on trouvera les herbes aux champs ledit roy trescrestien a trouve bon l'avis dudit roy d'Escosse son bon frere et cousin et luy semble quant les deux armees de mer seront ensemble qu'ilz pourront avoir plus souvant nouvelles l'ung de l'autre que a present pour donner ordre a leurs affaires.¹

Item et au regard de l'aide que le roy treschrestien a offerte audit roy d'Escosse son bon frere luy dira ledit de la Mothe que ladite aide sera prest si toust que les navires dudit roy d'Escosse seront jointes avecques celles de France, tant argent artillerie munitions et autres choses, mais ne se pourront envoyer seurement jusques a ce que lesdites armees soyent ensemble et puissantes comme seront pour passer par tout et aller sercher les ennemys comme le tout a este dit et declare plus amplement audit de la Mothe.

Item remerciera ledit roy treschrestien de tout son cueur ledit roy d'Escosse de ce que entre autres choses offre entrer en personne au royaume d'Angleterre pour y faire la guerre et aussi de ce qu'il l'advertist de l'allee de l'ambas-

vol. x. p. 92). This, even counting Scottish and Danish ships, which latter did not come, was a gross exaggeration. James had thirteen great ships, ten smaller ships and a ship of Lynn, lately captured, as well as the *Great Michael*, the *Margaret* and the *James* (Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 49; Brodie, 1645). These were the ships James had prepared 'pour fere son voyage,' the crusade for which he longed (Brodie, 1647).

¹ It was already common talk in England in February that James would invade it, if Henry crossed to France (*ibid.*). Still, James' negotiations with England and promises to keep the peace upon conditions continued throughout March and April (Brodie, 1690, 1735, 1775, 1776).

sadeur d'Angleterre devers luy et de son propos qu'il a de perseverer en l'amitie et alliance avecques luy non obstant toutes promesses, menasses, persuasions que pourroient faire lesditz ambassadeurs que croyt certainement ledit roy treschrestien qui fera et n'en est aucunement en doubte.

Item, offre ledit roy treschrestien audit roy d'Escosse de luy aider de tant son pouvoir pour la conservation de son royaulme, ses pays et seigneuries et de luy donner aide et secours en tous ses affaires pour conservation de ses estatz et augmentation d'iceulx et pour recouvrer les terres et seigneuries esuelles il a droit en ce qu'il pourra comme par plusieurs foiz luy a fait savoir.

Item, pryera ledit de la Mothe en nom dudit roy treschrestien ledit roy d'Escosse son bon frere que il envoie lesditz navires afin ainsi qu'il puisse envoyer audit roy d'Escosse de bonne heure argent, artillerie et munitions que luy veult envoyer qui sont tous prestz et aussi pour estre les premiers prestz sur la mer pour faire guerre ausditz ennemys qui sera a leur grand advantaige, et aussi l'advertira comment le roy treschrestien a fait donner provision pour les victuailles et autres choses necessaires pour le refreschissement desditz navires quant elles seront arrivees.

Fait a Bloys le v^{me} jour de mars l'an mil cinq cens et douze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Scott : scriba consilii.

Endorsed, Articuli de la Mothe presentati ad regem xix
Maij 1513.

XVI

Memorandum of the Bishop of Moray's Representation to Louis XII.

[Undated, on or before 31st March 1513.]¹

¹ This document must precede the answer of Louis XII. contained in the following letter. The *Treasurer's Accounts*, 22nd March 1512-13, note a payment to Unicorn Pursuivant 'to pas in France with my lord the Bishop of Moray.' He sailed 31st March 1513 (Brodie, 1735).

XVI

The ambassador has reminded the King how the King of Scots, at his desire, declared war by land and sea on the English. For that reason the King of Scots wishes to know soon the help he is to receive, because he has spent much on sending for the ships of the King of Denmark.

The King of Scots wishes to have the French navy to join with his own, as the French King has often promised, for the general good. Were the Scots navy as powerful as the French, the King would have sent it to France, but, if the Scots navy were lost, it would be very hurtful to the King of France. If it is sent, the King of Scots will be able to do such service as will show him to be a good friend.

The King of Scots thinks that the King should send him 2000 men, used to campaigns and sieges, 200 or 300 men-at-arms, artillery, and gunners, well versed in war, paid as the latter shall please, who understands such matters better than any living man. Should that seem too much, let him do what he thinks right, for the more help he sends to the King of Scots, the better he advances his own affairs. Thus the King of Scots will be able to do him greater service, for it is evident, when the King of Scots is determined to employ himself, his kingdom and subjects, that, if he had such power as other princes, he would not need to ask help of the French King.

If he should please to help the King of Scots with money, it will be better employed than by many other princes.

The ambassador has been told how the French King made a truce with the King of Spain, including the King of Scots and the Duke of Guelders. Since he has done so in order to recover his Duchy of Milan, the ambassador thinks that his master will be content.

The ambassador has also heard that the King of England may be included in the truce, if he wishes, but he believes that his master will not agree to the French King's making truce or peace with the English King without two conditions. The first of these is what the English ambassadors offered: that the King and the three Estates of his kingdom should declare the King of Scots to be [future] King of England as husband of the eldest daughter of that house and because the kingdom by ancient right belongs to him, if the present King has no children.

The second is that the King of Scots will consent to a general peace so that the holy expedition may be made against the Infidels.

The King of Scots wishes the King to consider that the English made him the above offers if he should keep the peace with them. Therefore the French King should not make peace with the English unless these offers are included.

The King of France is reminded of his promise through the Bishop of Ross and others in the case of war declared by England on France and

Scotland's help to the latter, not to make peace till he had made the King of Scots King of England.

The ambassador begs the King of France to consider and answer this memorandum speedily.

He also promises to serve the King of France like his own sovereign, as their advantage is one and the same.

As to the offers, made recently by de la Mothe and Peguineau to the King of Scots, stated to be small because of the King of France's affairs in Italy and elsewhere, the King of Scots is content with them, and, if the King of France will deliver that sum to the Bishop of Moray, as having command to receive it, Moray will give sufficient receipt.

Since the ambassador knows that the King of France spent 60,000 francs on the equipment of thirteen ships, he thinks the King will understand that the King of Scots' preparation of his ships and sending for those of Denmark will be costly and need ready money.

The King of France used to pay a pension to the King of England. That would be better employed on the King of Scots. Likewise he gave pensions to other princes who could never serve him like the King of Scots, a pension given to whom would be better spent, for the King, kingdom, and subjects would be at the disposal of France.

XVI

Memorial de la remonstrance que l'evesque de Murray ambassadeur du roy des Escossoys a fait au roy treschrestien et a son conseil de par le roy son souverain, lequel ambassadeur supplie treshumblement audit roy treschrestien luy donner responce telle qui luy semblera pour le bien publique des royaumes de France et Escosse.

Ledit ambassadeur de par son souverain a remonstre au roy trescrestien comment pour son plaisir et commendement le roy des Escossoys a desclairé aux¹ ambassadeurs d'Angleterre guerre ouverte par mer et par terre,² et pource le dit roy des Escossoys vouldroyt entendre l'ayde que le roy trescrestien luy veult faire et le plustoust sera le meilleur car le dit roy des Escossoys a fait grant despense pour ladite guerre tant en envoyant queryr les navires

¹ The words now italicised are underlined in the MS., evidently at a later date than the actual instructions.

² Dacre and West were both at the Scottish court, but James had made no declaration of war. It was not till 11th August that Lyon King of Arms made that declaration to Henry VIII., encamped before Térouanne.

du roy de Dampnemarch¹ son oncle et autres chouses comme ledit roy trescrestien entend myeulx la despense de la guerre que homme vivant. Toutesfoys ledit roy des Escossoys despandra tout le sien au service du roy trescrestien.

Item, ledit roy des Escossoys desire avoir l'armee de mer du roy trescrestien pour joindre avecques la sienne en Escosse comment souvent ledit roy trescrestien luy a fait dire, car sy ainsi est sans nulle faute ce sera pour le myeulx et pour le bien publique et tous les deulx royaulmes nonobstant que sy l'armee du roy des Escossoys estoyt aussi puissante que celle du roy trescrestien ledit seigneur luy heust bien envoyee pour joindre avec la sienne en France, mais si ladite armee du roy des Escossoys se perdoit si seroit ung dommaige inextimable au roy trescrestien, et ainsi faisant le roy des Escossoys fera ung tel service au roy trescrestien qu'il congnoistra qu'il a ung bon eousin et amy en luy sans nulle faulte, car ledit roy des Escossoys n'a autre chouse a faire sinon de s'employer aux affaires et service dudit roy trescrestien comment par effect se verra au plaisir de Dieu.

Item pour mieulx equipper le cas des deulx princes le roy des Escossoys est d'avys que le roy trescrestien luy deust envoyer deulx mille hommes bien praticques a la guerre tant en batailles que pour assaiger places et forteresses et deulx ou *trois cents hommes d'armes* et une bonne *bande d'artillerye* et *cannoniers* qui scauront bien la maniere de la guerre et de *payer ses gens* ainsi qu'il plaira audit seigneur comme celluy qui l'entend mieulx que homme de dessus la terre,² et sy cecy semble *trop grant au roy* trescrestien il en fera comment bon luy semblera, car la plusgrande ayde que fera au roy des Escossoys ce sera plusgrant avancement de ses affaires et tousiours ledit roy des Escossoys luy pourra faire plusgrant service car on puist bien congnoistre quant le roy des Escossoys est delibere d'employer luy, son

¹ James had asked for the Danish ships in the articles of 12th January 1512-13 (Brodie, 1564; *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 169). He said it was for the defence of his coast.

² See following letter.

royaulme, ligez et subjectz au service du roy trescrestien s'il avoit aussi grant puissance que ont d'autres princes il ne luy fauldroyt point demander d'ayde au roy trescrestien.

Item, s'il est le plaisir du roy trescrestien ayder le roy des Escossoys de quelque *somme d'argent* il sera myeulx employe que a beaucoup d'autres princes au plaisir de Dieu.

Item, ledit ambassadeur a entendu avecques le roy trescrestien comment il a prins treves avecques le roy d'Espagne toutes foys ledit seigneur a comprins le roy des Escossoys et le duc de Gueldres, et pource que ledit roy trescrestien a cuyde faire pour le mieulx affin de recouvrer sa duche de Millan ledit ambassadeur pence bien que le roy son souverain en sera bien *comptant sy* tout vient a l'honneur du roy trescrestien.¹

Item, ledit ambassadeur a aussi entendu que sy le roy d'Angleterre veulst estre comprins en la part du roy d'Espagne qu'il le sera; mais touchant cela ledit ambassadeur croyt fermement que son souverain ne se condescendra jamais que le roy trescrestien *ayt treve ny paix avecques* le roy d'Angleterre sans deulx chouses.

La premiere c'est que les offres que les ambassadeurs d'Angleterre ont offert au roy des Escossoys² c'est assavoir que le roy d'Angleterre et les trois Estatz de son royaume luy desclaireront *par leur sceaulx* et confirmation du pape estre roy d'Angleterre comme celluy qui a marye la fille aisnee du pays et aussique *d'anciennete le royaume* luy appartient sy ledit roy d'Angleterre n'a point d'enffens.

La seconde est que le roy des Escossoys consentira que paix universelle se face affin que *l'expedition* sainte soit faicte contre les Infidelles et que son grant voyaige puisse estre acomply avecques l'ayde de tous les princes

¹ Louis XII., on 8th February 1512-13, gave power to Lautrec, his commissioner, to conclude peace or truce with Ferdinand and his allies (Brodie, 1611). A truce was concluded, 1st April 1513, between Maximilian, Henry VIII., Ferdinand of Aragon, Charles, Prince of Spain, on the one side, and Louis XII., James IV. and Charles, Duke of Guelders, on the other.

² There is no evidence for this offer by the English ambassadors.

crestiens et principalement du roy trescrestien auquel il a sa parfaicte confidence.

Item le roy des Escossoys pence que le roy trescrestien considere bien que les angloys ont offert au roy des Escossoys ce que dessus est escript touchant le royaume d'Angleterre en gardant la paix avecques eulx et prenant leur part, et a ceste cause le roy des Escossoys est de ceste opinion que le roy trescrestien *ne prendra* jamais paix avecques *les Angloys* sy lesdits offres ne luy sont remises comme par avant affin que son bon droyt ne luy soit housté et principalement pour la bonne amour que le roy des Escossoys porte au roy trescrestien et pour le service qu'il est delibere luy faire, car tout le monde scayt qu'il fayt guerre aux Angloys et autres ennemys du roy trescrestien a sa poste.

Item, il plaira au roy trescrestien avoir souvenance comment par plusieurs personnaiges il m'a escript et fayt dire et principalement par l'evesque de Rosse son ambassadeur en Escosse et par le Sieur de la Mothe et autres que sy le cas estoit que le roy d'Angleterre eust guerre contre le roy trescrestien et que le roy des Escossoys voullust prendre sa part que ledit roy trescrestien ne prendroyt jamais paix avecques le roy d'Angleterre sans *premierement mettre la couronne d'Angleterre* dessus la teste du roy des Escossoys.

Item ledit ambassadeur pryé le roy trescrestien de par le roy son souverain de regarder cest memorial le plustoust qui luy sera possible et aviser a ce qui luy a dit pour plustoust renvoyer responce de tout audit roy des Escossoys son souverain, car la matiere requiert diligence affin que tout son cas puisse estre mieulx equippe pour faire plaisir et service au roy trescrestien.

Item, ledit ambassadeur promet a Dieu de faire autant de service au roy trescrestien comme au roy son souverain et que aussi le commandement de sondit souverain est tel, car ledit ambassadeur congnoist que le bien de l'ung est le bien de l'autre et que leurs affaires sont communes.

Item s'il plaist a la bonne grace du roy trescrestien avoir souvenance des articles qu'il a baillées dernièrement au

Sieur de la Mothe et a Maistre Martin Peguineau¹ faisant mention qu'il pleust au roy des Escossoys se comptenter des offres qui luy faisoit combien qu'elles fussent petites en consideration que ledit seigneur avoit beaucoup affaire en l'Ytallye et ailleurs, le roy des Escossoys est trescontent desdits offres et principalement d'entendre la bonne amour que le roy trescrestien luy [porte] plus que pour tout argent du monde, et quant le roy *trescrestien ne luy heust pas promis un blanc il est delibere s'employer de toute sa puissance pour les affaires dudit roy trescrestien et despandre tout le sien avecques ce que ledit Seigneur luy a ordonne, laquelle ordonnance s'il plaist audit Seigneur la faire delivrer audit evesque de Murray, ambassadeur pour employer aux affaires dudit roy des Escossoys son souverain comme celluy qui en a charge et commandement dudit Seigneur de la recepvoir, ledit ambassadeur baillera la quictance suffisante comme celuy qu'a le pouvoir de le faire.*

Item ledit ambassadeur croyt que le roy trescrestien entend bien que *l'esquippaige de treze navires* qu'il fist l'annee passee en France luy ont couste bien soixante mille francs et pource ledit Seigneur puist bien entendre que le roy des Escossoys en fait provision des siennes et aussi envoyant querir celles de son oncle de Dampnemarch que cela puist monter a une tresgrande somme d'argent tant aussi que *la preparation* qu'il fait par terre car a ses affaires il requiert argent comptant.

Item il plaira au roy trescrestien avoir souvenance comment il bailloit *pencion au roy d'Angleterre*; sy ladite pencion estoit mieulx employee audit roy d'Angleterre son ennemy que au roy d'Escosse son amy de cela je m'en rapporte a sa prudence pour en faire ce qui luy plaira. Et aussi ledit Seigneur bailloit a beaucoup d'autres princes pencion tant en son pays que ailleurs lesquelz ne luy pourroient jamais faire le service que le roy des Escossoys son cousin luy feroit ni qui l'ayme tant, et pource sy ledit roy trescrestien faisoit quelque estat ou pencion telle qui

¹ Peguineau was with de la Mothe on his journey in November 1512. They brought wine, shot, and powder (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. 68, 70, 74).

luy playroyt audit roy des Escossoys je croy qu'elle seroit mieulx employee que a beaucoup d'autres princes et ainsi faisant il aura le roy des Escossoys, le royaulme et subjectz tousiours a son commandement et service.¹

[Undated and unsigned.]

XVII

Instructions to Master James Ogilvy by Louis XII.

Blois, 8th May 1513.

He is to beg the King of Scots to send his navy and that of Denmark, if it has arrived, and in any case, his own, as he wrote by de la Mothe and Peguineau.

When the King of Scots does so, as the King is assured by the Bishop of Moray, whom he recognises as the principal in maintaining the alliance between the two kingdoms and who has shown the King of Scots' intention to support him by sea and land, that King will have such help as will please him.

The bearer will promise that, on the arrival of the navy, it will be equipped with provisions, powder, and guns as are the French ships.

When the ships arrive the King will have 50,000 francs delivered to the ambassador or any one whom the King of Scots will name.

When the ships have come and joined with the French ones, all of them with seven galleys will be sent to Scotland, well equipped to fight the English and at the command of the King of Scots.

The bearer will beg the King of Scots to break openly with the King of England and invade by land so soon as the said King shall have embarked his army to France. By invading in great force he may more easily attain to the recovery of the crown of England.

The King of Scots is desired to declare his will as to the brother of the Duke of Suffolk, who is in France, whether he is to be sent to Scotland with the ships or kept till it is decided what is to be done with him.

Being now informed that the King of Scots has declared war against the English, the King thanks him for a service he will never forget. Also he knows of the offers made by the ambassadors of England to the King of Scots, declaring him heir after the death of the King of England, if he dies childless, which he refused. And the King promises not to make peace without his consent.

The King knows also that the Kingdom of England belongs to the King

¹ See p. 43, note 1.

of Scots as heir of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and also through his wife, elder daughter of the late King Henry. Thus he believes himself justified in helping him to obtain his rights.

XVII

La depesche baillee a Maistre Jaques Augubly de par le roy trescrestien apres la venue de l'evesque de Murray, ambassadeur du roy des Escossoys lequel ambassadeur a souvent remonstre et communique tant au roy trescrestien que a son conseil de plusieurs choses tant par ambassadeurs et messagiers envoyez de par le roy trescrestien et le roy des Escossoys l'un a l'autre pour leurs affaires communs et aussi pour le bien publique d'eulx et de leurs royaumes et estatz et pour la confirmacion des anciennes alliances qui ont este, sont et seront a jamais entre les deux royaumes en quoy de nostre part n'y aura faulte.

Premierement nous prions et requerons tresaffectueusement le roy des Escossoys nostre bon frere de nous envoyer ses navires et celles de Dampnemarch s'elles sont venues et se elles ne sont venues qu'il nous envoie les siennes comme il nous a escript et fait dire par le Sieur de la Mothe et Maistre Martin Peguineau et par plusieurs ses serviteurs et les nostres car plus grant plaisir ne nous sauroit faire que de les envoyer a toute diligence pource qu'il est tresve affaire par le temps s'en va.¹

Item nostredit frere ainsi faisant comme sommes assurez qu'il fera par l'evesque de Murray son ambassadeur nous a porte la parolle et remonstre la grant amour qu'il nous porte, auquel ambassadeur avons donne creance ne plus ne moyns que si nostredit frere et nous eussions parle de bouche car nous congnoissons ledit ambassadeur l'omme principal qui a tousiours entretenu la bonne alliance, confederation et amytié qui est entre nous et nos

¹ See p. 75, note 1. Louis XII.'s fleet had beaten off the English in April in an engagement in which the English Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, was killed. But James had already written to the new King of Denmark, Christian, stating that he had built several ships for the French King and that they would be sent to the coast of France, without mention of the Danish fleet (Brodie, 1729). The Scottish fleet sailed 22nd-25th July 1513.

royaumes ¹ a noz grans prouffictz et utilitez et a son grant honneur et louenge par plus grant plaisir a l'un ne a l'autre jamais homme ne sauroit faire, outreplus ledit ambassadeur nous a remonstre ce que nostredit frere est delibere faire pour nous tant par mer que par terre contre les Angloys et autres nos ennemyes avecques nostre ayde laquelle sommes deliberez d'accomplir en telle sorte que nostredit frere n'aura cause de se malcontenter, remercyant tresaffectueusement nostredit frere des parolles et ce que son ambassadeur nous a dit de par luy car de nostre part n'aura faute de faire tant pour luy quant le cas requerra comme ledit ambassadeur scet, ce que luy avons dit et communique.

Item, ledit Maistre Jaques Augubly dira et promectra de par nous a nostredit frere que incontinent apres l'arrivee de ses navires en nostre royaume en quelque lieu que ce soit que leur baillerons des victuailles a souffisance et pouldres et artillerie et tout autre equipage et municions comme a toutes les autres navires de nostre armee car la raison ainsi veult en consideracion et demonstrance de la bonne amour qu'il nous porte.

Item, apres l'arrivee desdits navires ferons delivrer cinquante mil francs audit ambassadeur ou quelque autre que nostredit frere nous escripra bailler ayant commission de nous bailler quittance de ladite somme.

Item, lesdits navires venues et jointes avecques les nostres selon la disposicion du temps et des affaires comuns d'entre nous, les renvoyerons en Escosse avecques les nostres et aussi le capitaine Pregent et set galleres sans nulle faulte, lesquelles seront bien equippees de toutes municions de guerre au plaisir de Dieu affin de myeux besongner contre les Angloys et feront le conseil et commandes de nostredit frere se remectant a son bon plaisir comme les siennes propres, car ainsi est nostre vouloir et auront charge et commandement de nous ainsi le faire.

Item, priera et requerra ledit Maistre Jacques Augubly le roy d'Escosse nostre bon frere que en mettant a execucion

¹ The English themselves noted Forman as 'chief promoter of this business' (Brodie, 2387).

son bon vouloir envers nous qu'il vueille ouvertement rompre et faire la guerre par terre audit roy d'Angleterre incontinent et des l'eure que le roy d'Angleterre aura embarque son armee pour passer en France¹ et ce en la meilleur et plus grosse force et puissance de gens que faire le pourra et en ce faisant ses affaires et son emprinse contre lesdits Angloys s'en portera trop myeulx et en pourra plus facilement parvenir au recouvrement du royaume et couronne d'Angleterre, a quoy nous luy ayderons comme a l'un de nos meilleurs freres, parens et amys de tout nostre pouvoir.

Item, il plaira a nostredit frere nous rescripre et faire savoir son conseil, avertissemens et plaisir touchant le frere du duc de Suffoct lequel est icy ou s'il veule que l'envoyons par-dela avecques nosdits navires ou le retenir pardeca pour apres en faire ce qu'il sera trouve estre a faire pour le myeulx.²

Item pource que ledit ambassadeur nous a seurement advertiz que pour l'amour de nous et a nostre requeste a nostredit frere souvent faictes par noz lestres a luy escriptes et audit ambassadeur luy estant en Escosse que aussi par les credences par nous donnees au Sieur de la Mothe a Maistre Martin Peguineau et Maistre Jaques Angubly priant nostredit frere declairer la guerre ouverte contre les Angloys en cas qu'ilz nous voudroient faire guerre et invahir nostre royaume, pays et seigneuries mais maintenant sommes bien informez par ledit ambassadeur que nostredit frere a declaire et declairera guerre ouverte contre lesdits Angloys, dont le remercyons de rechef de tout nostre cueur et considerons bien qu'il procede de la grant amour qu'il nous porte comme ung bon frere et assure parent

¹ See p. 74, note 2. Henry received James' defiance in France a month before the battle of Flodden (Brodie, 2157, 2161).

² Richard de la Pole, brother of the Earl of Suffolk, executed by Henry VIII.'s orders on 30th April 1513, was in the French King's service. He inherited his brother's claim to the crown of England. In 1512 James IV. had communicated with Dacre as to the possibility of Louis XII. treating de la Pole as King of England. James expressed his opinion that he and Henry would agree on that matter, but did not think Louis 'will tyne us for any sic' (Brodie, 1297). It was doubtless to conciliate James that Louis offered him a say in the disposal of a rival claimant.

doit porter l'un a l'autre, laquelle amour ne passera jamais hors de nostre souvenance. Oultre plus sommes bien advertiz par ledit ambassadeur et avons bien sceu les grans offres que les ambassadeurs d'Angleterre ont faictes de par leur maistre a nostredit frere en luy offrant le grant scel du roy d'Angleterre et en general tous les sceaulx tant spirituelz que temporelz du pays luy promectant certiffiant et declairant d'estre heritier et roy d'Angleterre apres la mort de cestuy cy s'il meurt sans enffans masles, laquelle offre sommes bien informes qu'il a refuse pour l'amour de nous nonobstant qu'elle fut grande¹; et pource pour le recompenser en une partie de la bonne amour qu'il nous porte et de reffuz qu'il a fait nous promectons en parolle de roy que jamais ne ferons paix ne accord avecques les Angloys sans le vouloir et consentement du roy des Escossoys nostre bon frere et cousin et luy garderons entierement ce que luy avons promis, jure et accorde par l'alliance confederacion et amytié que avons faicte avecques luy dont luy avons baille noz lettres patentes signees et scellez de nostre grant scel pour approbacion et confirmation de ladite alliance.

Item, et aussi luy dira que de long temps avons sceu et par plusieurs gens de bien que d'anciennete ledit royaume d'Angleterre appartient a nostredit frere et cousin comme heritier de Sainte Marguerite royne d'Escosse et de nouveau ledit royaume luy appartient acause de sa femme premiere genite de feu roy Henry que Dieu pardonne, et par ainsi nous croyons fermement que Dieu et le monde nous auront pour excuse de luy ayder a son bon droict et comme celluy qui prent nostre part envers tous noz ennemys, priant Dieu nous ayder en toutes nos bonnes querelles lesquelles seront a jamais comme a nous et a noz royaumes et successeurs au plaisir de Dieu.

Fait a Bloys le vij^{me} jour de may l'an mil cinq cens et treize.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Scott. scriba consilii.

¹ An offer for which there is no foundation but James IV.'s statement. See p. 76 and p. 76, note 2.

XVIII

*Instructions by Louis XII. to []*¹

Amiens, 4th October 1513.

. . . the Emperor and the House of the Archduke are opposed to him with great forces and he is still uncertain of the Swiss. Yet he will not fail to help the young King, though a suitable time must be found, for the King knows the value to himself of the preservation of Scotland.

The King has sent the *Chevalier Blanc* to the Queen and nobles of Scotland, with the Lord Lyon, to hear the truth, for some relate that the King of Scots is not dead, which would be welcome news to the King; as also to learn the state of the country, the will of the Queen, Estates, and Council, in order that he may do his duty by them. But the season is one in which voyages cannot be made to Scotland because of storms, as is seen by the voyage of the Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming, who took two months to come to Normandy.

As to the fourth article desiring the King to send the Duke of Albany to Scotland, as having right to the government and regency, he answers that he is willing because Albany is capable of it, although the Duke is much employed in his wars. Yet he will send him because he values the young King's affairs as his own. Before his departure it would be well to know the will of the Queen, Estates, and Council, and the Duke should go in such a way as to be able to render service, which can be done better when it is known how matters go. Arran and Fleming are desired to state so far as they can what the Duke would do if he were in Scotland, and then Albany will betake himself to his duty at the time given by the Queen and Kingdom of Scotland, according to the report by the *Chevalier Blanc*.

As to the fifth article the King answers that he undertakes to maintain the alliances between the late King of Scots and himself, and will make no truce or agreement with the King of England without the consent of the governors and council of the young King of Scots.

XVIII

. . . maiz a l'empereur et a toute la maison de l'archiduc qui sont en grosse puissance contre luy, et pareillement est encores en doute des Souysses.² Maiz pour lesditz empeschemens et affaires ne laissera a donner secours et

¹ The beginning of the despatch is wanting. It begins abruptly in the middle of a sentence.

² Louis XII. had been defeated at Novara in May by the Swiss, leagued with the Emperor and England. They invaded Burgundy on 7th September, were beaten back, but in October were besieging Dijon.

ayde au jeune roy son bon frere et cousin et son royaume, maiz fault toutes choses prendre en temps convenable pour mieulx parvenir a quelque bon effect, et congnoist ledit roy trescrestien que la conservacion dudit royaume d'Escosse ne luy est moins profitable que audit jeune roy des Escossoys, les seigneurs et subjectz dudit royaume.

Item, et pour satisfaire a ladite requeste ledit roy trescrestien a depesche incontinent le chevalier blanc¹ pour aller devers ladite royne sa bonne seur et les seigneurs dudit pays d'Escosse et maistre Leon, herault dudit roy des escossoys,² pour entendre premierement ce qu'est advenu parce que plusieurs dient que ledit roy d'Escosse n'est mort, maiz qu'il eschappa de la bataille,³ qui seroient les meilleures nouvelles que ledit roy trescrestien pourroit avoir, et aussi pour entendre entierement l'estat dudit royaume d'Escosse et le vouloir de ladite royne sa bonne seur, des estatz, grant conseil et seigneurs dudit pays pour apres faire son devoir envers ladite royne, ledit jeune roy son bon frere et cousin et tout ledit royaume. Fault aussi considerer la saison ou nous sommes en laquelle on ne peut longuement naviguer mesmesment dudit coste d'Escosse pour les tempestes et les arens qui surviennent, ce que l'on a peu veoir par le voyaige fait par lesdits seigneurs Conte d'Aran et Sieur de Flaming⁴ qui n'ont peu venir en deux moys dudit pays

¹ De la Bastie. A letter from Acciaiuolo to the Signory of Florence, dated Blois, 5th January 1513-14, notes that the 'Cavalier Bianco' in Scotland had written to the King (of France) that the Scots would follow the war for France against England, but required men (Brodie, 2561).

² The Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy.

³ Henry VIII. wrote to the Emperor on 16th September that it was not yet known what had become of the King of Scots (Brodie, 2270). Improving on this, Paolo de Lude wrote to the Duke of Milan on the same date that he could not be found, alive or dead (Brodie, 2271). Yet on 16th September also Katherine of Aragon wrote to Henry that she sent him a bit of the King's coat for his banner, and that Surrey wished to know Henry's pleasure as to burying James' body (Brodie, 2268). On 18th February 1513-14 is mentioned the expense of 'seryng,' leading and soldering the dead corpse of the King of Scots and conveying him to York and so to Windsor, 12^l 9s. 10d. (Brodie, 2651).

⁴ The Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming had come with the Scottish fleet. James, 2nd Lord Hamilton, was created Earl of Arran after the marriage of James IV. with Margaret Tudor, in the negotiations for which he had a

d'Escosse en Normandye quelque dilligence qu'ils ayent faicte, combien qu'ilz avoient grant affection de plus toust venir.¹

Au iiiij^{me} article par lequel requierent qu'il plaise au roy trescrestien envoyer monseigneur le duc d'Albanye audit royaume d'Escosse comme celluy qui doyt avoir le *gouvernement*² et administration dudit jeune roy et de son royaume, repond ledit roy trescrestien qu'il est trescontent que son cousin le duc d'Albanye s'en aille audit royaume principalement pour faire service audit jeune roy et a tout le pays,³ ce qu'il pourra bien faire parce qu'il est bien experiente et de grande prudence et de tresbon vouloir, combien que ledit duc d'Albanye a de present grosses charges pour son service en ses guerres et luy en peut beaucoup faire, maiz pour cela ne laissera a l'envoyer audit royaume d'Escosse parce qu'il n'estime moins les affaires dudit jeune roy que les siens propres. Maiz semble estre necessaire et honneste devant qu'il allast pardela savoir le bon vouloir et advis de ladite royne sa bonne seur et pareillement des estatz et grant conseil dudit pays et aussi sera besoing qu'il y aille en maniere qu'il puisse faire service audit jeune roy et royaume, ce qu'il pourra mieulx faire apres que l'on sera adverty des choses qui pourront estre renvoyez pardeca et cependant prie ledit roy trescrestien lesditz Conte d'Aran et Sieur de Flaming qu'ilz vueillent satisfaire en ce qu'ilz

share. He married Mary, sister of James III., and was thus cousin german to Albany. The Sieur de Flamyn is John, 2nd Lord Fleming, later Chamberlain of Scotland, in which capacity he signed the ratification of the treaty with England on 7th October 1517.

¹ The Scottish fleet certainly had left Scotland, 22nd-25th July, and arrived at Brest about six weeks later, and on 23rd September it was sent from there to Honfleur to be equipped, provisioned, and armed (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 186). But the Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming, if they gave bad weather as reason for their delay, were suppressing the episode of the attack on Carrickfergus and return to Ayr with their plunder.

² Underlined in MS.

³ Tytler says it was a secret embassy which requested the presence of Albany in Scotland, sent by those who feared English influence upon Queen Margaret (*History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 73). The English court in November believed that Albany would be sent to Scotland shortly, and that the nobility of Scotland feared the Queen, lest she should 'comply' too much with England (Brodie, 2445).

pourront a ce que ledit duc d'Albanye devoit faire s'il estoit audit pays d'Escosse, ce qu'ilz pourroient bien faire, et apres ledit duc d'Albanye se mectra en son devoir au temps que sera trouue par ladite royne et royaume d'Escosse en ensuyvant ce que apportera ledit chevalier blanc ou autre.

Au cinquiesme article respond ledit roy trescrestien qu'il veult et entend garder et entretenir les alliances faictes entre ledit feu roy des Escossoys son bon frere et cousin et luy avecques le jeune roy son filz sans aucunement venir au contraire, et qu'il n'entend faire aucunes tresves ou accord avecques le roy d'Angleterre sans le consentement des gouverneurs et conseil dudit jeune roy d'Escosse son bon frere et cousin.

Fait a Amyens le iiij^{me} jour d'octobre l'an mil cinq cens treize.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

XIX

Instructions by Louis XII. to the Seigneur de la Bastie and Master Jaques Augubly

Amiens, 5th October 1513.

They are to tell of the King's great sorrow at the misfortune said to have happened to the late King of Scots, at which he grieves so much that he will never be content till he has shown the love he bore to the late King, which he will try to show also to the young King his son.

Though such tragedies cannot be mentioned without sorrow to those whom they touch most deeply, the King's love to the late King of Scots was so great that he cannot hide it, and, though he cannot bring him back from the dead, yet he would wish to make his memory everlasting in all the world as a great and virtuous King, worthy of all honour and glory, and to raise, preserve, and guide his noble descendants and preserve them from their enemies.

He will never forget what the King of Scots did for him in exposing his own person in battle against the English in his quarrel.

Because he has no certain news and because people come saying that the King of Scots is alive, he is sending to the Queen of Scots and the great Council and Estates to know the truth and the condition of the young King and kingdom and to learn what help he can give for the preservation of the kingdom and resistance to its enemies.

The ambassadors will assure the Queen and Council that the King intends to maintain the old alliances and the new, changing nothing.

If it please the Queen and Council to send some one with commission to ratify the said alliances, the King will send also.

The King understands that the preservation of the Kingdom of Scotland is profitable, not only to the young King, but also to himself and his kingdom.

The ambassadors will show to the Queen and Council the trouble which would come were the said kingdom to fall into the hands of their enemies, whereby would be lost the noble race of the Kings of Scotland and the honour and pre-eminence of the nation, thus subject to their enemies, and with difficulty could they recover their liberty and fame as a nation always held as virtuous, loyal, warlike and given to arms.

Since it has pleased God to leave a son of the late King, all the harm may be repaired to the loss of the enemy, for which purpose the King of France offers himself and his power in all he can do, as the ambassadors are to declare. He begs a good hearing for them, that they may be able to inform him of everything, so that he may do what an ally should do to preserve the kingdom and royal line of Scotland.

The ambassadors will tell what has been done with the Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming, whom the King keeps for some notable exploit with his navy against the English. They will tell how the King has kept the Scots ships to guard them for the young King, which he will return when he and the Council please with all the artillery and munitions in them. He has kept them chiefly to serve the young King and kingdom when it is decided that the navy should attack the common enemy.

The ambassadors will tell the Queen and Council, that the King has charged de la Bastie to go to the King of Denmark to declare the King's intention to maintain the alliance with the Kings of Scotland and Denmark and to help the young King, begging him to assist also. It seems good that the Queen and Lords of Council should send some great person to the same end.

XIX

Instructions au Sieur de la Bastie,¹ conseiller, chambellan et ambassadeur du roy trescrestien et avecques luy Me Jaques Augubly a la royne et roy des Escossoys son filz et aux gens de son grant conseil et des estatz du royaume d'Escosse.

Premierement feront lesditz ambassadeurs recommend-

¹ Antoine d'Arcy, Sieur de la Bastie-sur-Melan, had already been in Scotland in 1502, at the time of the marriage of James IV.

acions accoustumees dudit roy trescrestien auditz royne, roy et autres seigneurs.

Item, apres leur remonstreront le grant deplaisir et remonstreront le grant dueul que porte ledit roy trescrestien de l'inconvenient qu l'on dit estre advenu en la personne du feu roy des Escossoys son bon frere et cousin et le premier de tous ses allyez et confederez, lequel inconvenient ledit roy a trouve si *grant et tant*¹ deplaisant que jamais ne sera a son ayse tant qu'il n'ayt monstre par effect le grant amour qu'il portoit audit feu roy son bon frere en toutes les manieres que ung bon frere et cousin doyt monstre a l'autre et ce que ne se peult faire pour ledit roy trespasse *s'efforcera* le monstre envers le jeune roy son filz duquel n'estime moins le bien et l'honneur que s'il estoyt son propre filz naturel et legitime.

Item, remonstreront que telz inconveniens ne peuvent advenir ne aussi estre recitez sans grans dueul de ceulx a qui ceste matiere touche principalement, a la royne sa bonne seur et aussi bons princes, seigneurs et barons, conseillers et bons subjectz dudit roy des Escossoys, toutesfoys l'amytie que avoit ledit roy trescrestien audit feu roy des Escossoys estoit si tresgrande et cordialle qu'il est impossible de s'en taire pour faire demonstracion de l'amour mutuelle qui estoyt entre eulx deulx. Et pource qu'il seet bien qu'il ne peult ressussiter de mort a vye ledit feu roy des Escossoys ce non obstant vouldroyt faire sa memoire perpetuelle entre tous les nations du monde comme d'ung vertueulx et grant roy qui meritoit tout honneur et gloire et *exaulcer* conserver et guider sa tresnoble lignee en ses royaulme, estatz et preeminence et le garder de ses ennemys de tout son pouvoir.

Item, et n'oubliera jamais ledit roy trescrestien ce qu'a fait pour luy ledit feu roy des Escossoys en exposant sa propre personne a la bataille contre leurs communs ennemys les Angloys et ce pour la querelle et en tenant la part dudit roy trescrestien et de sa part mectra peine de *monstrer a tout* le monde la bonne affection qu'il avoit audit feu roy et son intelligence.

¹ The words in italics are underlined in MS.

Item, pource que ledit roy trescrestien n'a encores eu aucunes nouvelles certaines du cas comment il est venu, et viennent chacun jour gens qui dyent que ledit roy des Escossoys n'est trespasse mayes encores en vye,¹ qui seroient les meilleures nouvelles qui sauroyent venir audit roy trescrestien, a ceste cause c'est delibere d'envoyer devers ladite royne des Escossoys sa bonne seur et aussi devers les seigneurs du grant conseil et estatz pour savoir la verite desditz choses et principalement pour entendre de l'estat dudit jeune roy et du royaume affin que de sa part puisse savoir quelz plaisirs et secours il *peult bailler* audit jeune roy des Escossoys pour luy ayder a conserver sondit royaume et *resister a ses ennemis*.

Item, et cela entendu pour ledit jeune roy des Escossoys et ladite royne, seigneurs et gouvernance dudit royaume et subiectz d'icelluy en tel temps qu'il sera advise estre convenable pource faire tout ce que sera possible, en quoy fault considerer le temps et l'opportunitè comme sera bien au long declaire par les dessusditz ambassadeurs.

Item, diront au nom du roy trescrestien a la royne et conseil que le roy de sa part est delibere et le veult ainsi garder, observer et entretenir les anciennes alliances d'entre France et Escosse et aussi les nouvelles faictes, passees et accordees entre ledit feu roy des Escossoys et luy selon leur forme et teneur sans jamais venir au contraire avecques ledit roy des Escossoys son bon frere et cousin sans ryens y muer ne changer.

Et si [plaira] a ladite royne sa bonne seur, ausditz seigneurs du grant conseil envoyer homme pardecza qui ayt charge et commission de ratifier lesditz alliances anciennes et nouvelles ledit roy trescrestien de sa part les ratifiera et accordera de tresbon cuer.

Item et aussi leur diront que ledit roy trescrestien entend bien que la conservacion dudit royaume d'Escoce pour ledit jeune roy n'est seulement prouffitable audit jeune roy maiz aussi a luy mesmes et a son royaume pour la grant amour et les alliances anciennes qui ont tousiours

¹ See p. 85, note 3. This rumour was very persistent, as it was still re-tailed in Venice on 24th October (Brodie, 2396).

este observees et gardees et entretenues entre les Francoys et les Escossoys comme est tout notoire.

Item, feront remonstrance a ladite royne et seigneurs du conseil de l'inconvenient qui leur pourroit advenir si ledit royaulme venoit en la main de leurs ennemys qui seroit l'abolicion et perdicion totale du tresnoble sang des roys des Escossoys, de l'honneur, auctorite, preeminence de ladite nacion d'Escosse, qui seroit toust remis en servitude et subgection des estrangers et de leurs ennemys et jamais a grant peine recouvreroyent leur ancienne liberte et extimacion a leur dite nacion, laquelle a tousiours este extime vertueuse, loyalle, belliqueuse et donnee aux armes autant que nacion du monde.

Item, semble que quelque inconvenient qui soyt advenu, que veu qu'il a pleu a Dieu laisser ung filz procee dudit feu roy que l'en tout se peult encores reparer au dommaige de leurs ennemys, a quoy faire ledit roy trescrestien se offre et sa *puissance* en ce qu'il pourra faire ainsi que plus-amplement diront lesdits ambassadeurs, ausquelz prie ledit roy trescrestien estre donnee bonne audience et responce en maniere qu'ilz puissent du tout bien advertir ledit roy trescrestien pour y faire ce que ung bon frere et allye peult et doyt faire pour *garder et conserver ung* si tresnoble royaulme et sang royal d'Escosse qui sont ses parens et cousins et d'ung sang venuz et descenduz.

Item, diront lesditz ambassadeurs ce que a este fait avecques Monsieur le conte de Daran et le Sieur de Fleming, lequelz ledit roy trescrestien a tresvolentiers veuz et recueilliz et retenuz pour faire quelque bon exploit de guerre par mer avecques son armee de mer contre les communs ennemis les Angloys ainsi comme le tout sera entendu par lesditz seigneurs.¹

Item, diront comme ledit roy trescrestien a retenu les

¹ Louis XII.'s intention in retaining the Scottish ships was that the united fleets should prevent Henry VIII.'s return from Picardy to England in the end of October. But a storm scattered the fleet, which thus failed of its purpose (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x. No. 96). Louis retained the *Great Michael*, the *Margaret*, and the *James* in his pay, and the rest returned to Scotland in November (*ibid.*, and Brodie, 2443). The Earl of Arran brought them back and apparently was accompanied by de la Bastie.

navires d'Escosse pour les garder et conserver audit jeune roy, lesquelles luy rendra toutesfoys et quantes qu'il luy plaira et a son conseil avecques toute l'artillerye et munitions lesquelles ont este mises par inventaire et principalement les a retenues pour faire service audit jeune roy et royaume d'Escosse *sur le temps* nouveau ou quant sera advise que l'armee de mer se devra exploicter contre lesditz Angloys, communs ennemys.¹

Item diront lesditz ambassadeurs a ladite royne et seigneurs du conseil si leur semble bon que ledit roy trescrestien a donne charge audit Sieur de la Bastye d'aller devers ledit roy de Dannemarche² comme prouche parent et allye dudit jeune roy d'Escosse et allye de France pour luy declarer que icelluy roy trescrestien est delibere demourer perpetuellement en alliance et amytié desditz roys d'Escoce et Dannemarche et ayder audit jeune roy pour la conservacion de sondit royaume contre ses ennemys comme pour son propre filz et luy prier qu'il face le semblable pour ledit jeune roy des Escossoys, et semble audit roy trescrestien qui seroit expedient que ladite royne et seigneurs du conseil de leur part y envoyassent quelque bon personnaige a ceste fin.

Faict a Amyens le cinq^{me} jour d'octobre l'an mil cinq cens et treize.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Scott: scriba consilii.

XX

Instructions by the Duke of Albany to M. de la Bastie

[Undated—? October 1513.]³

He is to express regret at the news of the death of the King, and the sorrow of the King of France, his intention to give all the help in his power to the young King and the country and to keep the alliances and promises made between them.

He is to beg the Queen to maintain the right of the King her son and the

¹ See p. 91, note 1.

² The envoys to Denmark did not go till January 1513-14 (Brodie, 2578, 2579; *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186, 189).

³ It appears probable that this despatch is of practically the same date as the two preceding.

policy of her late husband, undertaken after due deliberation and following the notable and long friendship between the two kingdoms, renewed by the Most Christian King and her late husband, which is so necessary to both kingdoms.

He is to show this to the people of Scotland and beg them on the grounds of honour and profit to keep this course. He is also to say to the Privy Council and Estates that the Duke begs them to keep in agreement for the sake of the young King and his kingdom, since misfortune from outside may be remedied, but not internal misfortune. It seems therefore that they must be united and abandon all quarrels, for a united kingdom cannot be defeated or subjugated. He is to beg the Queen to assist in the above matter, which touches her more than any other.

He is to beg the Queen, Estates, and Council to answer the King of France in the same spirit of friendship as he shows in sending, so that matters arranged between the late King and the Most Christian King may be carried into effect with such help as may be necessary.

The Duke offers all the service possible to the Queen, her son and country in the place of the late King, and begs not to be spared.

He begs the Queen, Council, and Estates to employ him in France for such service and to keep him informed of their affairs.

De la Bastie is to explain the steps taken with the late King of Denmark on behalf of his son, now King, for an alliance with the King of France by the marriage with one of his kinswomen, the writer's sister-in-law, aged fourteen, and such as her portrait shows. He would be paid the sum of 100,000 francs which might be productive of help to the Scots. The King is sending an ambassador to treat for this marriage and, should they judge expedient, let them send ambassadors to assist in the matter. In doing so they will confirm the alliance and obtain the King of Denmark's protection and support.

He is to beg the Queen to send ample answers to all the above matters, that help may be given shortly in all necessary things, and to beg the Council and Estates to do likewise and to send to the writer, as nearest of kin to the King and one whom these affairs touch most nearly, their opinion on all matters and what they think he should do. The Duke assures them of his intention to do everything recommended by the Queen and by them and to spare himself in nothing. He assures them of the King's love and goodwill, as aforesaid, which God maintain.

XX

Instructions a dire par Monsieur de la Battye de par Monseigneur le duc d'Albanye a la royne d'Escosse et a messeigneurs du conseil du roy et estas.

Et premierement de fere mes treshumbles recommend-

acions a la bonne grasse de ladite dame et aux conseillers et seigneurs des estas de bien bon cueur.

Item dira a ladite dame et dessusditz qu'il est tres-deplaisant et tant que plus l'on ne saroit dire si l'inconvenient que Dieu ne vueille est vrai s'est assavoir de la mort et deffaicte du roy d'Escosse contre les Angloys.

Item dira que aceste cause le roy trescrestien est tant deplaisant que plus ne peut et a despeche ledit de la Battye son embassadeur a celle fin d'en savoir la verite et aussi pour fere entendre son grant deul et desplaisir et reconforter la royne et pays de tout son pouvoir comme sellui qui veult et desire le bien d'icelluy et du jeune roy filz du dernier dessusdit.

Item que ledit seigneur est tresdelibere ainsin qu'elle et eulx porront veoir et entendre par les instructions donnees par luy audit de la Battye d'ayder et donner secours de tout son pouvoir audit jeune roy et pays et de point en point tenir et ensuyvre les allianssès et promesses estans entre eulx deux et resseues par les mains de son embassadeur Monseigneur de Morra et autres.

Item dira a la royne que je la supplie comme a selle a qui le cas et inconvenient est plus prochain vouloir prandre sete part et soustenir comme bonne mere le droit du roy son enfant et royaume et ensuyvre les choses passees faictes par son tresbon et vertueux mary le roy faictes et deliberees a tresbonne et meure deliberacion en ensuyvant l'enseine et longue amyte de France et Escosse et renouvelle par les tresprochains parans et vrais amys le roy trescrestien mon maistre et le roy d'Escosse son mary mon souverain qui *plus grande* n'eust sceu estre entre deux hommes laquelle est si necessaire a l'un et a l'autre royaume que plus ne peut a la cause de quoy par le bien de sondit filz le roy mon souverain et pour elle luy faitz a [] de vouloir reprendre et tenir se party et chemin et tresexpressement et tant affectueusement que fere puis.

Item autant et le semblable remonstrera a ceulx du pays et dira qu'ilz vueillent pour leur honneur et singulier proffit *tenir se chemin* et solliciter la royne de ce fere de tout leur pouvoir.

Item dira en oultre a ceulx du conseil et estas que je les prie tant comme je puis estre bien *d'accord* ensemble sans aucune dissancion pour le bien utelite du jeune roy et royaume entierement car il me semble et cuyde avoir bonne oppignon que le *mal* et assiden qui vient par dehors est bien a reparer mais selluy de dedans non, parquoy me semble que pour reparer l'inconvenyant qui est advenu et soustenir le trone yssu de la noble et vertueuse souche le dessusdit roy mort par son bon frere cousin et alye le roy trescrestien il fault estre bien unys ensemble et laisser *toutes querelles* et particularitez s'il y en a, car le royaume ensemble bien uny ne peut aucunement estre vaincu ne subjugue.

Item dira a la royne vouloir tenir la main de sa part a l'article dessusdit qui plus luy touche que a tout autre.

Item a elle aux estas et conseil que son plaisir soit de a eux faire responce au roy en icelle vraye et bonne amytie qu'il envoie vers elle et eulx pour le *bien dudit royaume* et de fasson que les choses passees par le roy son feu mari et le roy trescrestien se repreignent et viennent en effect en toute bonne amytie alliance ayde et *secours* si besoing faict tant qu'il sera necessaire.

Item que se faisant les affaires de l'un et de l'autre ne *pouront que mieulx aller* et se conduyre et en plus grant force reputacion et seurte.

Item que en se faisant comme treshumble serviteur et parent du roy mon souverain son mary je me offre luy fere tout le service a moy possible et a son filz et pays que tiens a present par mon roy et seigneur et en la plasse de sondit feu pere et que es choses *necessaires pour* icelluy service ne soys espargne.

Item que pardeca et vers le roy mon maistre es choses pour icelluy service elle le conseil et estas me vueille *employer* et fere entendre les affaires de ladite dame et roy et pays lesquelz *are* en telle deligence et affection qu'il me *sera possible* et que pour mon devoir y suis tenu.

Item leur fera entendre en ensuyvant la charge qu'il a du roy mon maistre et commission se qui a este commence a parler de la part dudit seigneur et roy mon souverain

d'Escosse le roy deffunct de Dannemarc pour le roy son filz et du temps de [] depuis le trespas du feu roy son pere s'est assavoir si luy parroît entendre a prendre *alliance avec le roy trescrestien* en prenant l'une de ses prochaynes parantes et ma belle seur qui est de l'eage de quatorze ¹ ans et tielle qu'il a peu veoir la peinture et que si ainsin luy plaict luy seroit donne cent mille frans qui porront estre cause de nous fere donner ayde et secours au temps mesmes que le roy trescrestien porret fere.

Item que pource fere le roy trescrestien mondit maistre y envoie enbassadeur et pour reprendre et treter ledit mariage lequel si leur semble bon pour le bien de leur seigneur et maistre y envoient leurs enbassadeurs pour *aderer ayde* a sclui du roy et avec lettres et articles a sete fin et que je les en prie et en requiers la remectres humblement me semblant estre bonne honeste et profitable matiere pour le bien dessusdit.

Item que se faisant se confermera l'aliance et asunte qu'estoit par devant ainsin que le roy trescrestien envoie de sa part pource fere et a ce que ledit roy de Dannemarc en preigne la deffance protection et tinssion comme luy et en semblable et pour plus ranforsser l'aliance et amytié qui sera le grant soutenement et ayde du royaume a la cause de quoy les pryé y vouloir envoyer gens de bien et entendus et de la part de la royne si s'est son bon plaisir et l'en supplie.

Item supplier a la royne me *vouloir donner amplex* responsses a toutes ses choses dessusditz a ce que de brief soit donne tel remede qui sera de besoing aux choses necessaires et pour le bien service et utilite d'elle son filz et royaume ainsin que dessus est dit.

Item le semblable au conseil et estas leur remonstrant de par moy et amonestant de ainsin le vouloir faire comme bons loyaulx vrays serviteurs et subjectz a leur roy et comme le plus prochain et a qui le cas touche plus que a tout autre me vueillent mander leur advis sur le tout et se qui leur *semble que je doyve et soit besoing que je fasse*

¹ See p. 61, note 1. In the instructions to Andrew Brounhill (Brodie, 2578), the question of the marriage is mentioned.

et leur conclusion resolucion et desliberacion certayne ensemble toutes les injuncions et choses necessaires estre affere tant a eulx de dela que a moy ycy et envers le roy trescrestien mondit maistre pour le solliciter si besoing est comme selui qui certiffie et assure la royne messeigneurs du conseil et estaz estre entierement delibere et dispose fere tout se que par elle et eulx *sera advise* pour les dessuzditz bien et n'y espargner la vie ne les biens atandu et davan-taige que le roy mon maistre est en icelle amour fraternelle et bon vouloir que dessus est dit lequel Dieu vueille entre-ttenir et maintenir et donner au roy royne et pays se qui est necessaire.

Item dira que je supplie la royne et messeigneurs du conseil et estaz avoir regard es choses dessusditz et au-demeurant vouloir donner credance audit enbassadeur du roy trescrestien de par moy Monsieur de la Battie.

ALBANYE.

[Undated.]

XXI

*Estimate for the Duke of Albany's Forces*¹

Blois, 3 June 1514.

The estimate of the cost of the army includes pay for 8000 soldiers and sailors for four months, the double pay of French infantry for the same period, and of lanzknechts. To this is added the pay of 2500 French

¹ It was reported by the Earl of Surrey so early as 14th January 1513-14 that the French would send 15,000 men to Scotland if their ships were ready (Brodie, 2574). On 15th February it was reported again that Albany would be sent to France with 10,000 men (Brodie, 2647). Spinelly wrote to Henry VIII. on 19th March that Albany required 100,000 crowns, 4000 Almaines, 2000 Normans, 200 Stradiots and much ordnance (Brodie, 2736), and on 20th March Darcy wrote to the English King that the Scots were waiting for Albany's coming with the French and Danes to attack Berwick (Brodie, 2740). It was reported to Venice on 29th April 1514 that Henry had given up the intention of invading France (Brodie, 2852), and on 31st May that the General of Normandy had gone to England. This was ostensibly to negotiate the ransom of the Duke of Longueville, taken prisoner at the battle of the Spurs. That correspondent also noted that Louis might marry 'the widow of Scotland' (Brodie, 2994). This document and the following one show Louis XII.'s alternative policy.

soldiers for two more months, and of 200 men at arms and 50 Stradiots for six months. The estimate includes 10,050^{li} for artillery with a further pay for gunners, etc., arms and armour, and provision of wine and corn. The total sum is 438,950^{li}.

XXI

Estat de l'ayde et secours ordonne par le roy pour la deffence et service du roy et royaume d'Escosse selon la demande faicte par monseigneur le duc d'Albanye pour le voyaige qu'il entend faire audit royaume.

Et premierement

- Pour la soualde de huit mille hommes tant gens de guerre que mariners pour quatre moys a raison de x^s compris les victuailles monte viij^mxvj li.
- Pour les doubles payes de ij^mv^c francoys gens de guerre a pie compris estatz de cappitaines pour lesditz quatre moys ij^mv^c li et pour les estatz de cappitaines m li qui font en tout iij^mv^c li.
- Pour les doubles payes de ij^mv^c lansquenestz pour lesditz quatre moys vj^m li et pour l'estat desditz cappitaines m li vj^m li.
- Pour le payement et soualde de ij^mv^c francoys pour deux moys oultre les quatre cy dessus en ce compris double payes et estatz de cappitaines monte xxvj^mvij^c li.
- Pour le payement de deux cens hommes d'armes pour six moys monte xxxvij^mij^c li.
- Pour le payement de cinquante estradiotz pour lesditz six moys monte ij^mv^c li.
- Item l'artillerie dont il fault savoir au maistre de l'artillerie ou elle se pourra prendre estimee a x^m li.
- Item le commissaire de l'artillerie cannoniers aydes et autre suyte compris cens chevaulx x^m li.
- Item deux mille allecretz garniz d'avambraz et ceruelieres a viij li xvj^m li.

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Item deux mille escrevisses a xl ^s . . . | iiij ^m li. |
| Item dix mille piques ferrees et accoustrees a x ^s | v ^m li. |
| Item deux mille hallebardes a xii ^s vj ^d . . . | xij ^{cl} li. |
| Item cent harnoyz complectz pour hommes d'armes a xxxl li valleur | v ^m v ^{cl} li. |
| Item traicte a ble et vin pour telle quantite qu'il sera advise | .. |
| Item demande ledit Seigneur c ^m li comp- tant pour mectre au navire | C ^m li. |
| Comme totale iiij ^c xxxviiij ^m ix ^{cl} li. | |

Fait a Paris le iiij^{me} jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens et quatorze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

XXII

Offer to the King of Scots in the case of peace or truce

Paris, 3 June 1514.

To help the finances of the kingdom, because of the losses sustained in the death of the King and principal nobles and the loss of artillery and other goods, the King will give 25,000 *livres tournois*. He also will send eight cannon with munitions, and munitions for the great ship of Scotland, besides armour and weapons, specified in detail, and the right to trade in corn and wine as the King shall arrange.

XXII

*C'est ce que le roy a delibere faire pour le roy d'Escosse
ou cas de la paix ou de la tresve*

Et premierement pour ayder a supporter les charges et affaires du royaume d'Escosse actendu la perte qu'ilz ont portee tant en la personne du roy qui est mort en bataille que des principaulx princes et seigneurs dudit royaume et aussi de l'artillerie et munycion de guerre et autres biens qu'ilz avoient ledit seigneur leur fera bailler comptant la somme de vingt cinq mil livres tournois.

Item leur fera bailler huit pieces d'artillerie c'est assavoir

deux canons serpentins et six coulevrynes et les munycions qui appartiennent ausditz pieces.

Item ledit seigneur fera bailler quelque autre munycion pour l'artillerye qui est dedans la grant nef d'Escosse.

Item ledit seigneur fera bailler mil caracynts.

Item mil escrevysses garnyes d'avansbraz et de serve-
lieres.

Item plus fera bailler cinq mil picques et mil hallebardes.

Item la tracte des blez et vins telle qui sera adjuste par ledit seigneur.

Item ledit seigneur leur fera bailler cent hacquebucques a croq.

Fait a Paris le iij^{me} jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens et quatorze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

XXIII

Instructions to Master James Ogilvy

Bois de Vincennes, 11 June 1514.

He is to present his letters from the King and the customary greetings. He will express the King's pleasure at the arrival of himself and Lord Fleming with the news of the Queen's friendship for France in spite of threats and persuasions. To prove his similar friendship the King has confirmed the old alliance and treaties.

Explanation is given of the delay in answering and despatching Ogilvy and Fleming, and of the reason for signing the truce with the King of Aragon, which was done to hasten their delivery from Spain, and to relieve the King of one enemy the better to help Scotland. The King has waited for the ratification by Henry and the Emperor to despatch the ambassadors and, since it has not come, he sends Ogilvy with proposals in writing of the help he will send either in peace or war. If the help does not appear great, it is because of his other charges, explained to Albany and the Archbishop of Bourges as well as these two.

He has sent to England to show that he intends Scotland to be named in any arrangement with that country, and would rather break completely with them than abandon Scotland. Yet he begs the Queen to consider that Scotland requires rest, and hopes she will put no difficulty in that way. He commends Ogilvy's and Fleming's conduct as ambassadors and also that of the Archbishop of Bourges.

As to Albany's departure for Scotland, though the King needs his service in his wars and other affairs, still he is willing he should go so soon as possible. He is glad to hear of the goodwill of the King of Denmark.

Fleming's departure is to be delayed till the result of the present mission to England is seen, but Ogilvy will give an account of events.

XXIII

Instruction a Maistre Jaques Ogulby conseiller et premier maistre des requestes du Roy d'Escosse de ce qu'il aura a dire et remonstrer a la royne d'Escosse conseil estatz et seigneurs dudit royaume tant sur ce que Monseigneur le duc d'Albanye a poursuivy envers le roy comme gouverneur dudit royaume d'Escosse que sur la charge et commission que le Sieur de Flamyn et ledit Maistre Jaques Ogulby auroient et pour laquelle ilz sont venuz pardeca.

Premierement et avant toute autre chose ledit Maistre Jaques Ougulby presentera a ladite royne d'Escosse les lettres que le roy luy escript et luy fera et pareillement au roy d'Escosse son filz les salutacions et *recommandacions accoustumees* et luy dira de l'estat sancte et prosperite du roy et de ses affaires comme celluy qui pour le temps qu'il a este icy en a peu avoir bonne et clere congnoissance.

Luy dira en apres que la venue dudit Sieur de Flamyn et dudit Maistre Jaques a este tresagreable au roy principalement pour avoir *par eulx* entendu certaines nouvelles de ladite dame dudit roy d'Escosse son filz et de leurs affaires et aussi la bonne entiere et parfaicte affection qu'elle a tousiours eu et a envers l'entretienement de la bonne amytie fraternite et alliance qui a de toute anciennete este et est entre les roys et royaumes de France et ceulx d'Escosse dont le roy la mercey tant et si affectueusement et de bon cueur que faire se peut et la prie *vouloyr continuer* et y perseverer de bien en mieulx comme il a en elle la parfaicte et entiere confidence et estre seure qu'elle trouvera a jamais le roy dispose de faire pour elle pour le roy son filz pour la deffence dudit royaume et deffence d'icelluy ensemble de ses droiz et auctorite tout ce qui sera en son pouvoir sans y riens espargner.



La merciera en oultre de ce que le roy a entendu que combien que pour la desmouvoir de ceste parfaicte et inseparable amytié qui a este est et sera a jamais entre la couronne de France et celle d'Escosse on luy a fait plusieurs remonstrances persuasions et offres et apres *menasses* que ce neantmoins en monstrant ouvertement sa bonne prudence et l'affection qu'elle a au roy et royaume de France et a l'entretènement de ladite amytié et alliance elle n'y a eu aucun regart maiz est demoure ferme et constante en icelle sans avoir jamais voulu permectre ni consentir que aucune chose ayt este faicte au prejudice d'icelle amytié dequoy le roy se tient et repute grandement tenu a ladite dame et de rechef l'en mercye trescordialement comme dit est.¹

Et affin que icelle dame congnoisse que le roy a este et est en tel et semblable voulonte envers elle le roy son filz et le royaume d'Escosse il a conferme les *anciennes* et nouvelles amytiéz et alliances qui sont entre les roys et royaumes de France et d'Escosse en bonne et ample forme et *les a jurees* entretenir et faire entretenir et observer de point en point sans enfreindre esperant que ladite dame fera faire le semblable par dela.

En apres luy dira et priera ladite dame ne *trouver estrange* si plustost on n'a donne response et depesche ausditz sieurs de Flamyn et Ogulby car par fortune et tormente de mer ilz furent gectez a la Coulougne en Espagne et la arrestez et detenuz par aucuns jours dont le roy fut merueilleusement malcontent et pour pourveoir a leur delivrance ordonna incontinent et sur *l'heure qu'il fut adverty* de ladite fortune lettres au roy d'Arragon pour les mectre a plaine delivrance et pour plus facilement les recouvrer hasta le plus qu'il peut la conclusion et publication de la tresve qui a este faicte et

¹ The Queen's attitude seems to have been hardly as favourable as this implies. Henry VIII. had plans, including one in January 1513-14 for her marriage with the Emperor, and several diplomatists suggested that France should not oppose England in schemes for the governance of Scotland (Brodie, 2568, 2584). Still, on 26th August 1514, Margaret intimated to the Lords of Council her consent to the calling of Albany, after her marriage with Angus.

feist envers les ambassadeurs dudit roy d'Arragon ¹ qui lors estoient par deca telle poursuycte de leurdit delivrance qu'elle fut tost apres faicte de laquelle il fut tresioyeulx combien qu'il eust bien desire qu'ilz feussent arrivez devers luy plus tost et avant la *conclusion et publication de ladite tresve* et pource que ladite tresve a este faicte pour plusieurs bons regards et principalement pour *essayer d'asseurer* ledit royaume d'Escosse feust par icelle ou par *bonne et grosse* ayde que le roy eust fait et fera toutes et quantes foiz que le cas le requerra si Dieu luy fait la grace d'appaiser quelqu'un des ennemys qu'il a de present ledit seigneur a este content que l'empereur roy d'Angleterre le prince de Castille et ceulx de Flandres y ayent este nommez et pour ceste cause le roy y a pareillement nomme et compris le roy d'Escosse duquel il s'est fait fort comme on pourra veoir par le double d'icelle tresve qu'on a baille audit M^e Jaques Ogulby.

Dira en apres que le roy a depuis la conclusion d'icelle tresve actendu de jour en jour la ratiffication que lesditz empereur et roy d'Angleterre en devoient faire ² pour selon cela mieulx et plus resolutement pouvoir escrire a ladite dame et depescher lesditz Sieur de Flamyn et M^e Jaques maiz encores elle n'est venue parquoy le roy desirant *satisfaire a la grant* poursuycte qui luy a este faicte par ledit Sieur de Flamyn et ledit M^e Jaques Ogulby pour avoir expedicion et depesche a bien voullu y prendre quelque resolution et d'icelle advertir ladite dame et lesditz gens de conseil et estatz dudit royaume d'Escosse affin qu'ilz congnoissent l'amour qu'il porte a elle audit roy son filz et aux princes et subjectz dudit royaume laquelle resolution et conclusion est telle que ledit M^e Jaques porte par escript quant a luy tant pour l'ayde et secours qu'il semble estre necessaire ou cas qu'il y ait guerre oudit royaume que pour la paix

¹ The truce was made on 13th March 1513-14, to last for one year, between the Emperor, Ferdinand and Henry VIII. on the one part and the Kings of France and Scotland on the other (Brodie, 2725).

² Maximilian disclaimed the share that Ferdinand attributed to him in making the truce, stating that he had made the condition that Henry should accept (Brodie, 2794). Henry's non-agreement was shown by his attacks on Normandy and Picardy in spring.

ou treve *si elle se fait*¹ et prent avecques ladite dame et subjectz dudit royaume par ledit roy d'Angleterre et si lesditz aydes ne sont *telles que du coste* de dela on a desir le roy ne l'a fait pour faulte de bonne voulonte et d'amour qu'il porte a ladite royne et royaulme d'Escosse maiz a ce que pour l'heure presente estans ses affaires en l'estat qu'ilz sont et ayant porte et soubtenu *l'imsupportable* charge et depens qu'il porte il n'a peu ne peut faire mieulx comme plusamment on a remonstre audit *duc d'Albanye* et ausditz sieurs de Flamyn et Ogulby et semblablement a Monseigneur de Bourges et de Mouray lequel jusques icy a fait en grand sollicitude et dilligence tresbonne et tresprudente poursuycte envers le roy et son conseil des affaires dudit royaulme d'Escosse tellement que ladite dame et tous ceulx dudit royaume en sont tenuz et obligez a luy et par raison en doyvent avoir bonne recongnissance tant envers luy que envers le siens.

Et affin que ladite dame et gens de bien dudit royaulme congnoissent clerement que le roy a autant *a cueur les* affaires dudit royaulme d'Escosse que les siens propres il a puisnagueres *respondu et preste l'oreille a* quelque pratique qu'on luy a mise en avant du couste d'Angleterre et a envoye homme expres audit Angleterre² pour monstrier qu'il a este et est tousiours prest d'entendre a toutes choses raisonnables mais en ce faisant il entend que ledit royaulme d'Escosse soit *expressement nomme et compris* en ce qui se fera et traictera soit par treve ou quelque autre appointement et aussi l'a ordonne et commande precisement a celluy qu'il a envoye audit Angleterre et plustost s'en *retournera en totale roupture* que autrement se face car le roy n'est delibere habandonner ne jamais delaisser ledit royaume d'Escosse ne oublier ce que le feu roy son bon et loyal frere a fait pour luy et le royaume de France et quant a la viendra que les choses tumberont a la guerre on le congnoistra par effect *toutesfoys le roy* prie et requiert ladite dame bien penser et considerer l'estat en quoy elle et ledit royaulme

¹ See Nos. XXI. and XXII.

² This must be Thomas Boyer, General of Normandy (Brodie, 2959, p. 1278). See p. 97, note 1.

d'Escosse sont de present et la necessite en laquelle il a este et est encores et en ce faisant elle congnoistra clerement que la *paix et repos* y est plus requiz que nulle autre chose parquoy si on vient jusques la le roy espere qu'elle ne fera nulle difficulte d'y entendre de son couste et tenir ce chemyn lequel par l'oppinion et advis d'un chacun semble le meilleur le plus seur et le plus proffitable pour elle pour le roy et le prince ses enfans et pour la generalite de tout ledit royaulme duquel le roy veult estre protecteur et deffenseur comme de celluy de France.

Et pour ce qu'on pourroit avoir jusques icy dit plusieurs choses a ladite dame et gens du conseil dudit royaume *a cause de la longueur de temps* que lesditz sieurs de Flamyn et Ogulby ont mis a estre depeschez leur donnant charge peut estre de n'avoir en ce fait leur devoir et poursuyete telle qu'ilz la devoient faire le roy qui a veu et entendu tout ce qui en a este veult bien et desire que ladite dame saiche et entende la verite surce qui est en effect et ainsi il veult qu'on le certiffie de par luy que ledit Sieur de Flamyn et M^e Jaques comme ambassadeurs ont fait en toutes ces matieres tout ce que bons diligens et loyaux serviteurs et subjectz de ladite dame et dudit royaulme d'Escosse *povoient et devoient faire* et aussi mondit Seigneur le duc d'Albanye comme gouverneur et regent dudit royaulme ¹ et semblablement mondit Seigneur de Bourges et de Morray ² comme bon loyal et affectionne serviteur et subject d'icelle et dudict royaulme tellement que *chacun selon* sa qualite en est a tres grandement recomander et semble au roy qu'il tourneroit a grant charge s'il ne certiffioit ladite dame et gens de bien dudit royaulme de la verite qui se trouvera tousiours telle que dessus.

Et au regard de l'allee de mondit Seigneur duc d'Albanye en Escosse combien que le roy ait en luy amour et singulier

¹ Leo x. wrote to Albany on 11th April 1514 under the style of Governor and Viceroy of Scotland.

² Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, was papally provided to the Archbishopric of Bourges, following on the chapter's refusal to elect him, on 15th July 1513. His election followed on 1st October, and he made his official entry on 13th November (Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 73).

fiance et qu'il eust bien desire l'employer et se servir de luy en ses guerres et grans affaires et mesmement [] et [] de sa personne comme il fait de present ce neantmoins il a este et est trescontent d'icelle et tiendra tousiours main a ce que ladite allee se face le plus tost que faire se pourra ¹ et en sorte qu'elle puisse porter prouffit et honneur audit royaume d'Escosse ainsi que de cest article mondit seigneur le duc fera plusamment entendre a ladite dame a laquelle le roy recommande tousiours ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye et ses affaires l'asseurant qu'elle le trouvera prompt dilligent et affectionne a elle et a son honneur a celluy du roy et du prince ses enfans et generallement a tout ledit royaume.

Quant au roy de Dannemarche le roy a este tresaise d'avoir entendu sa bonne voulonte et sa responce venue et l'avoir entendue fera savoir a ladite dame son advis et oppinion sur icelle ainsi que ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye luy fera plus au long savoir.

Et en tant qui touche ledit sieur de Flamyn le roy a este d'oppinion aussi a este ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye qu'il deust differer son partement et retour en Escosse jusques a ce qu'on ait veu l'yssue que prendront toutes ces matieres et principalement ce qui se traicte de present en Angleterre ² car selon cela il se fauldra gouverner et conduyre et ce pendant et pour advertir la dite dame de l'estat en quoy sont les matieres on a bien voullu depescher ledit M^e Jaques Ogulby lequel la pourra informer et aussi les gens de bien seigneurs et conseil dudit royaulme de toutes choses particulièrement et par le menu ainsi que jusques a present elles sont passees et cy apres ledit seigneur duc d'Albanye et

¹ See p. 97, note 1. Dacre reported on 8th April that Islay herald had been sent to invite him to come (Brodie, 2793). Meanwhile pressure was put upon France to allow England to control Scotland.

² The Duke of Longueville and the General of Normandy were endeavouring to separate Henry from the Emperor and Ferdinand. Henry was ready to come to 'reasonable' terms (Brodie, 2956, 2957). These included a payment by Louis of 1,000,000 crowns in annual instalments of 40,000 crowns, a peace to endure a year after the death of either of the princes, and the marriage of Henry's sister, Mary, to the French King. The treaty was signed on 7th August 1514.

pareillement lesdits seigneurs de Bourges et de Flamyn la certiffiront et advertiront a la verite de ce qui surviendra.

Et apres dira que le roy la prie et conseille tenir la main ainsi que jusques icy elle a fait aux affaires dudit roy et prince¹ ses enfans et dudit royaume d'Escosse comme bonne mere doyt faire et aussi entretenir les seigneurs et gens de bien du pays et principalement a vouloir garder et conserver ceste amytié et alliance ancienne qui a este et est entre ledit royaume de France et celluy d'Escosse et tousiours faire entendre au roy ce qui luy surviendra pour comme a sa bonne et parfaicte seur luy donner ayde conseil faveur et assistance en sesditz affaires et ceulx dudit royaume tout ainsi qu'il vouldroit faire es siens propres.

Item et en tant que touche aucuns aultres poins et articles contenuz es instructions apportez par lesditz sieurs de Flamyn et Ogulby le roy en communiquera cy apres avecques lesditz seigneurs duc d'Albanye et de Flamyn lequels en pourront escrire a ladite dame et conseil dudit royaume.

Fait au Boys de Vincennes pres Paris le xje jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens et quatorze.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Scott. scriba consilii.

XXIV

Instructions to Master James Ogilvy by the Duke of Albany

13 June 1514.

He is to return thanks for the honour done to the Duke of Albany by the Queen and Council in asking him to become governor.

He is to explain the delay in sending despatches. The ambassadors were driven by storm to Spain and delayed there till the truce with the King of Spain had been signed. In this the King of Spain wishes to include the

¹ Alexander, Duke of Ross, posthumous child of James IV. and Queen Margaret, was born in Stirling Castle, 30th April 1514, and lived only till 18th December 1515.

Emperor and Flanders, the Emperor to include England, and the King of France has undertaken to include the King of Scots.

The truce is necessary for both these last kingdoms: for Scotland because of the loss of the King and his nobles, because of the youth of the present King and because he may succeed to the throne of England.

It is not yet known whether the persons mentioned will come in to the truce, for which reason no despatch was sent. The ambassadors, seeing the long delay, feared to be accused for their stay without any despatches, wherefore Ogilvy is sent now with the following message.

That concerns what help the King will give in case of war, of peace or of truce, offers which seem reasonable to the Duke who drew them up. The Duke did not wish to ask excessive help, preferring to trust the gentlemen of Scotland for the good of their King and kingdom, and if war should come the Duke hopes to avenge the King and those who died in the battle.

Ogilvy is to explain the help which the King will give and the great expenses which he has borne and still bears; also that Lord Fleming has been kept to learn whether there will be peace or war and to bring munitions. He will also tell about the Scottish ships and about the mission to Calais and England for the ransom of the Duke of Longueville. Ogilvy will warn them to watch for the King of England's intentions and not to be surprised by war. They are to send again to the King of Denmark for his 6000 men, equipped and with money for four or six months' pay. If the Queen and Council are unwilling to do this without the Duke and if there is war, he consents and prays that he be able to serve the King and country.

If there is a truce or peace the King of Denmark and the ambassadors are to be informed, so that expense may be avoided.

Ogilvy is to give information as to the services rendered by Lord Fleming and himself, and the Duke begs that they be suitably rewarded. The Archbishop of Bourges has also shown his zeal for the King and kingdom.

The Queen is begged to persuade the Scots to remain united, and the same is urged upon the Lords of Council and the Estates, the more so that Albany has heard that they are making leagues amongst themselves. The Scots have so great a reputation for loyalty that surely there is no need for such leagues. And, while distrust of each other weakens them, in union they cannot be broken; and for that reason the Duke begs the Estates to take the matter up and put an end to dissension.

Since the King is still a child, every one should be the more inclined to see that justice is done to small as well as to great, and since the late King appointed officers to deal with this, they should be supported by all, who thus will do their duty to the Queen, mother of the King and his brother. She can help the kingdom in the way of justice as in other affairs, and, considering her goodwill, each should be at pains to help her in everything that concerns her children and the kingdom.

Ogilvy is to beg the Queen to continue in her goodwill and to support the nobles and gentry according to what they have deserved.

He is to warn the Queen about news, which rumour may have carried, of which there has not been sufficient certainty to write lest the Queen, Council and Estates should take unsuitable action thereupon, for want of knowing the truth. The Queen and Council are begged to place no faith in rumours for fear of harm, but to inform the Duke who it was brought such news, meddling in matters which are not their business.

The Duke begs the Queen and Council to be diligent in learning what the King of England intends to do. They are also to be silent about secret matters, notably plans for war or peace, particularly the former, and to inform the Duke of all things necessary for peace, truce or war and what he must do and tell the King.

Since the Duke desires that the King's affection towards the King, Queen and kingdom should be known, he has charged Ogilvy to express the King's anxiety for the good government of the kingdom and his pleasure with the Queen and Council, particularly the Queen's intention to keep on his side in spite of the offers made by England.

Ogilvy will also show the goodwill of the French Council, for which the Duke conceives they should be thanked, particularly the Treasurer, Robertet.

Mention has already been made of the services of the ambassadors: still, the Duke wishes it to be said that he advises that either one or both should be sent again, as shall prove necessary. The Duke also is always ready to help.

The Queen and Council are desired to send their opinion as to certain special matters of which Ogilvy will inform them, and, if necessary, to send him fuller powers, but in any case to send their opinions signed. Ogilvy will give reasons for the Duke's request for this help as well as information as to events in France, as one who has been an eyewitness.

XXIV

Instructions a Maistre Jacques Ogilvy consciller et maistre des requestes ordinaire de l'ostel du roy d'Escosse de ce qu'il a a dire et remonstrer de la part de monseigneur Monseigneur le duc d'Albanye tant a la royne d'Escosse que a Mess^{rs} du conseil audit pays d'Escosse.

Et premierement fera ledit Ogilvy envers la bonne grace de ladite dame les treshumbles recommandacions de la part de mondit seigneur.

Item remerciera ladite dame treshumblement et lesditz

seigneurs du conseil de l'honneur qu'ilz ont fait a mondit seigneur le duc de le vouloir eslire pour gouverner audit royaume d'Escosse et d'avoir en ceste fiance et estime de luy et leur dire et remonstrer de par mondit seigneur qu'il voudroit bien estre si eureux de savoir faire service au roy a ladite dame et au royaume et que pour ce faire n'y voudroit espairgner les biens ne la personne jusques au bout de la vie.

Item dira a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil les raisons pourquoy la depesche a este longuement a faire comme celluy qui a partout este et qui scet et entend la cause pourquoy.

Premierement qu'ilz ont este transportez en Espagne par grant fortune de temps ou ilz ont demoure arrestez par l'espace de deux mois et demy et n'ont sceu estre icy plus tost que des le jeudi avant Pasques flories ¹ dernièrement passe auquel temps ilz trouverent la tresve faicte du roy d'Espagne pour ung an ² ainsi qu'il se pourra veoir par le double d'icelle que le roy envoie a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil en laquelle ledit roy d'Espagne a este comprins et s'est fait fort d'y faire entrer l'empereur et la maison de Flandres et ledit empereur se faisant fort du roy d'Angleterre et le roy a prins en main d'y faire entrer le roy d'Escosse.

Item pour autant qu'il a semble au roy comme la raison est telle que necessairement telle tresve estoit bonne et pour l'un et pour l'autre des deux royaumes de France et d'Escosse ainsi que si ledit roy d'Escosse estoit son filz et comme tel il le repute tient et veult tenir en tous ses affaires lesquelz il n'a en moindre recommandacion que les siens propres.

Item dire et remonstrer que ladite tresve est tresbonne et fait pour lesditz deux royaumes si l'on la peut avoir pour autant que l'on pourra tirer de la a une bonne paix qui est tresnecessaire pour les raisons cy apres dites.

¹ *Pâques fleuries* is Palm Sunday, which fell on 9th April in 1514. The Scots ambassadors therefore arrived at court on 6th April.

² See the King of France's explanation in the preceding letter. They seem to have arrived before the actual ratification by Louis.

La premiere que ledit royaume d'Escosse est maintenant desgarny de la personne du feu roy et des principaulx personnaiges dudit royaume qui sont dernièrement mors a la guerre et aussi a ledit royaume fault toute autre chose necessaire pour la tincion securite et deffense d'icelle.

Item la seconde que le roy qui est a present est bien jeune et en bas aaige et que ayant la paix ledit royaume se pourra restaurer et ledit roy parvenu et venu en aaige de povoir exercer les armes et de congnoistre et ordonner de ses affaires se trouvera riche d'hommes et d'argent pour en faire ce qui sera de besoing a subvenir a ses affaires et emprinses.

Tiercement que ledit roy vient a succeder au royaume d'Angleterre en deffault du roy d'Angleterre qui est a present sans le droit que ledit roy d'Escosse a ou peut avoir d'autre part audit royaume d'Angleterre ou il n'a haste de succeder par sa grant jeunesse maiz actende l'aaige luy est trop plus seant parquoy mondit seigneur trouve la paix ou tresve tresbonne et tresnecessaire moyennant qu'elle soit faicte ainsi qu'il appartient.

Et pource doncques que ladite tresve fut prinse par le roy avant povoir faire aucune resolucion en la presente despesche a este de besoing et a voulu ledit seigneur actendre jusques a ce qu'il eust sceurte de ladite tresve c'est assavoir si les autres dessusditz y entreroient ce qu'ilz n'ont encores faict qui a este la raison par laquelle l'on n'a plustost peu avoir despesche.

Toutefoys voyant la chose en si grant longueur messieurs les ambassadeurs ont poursuivy leurditz despesches pour leur acquict faisans doubte d'estre chargez de leur si longue demeure sans avoir leurdit despesche ne avoir aucune chose escript au pays parquoy a este accorde ce que maintenant par ledit maistre Jacques Ogilvy est envoye et a ce que la chose fust plus sceurement conduite jusques audit pays a este baillee la presente despesche audit maistre Jacques une semblable a maistre Patrick Hamelton et une autre entre les mains de mondit seigneur le duc signee et scellee pour icelle garder.

C'est assavoir touchant ce que le roy fera d'aide et

secours quant au fait de la guerre et ce qu'il fera en cas de paix ou trespve comme il apparaitra par les dessusditz despeschés lesquelles semblent a mondit seigneur le duc bonnes et raisonnables et mesmement celle de la guerre car il l'a dreceé ainsi qu'il a veu estre affaire actendu qu'il en avoit la charge et commission pour le service de l'un et de l'autre des deux royaumes laquelle chose mondit seigneur le duc n'a voulu entreprendre en chef pour l'un ne pour l'autre ne ne voudroit sans avoir l'equippaaige tel qu'il appartient en ce cas et comme il est requis et neccesaire.¹

Item aussi dira et remonstrera ledit maistre Jacques que mondit seigneur n'a point voulu excéder a demander chose impossible et que l'on n'eust sceu embarquer et conduire au pays et mondit seigneur le duc se confiant des gens de bien dudit pays de leur bon sens hadresse et obeyssance pour le bien de leur roy son royaume et d'eulx mondit seigneur le duc esperoit et encores fait le cas de la guerre advenant faire bon service audit roy et pays d'Escosse et de venger la mort dudit feu roy et des gens de bien mors avecques luy en la bataille.

Item surce mesmes articles ledit maistre Jacques dira et remonstrera de pardela a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil l'aide que le roy fait audit pays et royaume d'Escosse en cas de paix ou de trespve qui est telle comme il est contenu aux articles faiz sur cela nonobstant les grans affaires que le roy a soubstenez et portez jusques icy et encores soubstient et porte tous les jours qui sont a dire et remonstrer quant a ce point touchent lequel mesditz sieurs les ambassadeurs n'auroient aucune charge par leur legacion de riens demander il en dira et remonstrera que mondit seigneur le duc a retenu monsieur de Flemyn et l'a fait demeurer pour actendre et veoir la fin ce qui sera de paix ou guerre aussi pour en apporter les municions et autres choses contenues aux articles de paix ou trespve et pour solliciter selon qu'il verra le temps et les choses estre neccesaires et a semble a mondit seigneur le duc le devoir retenir

¹ See Nos. XXI. and XXII.

seulement et avecques luy la Marche et en envoyer tout le reste avecques bonnes despaches a tous pour les raisons dessusditz actendu qu'ilz ne font riens icy et que si guerre est ilz seront vous party sur le lieu et si paix est ou tresve n'y serviront de riens.

Item dira ce qui est des navires d'Escosse et ou ilz sont et de leur equippage et des autres comment ilz sont et combien.¹

Item dira comment le roy a envoye pour la raencon de monsieur de Longueville le general de Normandie a Calaix et que dela et est alle en Angleterre pour que quelque pratique d'appointement se mayne telle que le roy luy a donne charge n'y entrer en aucune maniere sans y comprendre le roy et royaume d'Escosse laquelle chose le roy a dicte et declaire notoirement ausditz ambassadeurs et [] plusieurs maintesfoys.²

Item dira ledit maistre Jacques que l'on doit mectre paine d'entendre de l'intencion du roy d'Angleterre et de ce qu'il aura en desliberacion de faire a celle fin de n'estre point surprins si la chose entroit en guerre et de se preparer en deffense en toutes choses.

Item et est besoing sur ce point envoyer de nouveau devers le roy de Dannemarch³ pour avoir de luy l'aide des vj^m hommes a toute diligence et pour ce qu'il a este fait quelque difficulte sur l'avertissement que mondit seigneur le duc en a fait sur ce propoz dont l'article est tel :

Que mondit seigneur entend et luy semble bon si la guerre se fait et aussi luy semble estre besoing et necessaire

¹ The *Great Michael*, the *Margaret* and the *James* were left in France when Arran brought back the rest in November 1513. They were in use in July 1514 (Brewer, i. 5270), and at St. Malo in August of that year. The *Great Michael* was reputed the largest ship in France (*Nav. Rec. Soc.*, vol. x., No. 101). She was sold to the French by Albany on 2nd April 1514 for 40,000 francs *tournois*, payable in four years (*Ep. Reg. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 214). The sale was ratified by the Scottish Council on 28th June, 1515 (*Acts of Council in Public Affairs*, p. 39).

² See p. 97, note 1.

³ Dacre wrote to Henry on 4th June that the ambassadors, lately in Denmark, had returned to Scotland. These were Brounhill and de la Bastie. As the Treasurer's Accounts for 1514 are missing there is no record as to movements of ambassadors.

d'avoir les vj^m hommes dessusditz avecques des munycions harnoyz et autres telles choses servans au fait de la guerre et pour ce faire et avoir soualde pour quatre ou six mois en argent rendre les terres engagees par ledit roy de Dannemarch au roy d'Escosse pour le mariage de sa tante mariee au pere du dernier mort pour la somme de cens mil florins car lesditz vj^m hommes ayens la guerre en voudroient plus de dix foiz autant et a l'aventure d'avantaige assez.

Item et si sur ce point la difficulte se trouvait telle que la royne et messieurs du conseil et estatz ne le voulsissent faire sans mondit seigneur au cas dessusdit et ayant la guerre mondit seigneur le duc se y consent et y preste et donne son consentement en tant que besoing seroit et prie qu'il soit fait pour le grant service bien et honneur du roy et de son royaume.

Item si le cas est tel que la tresve ou paix se drecoit il est besoing d'en advertir ledit roy de Dannemarch et les ambassadeurs s'ilz y sont encores c'est assavoir monsieur de la Bastye et celluy d'Escosse affin qu'ilz n'entrassent en despence dudit secours et que riens sur ce ne s'accordast d'autant qu'il ne serviroit alors de riens.

Item oultre fera entendre a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil et estatz le service que monsieur de Flemyn ambassadeur susdit a fait icy et a grans fraiz et despence dont ladite dame luy est tenue et le pays aussi et audit maistre Jacques Ogilvy semblablement sur quoy mondit seigneur le duc supplye ladite dame et prie lesditz seigneurs du conseil et estatz dudit pays y vouloir avoir regard et le recongnoistre en temps et lieu envers eulx pour donner bon exemple a tous autres et comme la raison le veult qui est de remunerer le bien fait et corriger le mal.

Item que Monseigneur de Bourges a fait son devoir lequel mondit seigneur a prie se y vouloir trouver et de vouloir assister en tous les affaires ce qu'il a tresbien et vertueusement fait et de bon cueur et a monstre et monstre qu'il desire faire service au roy et a sondit royaume.

Item dira et remonstrera ledit Ogilvy a ladite dame que son plaisir soit tenir main ordonner et remonstrer a ceulx dudit pays d'estre tousiours bien unys et bons amys

ensemble pour le bien du roy sondit royaume et d'eulx particulièrement.

Item et en dira autant aux seigneurs du conseil et estatz soit en particulier ou en general et d'avantaige que la raison qui fait si souvent escrire mondit seigneur sur ce point c'est qu'il a entendu desja par plusieurs foiz qu'il y a aucuns des seigneurs dudit pays qui ont fait et font de jour en jour ligues entre eulx¹ lesquelles peut estre ne sont que a bonne fin et a bonne intencion pour le service du roy et sondit royaume ; toutesfoys il semble a mondit seigneur le duc que en facon et maniere que lesditz ligues soient faictes et fondees elle ne sont bien faictes et la raison est telle qu'il est tout notoire de droit que de raison que vrays et obeyssans subjectz mesmement Escossoys qui sont renommez estre autant ou plus loyaulx et obeissans a leur seigneur que nulz autres du monde ne doivent faire aucune doubte que chacun ne vueille servir et obeir au roy ; parquoy si ceste doubte est dehors n'est ja besoing faire aucunes alyances ne entrer en nulles parcialitez fors chacun en particulier regarder a tirer droit pour le service dudit seigneur sondit royaume et pour le prouffict et utilite du bien publique d'icelluy.

Item et est a entendre que puissance despartir et l'une part de l'autre se deffiant ne fust jamais qu'elle n'affoyblist de trop maiz estant ensemble ne peut estre dymynuee ne rompue parquoy mondit seigneur est d'advis et luy semble tres mal fait a ceulx qui auroient ou desireroient d'en faire et les prie et requiert qu'ilz vueillent et ayent a eulx desister de ceste oppinion et pour ce que l'advis d'un seul homme ne soit suffisant a estre creu ledit maistre Jacques remonstrera et dira de la part de mondit seigneur tant ausditz seigneurs du conscil que des estatz qu'il les prie qu'ilz preignent la paine pour le bien de leur roy et d'eulx a la premiere seconde ou tierce que bon leur semblera des

¹ Dacre reported on 10th March 1513-14 that the Council of Scotland 'have been very undecided in their purposes, the young lords always thwarting the purposes of the old.' There was also trouble and considerable rivalry over the filling of benefices vacant by the death of their holders at Flodden.

estaz iceulx assemblez mettre l'affaire sur le bureau et en oppinion pour [] et en ensuivant la plus sayne meilleur et plus grant voix en estre fait et ordonne a celle fin que debatz noyses discencions ne meurtres ou autres telz inconveniens ne s'en suivent.

Item et d'avantaige fera entendre ledit maistre des requestes veu que ledit roy d'Escosse est en aage d'enfance et tel que chacun le voit que de tant plus chacun doit estre enclin a [] l'affaire dudit royaume et luy rendre obeyssance le servir soubstenir aider et tenir main que justice puisse estre faicte et administree a chacun autant au moindre que au plus grant et qu'il y a pour ce faire gens et officiers constituez et depputez qui estoient du vivant du feu roy bon personaiges et gens de bien lesquelz leur devoir faisans comme jusques icy ont fait et veullent faire l'on les doit en cela porter favoriser et leur tenir main ainsi qu'il appertient comme mondit seigneur le duc les prie requiert et conseille de ce faire pour les causes et raisons dessusditz et en ce faisant ilz feront leur honneur et devoir ayans regard au bon vouloir gouvernement et bonne conduite de la royne mere dudit roy et d'un autre sien frere procee d'elle et du feu roy que Dieu absoille : laquelle dame assez peut favoriser ledit royaume tant en justice que en toutes autres commoditez et choses necessaires pour icelluy et pour le bien et honneur de ses enfans et considerant sondit bon vouloir chacun doit mettre paine de luy obeyr secourir et subvenir en tous ses affaires qui sont communs a ceulx de seditz enfans et du royaume et de ce faire priera et requerra ceulx dudit pays de la part de mondit seigneur le duc.

Item suppliera ladite dame si humblement que faire pourra et comme pour celluy qui veult demeurer son tres-humble et obeysant serviteur de tousiours demeurer en son bon vouloir que c'est son grant honneur son bien sa force et celle de ses enfans et leur pays et que de ce faire mondit seigneur le duc la conscille et aussi d'entretenir egallement les seigneurs et gens de bien dudit pays selon ce qu'ilz ont deservy et merite par facon qu'ilz n'ayent cause fors a leur grant tort d'estre autres que bons et vrays

subjectz et serviteurs du roy sondit filz et d'elle ainsi que mondit seigneur a reppute jusques icy avoir este et qu'ilz ont fait leur devoir par le passe et au temps advenir continueront de bien en mieulx ensuyvant le bon vouloir accoustume de ladite nacion.

Item que fera entendre ledit maistre Jacques a ladite dame outre plus qu'il peut a l'adventure estre que par aucuns autres que seditz ambassadeurs par ouyr dire ou par souspecon a este mande aucunes nouvelles au pays incertaines du fait de ceste presente despesche de laquelle a este longuement et depieca pourparle pour icelle mener et conduire a bonne fin et excecucion comme elle est maintenant et jusques icy n'a este entendue certainement dont l'on n'est sceu ne d'en rescripre ne en donner advertissement sur aucune point d'icelle ; parquoy nul desditz ambassadeurs ne mondit seigneur le duc n'ont voulu ne auze entreprendre de riens en rescripre ne faire scavoir que premier ilz n'aient veu les choses estre performees pour prendre effect craignant outre parce et pour advertissement incertain estre prinse par ladite dame et lesditz seigneurs du conseil et estatz aucune resolucion mal apropoz et au dommaige du roy et sondit royaume par faulte de bien entendre la verite qui maintenant se peut faire acertener ; parquoy suppliera ladite dame et les dessusditz seigneurs du conseil et estatz n'y vouloir adjouster aucune foy parquoy l'inconvenient en peut venir et pour les raisons dessusditz maiz plustost donner advis a mondit seigneur de ceulx que telles choses auroient ou voudroient mander en eulx entre-mectant de ce dont ilz n'ont aucunement charge et leur doit donner a congnoistre que telles choses ne sont bonnes honnestes ne licites a faire envers telz personaiges que ladite dame et ce pour le grant bien et honneur d'elle et dudit roy tant present que advenir.

Item dira que mondit seigneur le duc supplie ladite dame prie et requiert lesditz seigneurs du conseil que au plustost ilz diligent a eulx informer de ce que le roy d'Angleterre fera pour en donner advertissement icy au roy et aussi pour se prendre garde pardela audit pays qu'il n'y viegne aucun inconvenient et sera pourveu s'il est trouve bon selon le

cas advenant et affaire ainsi qu'il est contenu aux memoires dernièrement envoyez par mondit seigneur a mondit seigneur le chancellier.

Item dira bien expressement a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil que les choses qui seront a taire soient par eulx taisees et mesmement les deliberacions prises ou ces faiz de guerre ou de paix et expres en celluy de guerre lequel ne doit estre divulgue ne entendu ne l'autre semblablement.

Item de informer mondit seigneur si c'est le plaisir de ladite dame de toutes choses necessaires au plustost soit pour la paix la tresve ou la guerre et de ce qu'il aura a faire et comment il se y devra conduire et gouverner et s'il y aura autre chose a dire icy au roy et allieurs.

Item et pource que mondit seigneur le duc desire que toutes choses soient bien entendues mesmement la bonne et grant affection que le roy a envers ledit roy d'Escosse la royne et ledit royaume il a donne charge audit maistre Jacques de bien dire et remonstrer a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs du conseil et estatz le grant desir que ledit seigneur a a la bonne conduite des affaires audit royaume et a ce qu'ilz se puissent bien porter lesquelz il a en si grant et singulier recommandacion que les siens propres et qu'il ne soit vray il le monstre par ce qui est accorde maintenant ou il fait tout ce qu'il peut et se contente ledit seigneur a merveilles de ladite dame et de messeigneurs du conseil et estatz en tant que ladite dame a monstre le bon et ferme propos qu'elle a eu envers ledit seigneur de tenir son party et pareillement les seigneurs dudit conseil et estatz non obstant les bonnes et grosses oeuffres qui leur ont este faictes et presentees de la part dudit roy d'Angleterre comme ledit seigneur a este et est bien adverty au moyen de quoy il se sent et reppute estre tenu a ladite dame et ausditz seigneurs dudit conseil et estatz par facon que de son pouvoir de bon cueur le leur donneroit a congnoistre tant en particulier comme en general; parquoy ladite dame et les dessusditz doivent grandement avoir cela a cueur et mectre paine de leur couste d'entretenir ceste bonne amour et fraternite et les anciennes et nouvelles

alyances qui sont tant necessaires et si bien apropoz pour l'un et l'autre desditz deux royaumes que plus n'est possible.¹

Item semblablement dira et remonstrera le bon vouloir que monseigneur a au pays et le povoir qu'il a d'y aider et faire plaisir qui est tresgrant chose aussi dira particulièrement le bon vouloir qu'il a envers mondit seigneur le duc.

Item pourra remonstrer la bonne voulente de messeigneurs du conseil et leur affection qui n'est moindre que a leur propre maistre et ont este tressoigneux a la despesche presentement faicte, joyeux de veoir bien aller les choses et au contraire deplaisand d'entre aucune inconvenient audit pays tout ainsi que s'il advenoit a l'un des endroiz du royaume de France parquoy semble bon a mondit seigneur le duc de les devoir remercier bien cordialement et les prier de vouloir continuer en ceste bonne voulente et en especial monsieur *le tresorier Robertet* qui a prins ledit fait et matiere en main et a eu grant travail en paine a ladite despesche d'icelle matiere ainsi que plusamment ledit maistre Jacques scaura remonstrer et donner a entendre a la verite comme celluy qui a le tout veu et entendu.

Item et combien que cy devant il soit faicte mencion du bon et gros service et de la grosse despence que mesditz seigneurs les ambassadeurs ont fait icy pour le service dudit roy d'Escosse et de son royaume neantmoins mondit seigneur le duc veult bien dire et remonstrer de rechef par les presens instructions qu'ilz se sont si bien et si saignement conduictz et gouvernez en tous les affaires qui ont touche et concerne le fait de leur legacion que mondit seigneur conseille s'il y a quelque chose de nouveau qui a renvoyer pardeca ambassadeurs comme de present a este besoing faire qu'ilz les renvoyent tousiours tous deux ou l'un d'eulx si n'est besoing les y envoyer tous deux car le roy les a tresagreables et semble a mondit seigneur qu'ilz ont si bien et saignement execute le fait de leur legacion qu'il n'est possible de mieulx et dira et remonstrera ledit maistre Jacques de la part de mondit seigneur qu'il sera *tousiours*

¹ This paragraph is marked (with a line down the side) and in the margin is written *Nota*.

icy prest pour servir et aider en toutes choses generalement pour le bien dudit roy de ladite dame et dudit pays et royaume d'Escosse et se y employera de tout son pouvoir.

Item dira a ladite dame de la part de mondit seigneur le duc et ausditz seigneurs dudit conseil que le plaisir de ladite dame soit envoyer a mondit seigneur son advis et celluy dudit conseil touchant aucunes choses particulieres que ledit maistre Jacques dira et remonstrera de par mondit seigneur et s'il est besoing luy envoyer autre povoir oultre celluy qu'il a lequel luy semble toutesfoys assez ample pour besoigner en ces matieres car le plaisir de ladite dame soit ordonner et commander qu'il se face et s'il ne fault autre povoir qu'il luy plaise luy envoyer les oppinions et consentemens tant d'elle que des seigneurs dudit conseil et estatz signez et despeschez comme il appartient non obstant que l'un et l'autre fussent bons.

Item que ledit maistre Jacques saura bien dire par le menu et donner a entendre toutes choses tant la raison pourquoy mondit seigneur a demande l'aide de ceste sorte que autres choses faictes icy comme il a veu remectant le tout a son scavoir prudence et bonne discretion comme en celluy qui scet et entend le tout et qui plusieurs foiz a eu devis au roy ensemble ledit monsieur de Flemyn et monseigneur de Bourges qui en peut estre tesmoing et aussi du bon vouloir et affection que mondit seigneur a de faire service audit roy d'Escosse et sondit royaume suppliant ladite dame de la part de mondit seigneur ne le vouloir espargner et luy vouloir commander et faire entendre tout ce ou l'on congnoistra que mondit seigneur scaura faire service car il y employera et la personne et les biens.

Fait au Boys de Vincennes le xiiij^{me} jour de juing mil v^cxiiij.

ALBANYE.

MARCHAL.

Endorsed, Instruccion de maistre Jacques Ogilvy conseiller et maistre des requestes de l'ostel du roy d'Escosse qui luy a este baille de la part de monseigneur le duc d'Albanye.

XXV

*Commission (copy) to Maitre Jean de Planis*Paris, 29 March 1515.¹

Commission by Francis I. to M^e Jean de Planis, doctor of laws and councillor, as ambassador to the King of Scots and the Three Estates of the realm, peace having been made with England, to confirm the old alliance between the Kings of France and Scotland, till such time as a league shall be made for the defence of their kingdoms; to arrange the free passage of merchants of France and Scotland in either country; to prevent the transport of men, money, munitions, and food to the harm of either country.

XXV

Copia commissionis Magistri Johannis de Planis

Franciscus dei gratia francorum rex dux mediolani et Janue [dominus]² universis presentes litteras inspecturis notum facimus quod nos de fidelitate [industria et] provida circumspectione dilecti et fidelis consilarii nostri magistri Johannis [de Planis] juris utriusque doctoris quam plurimum confidentes ipsum nostrum verum et in[dubitum] commissarium ambasiatorum procuratorem oratorem deputatem et nuncium specialiter [fecimus] constituimus et ordinavimus per presentes dantes et concedentes eidem [tenore presentium potestatem auctoritatem] ac mandatum speciale pro nobis et nostro nomine cum serenissimo illustrissimo et [po]tentissimo principe Jacobo dei gratia rege Scocie fratre et consanguineo nostro carissimo [et gentibus] trium statum dicti regni Scocie eorumve procuratoribus commissariis et deputatis ad hoc sufficientem potestatem habentibus agendi tractandi et promittendi ea

¹ There has evidently been a slip in dating this commission, as Louis XII. died in January 1514-15. De Planis was in Edinburgh on 6th July 1515 (*A.D.C.*, Public Affairs, p. 41). He was again in Edinburgh on 16th February 1515-16.

² The words in square brackets are supplied from MS. Commission in H.M. Register House.

que sequuntur viz quod cum primum *pax amicitia et confideratio*¹ que est inter nos et carissimum fratrem nostrum regem Anglie finetur² ex tunc *confiderationes amicitie lige et intelligencie jamdudum facte* inter predecessores nostros reges Francie et predecessores dicti regis Scocie [et gentibus trium statum] nostro nomine firmentur corroborentur et de novo si opus sit fiant cum dicto carissimo fratre nostro rege Scocie et gentibus trium statum dicti regni Scocie et interim durante pace quam cum dicto rege Scocie et gentibus trium statum dicti regni *amicitia liga et confideratio ad defensionem* utriusque [nostri] regni et regnorum nostrorum adeo quod si alter nostrorum offendatur alter iuvamen iuxta suum posse afferet dum tamen offensus belli causam non [prebuerit] et quod omnes et singula mercatores subditi et habitatores dictorum regnorum Fr[ancie] ac Scocie cuiuscumque status condicionisve existant ubique locorum in jamdictis [regnis] nostris possint libere tute et secure perlustrare et per mare et aquas [dulces navigare]. Et pariter quod neuter nostrum directe vel indirecte dabit nec patietur [dare] contra alium seu regnum suum terras dominia et patrias armigeros arma nummos naves munitiones machinas victualia nec alia quecumque causa nocendi alteri et generaliter agendi faciendi concordandi et promittendi circa promissa que nos faceremus aut facere possemus si personaliter interessemus etiam si talia forent que manda[tum] exigent magis speciale quam presentibus sit expressum promittentes bona fide [et] in verbo regis nos ratum gratum et firmum habere quidquid per dictum nostrum [procuratorem] et ambasiatorem circa premissa actum gestum promissum [et iuratum] in animam nostram extiterit et contra ea aut aliqua nullo [mo]do [contravenire ymmo] ipsa manutenere et inviolabiliter observare ac per nostras [patentes licteras confirmare]. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus his manu nostra propria signa [signatis nostrum apponi] apponi

¹ Underlined in MS.

² The confirmation of the treaty with England was made on behalf of Francis I. on 8th May 1515.

sigillum. Datum Parisiis [xxix] mensis Marcii Anno Domini
j^m [decimo quarto] et Regni nostri primo.¹

FRANCOYS.

XXVI

*Instructions to the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Bishop of Ross
and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors to
Francis I.*

Edinburgh, [] May 1517.

They are to thank the King for sending the Duke of Albany as regent of the kingdom, which has been in danger both before and since his arrival and now is in a good position to be serviceable to the King. Because of his expressions of goodwill sent by La Poussiniere and Chanoy, he had summoned the Duke to come to renew the alliances, and later had ordered him to delay his departure till the result of the meeting of the King with the Emperor and the King of Spain, because of the information of the truce with the Swiss, and because the term of the truce between England and Scotland is short, the ambassadors have been sent to recount the affairs of that kingdom so that the King may announce his intentions by them.

They are to thank the King for his desire to maintain the alliance and for his offers of help in case of invasion. They are to show that the Scots, since the death of their King, have entertained no proposal to the hurt of Francis I. Even while he was in Italy and though he favoured the English they have awaited his return, and even in the matter of the truce kept him amply informed. The like, they will explain, has not been done to Scotland, nor the alliances kept; no help has been sent them, and peace has been made without them. Ambassadors, too, have received little or no attention and no decisive answers to any matter.

For these causes, and in spite of a desire for the old friendship, they now intend to make certain arrangements, displeasing to themselves, which but for the hopes which the Duke held out to them and the old friendship,

¹ The instructions to de Planis are given in Brewer, No. 248. They included assurance that Francis wished to preserve the old alliance; that he was sending Albany to help them with advice, etc.; that Louis XII. would not have made peace without informing Scotland, had he not been beset by enemies on all sides; that Francis has sent ambassadors to conclude a new peace with England in which Scotland would be included; that, should England refuse, Francis will help Scotland; that Albany is to ask that the younger brother of the King be brought up at the French court. See also Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat sur les relations de la France avec l'Ecosse*, vol. i. p. 1.

they would have done before to the great injury of the Kingdom of France. And, but for fear of the governor, the English would have invaded France while its King was in Italy.

The ambassadors will explain that the Scots have observed their inclusion in the peace between France and England, although they could easily have broken it and though the English have done so, as they can prove. They can tell of the good treatment of the Queen by the Duke and of the plot to steal away the persons of the King and his brother, the late Duke of Ross, to place them in the hands of the English, prevented by the Duke.

The Seigneur de Chanoy brought word of the King's friendship, also the collar of his order for the Duke, a thing which was pleasing to the Estates.

The ambassadors will thank the King for his inclusion of them in the peace made with the Emperor, King of Castile, Venetians and Swiss, as he showed us. They are charged to find out the form of their inclusion, believing that the King desires the good of the country. As in matters of such importance it is reasonable to learn the truth before consenting, the ambassadors will request that in future, when the King treats of matters in which they should be included, he will inform them in good time.

As the truce with England lasts only till St. Andrew's Day, they will ask the King to send them with his answer, showing what must be done for the safety of the kingdom and peace: also that the ambassadors be sent home quickly, without making so long a stay as the Bishop of Ross.

If the King wishes to continue with the Scots as his predecessors have done, they will do likewise, but, in the case of refusal, the ambassadors will beg the King to make known his intentions quickly, that steps may be taken in the matter, for it has been and is still possible to come to a good and advantageous arrangement with their neighbours, but that has been delayed to find what the King would do.

XXVI

*Instructions a noz amez et feaulx conseillers et orateurs
l'evesque de Dunkeil l'evesque de Rosse et l'abbe de
Campesquinet notre secretaire¹ lesquellz nous avons
commis ordonnez et deputez et deleguez nos ambassadeurs
devers treshault tresexcellent et trespuissant prince le*

¹ The Bishop of Dunkeld was Gavin Douglas, third son of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus, provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, rector of Hauch and parson of Linton. He had been postulate of Arbroath. He was provided to the see of Dunkeld by Leo x., 25th May 1515. The matter of the appointment was brought before the Lords of Council, when it was shown that English influence had been brought to bear on Rome (*A.D.C.*, pp. 40-50). He was imprisoned by Albany in the sea-tower of St. Andrews, 16th July 1515, and was not released till about a year later.

trescrestien roy de France notre bon frere cousin et allye par l'advis conseil et deliberacion tant de notre treschere et tresame cousin le duc d'Albanye notre tuteur et gouverneur de notre royaume que des gens de notre conseil seigneurs et estatis du pays pour traicter et accorder pour et au nom de nous avecques notredit bon frere et cousin les choses cyapres contenues et declairees en vertu des pouvoir et commissions que nous leur avons surce donnez.

Premierement feront iceulx nos ambassadeurs envers notredit bon frere et cousin noz *trescordialles* recommandacions en la maniere accoustumee.

Item luy diront de l'estate de la *bonne* prosperite et sante enquoy nous sommes.¹

Item remerciant iceluy notredit bon frere et cousin trescordialement de ce qu'il luy a pleu nous envoyer par deca notre dit cousin pour la regens et gouvernement de notredit royaume *qui a este pour* ses affaires durant l'espace de quatre ans comme ilz luy feront entendre *en tresgrant danger* c'est assavoir deux ans avant la venue de notredit cousin et deux ans apres icelle et maintenant tresbien et en bon estate d'ayder et faire plaisir a luy comme bon allye confedere et ancien amy et *remonstreront* ce qui a este faict pour son service pardeca tant auparavant ledit temps que depuis enca.

Item voyant a present par ce qui a este mande par ledit

He was admitted to the temporalities of the see, 16th September 1516, and on 3rd May 1517 received a protection for 'passing furth of the realm,' a date which may help to place these and the following instructions. (See Dowden, pp. 82-6.)

The Bishop of Ross (see p. 1, note 1) received a protection, 12th January 1515-16, on going abroad as ambassador of James v. to the King of France and other princes. He was still abroad in September of that year, as also 23rd November 1517 (Dowden, p. 224).

The Abbot of Cambuskenneth was Patrick Panter, or Painter. He had been tutor to Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Secretary to James iv. and James v. He is alluded to as postulate of Cambuskenneth on 5th April 1514 (*A.D.C.*, p. 14). After this embassy, he seems to have remained in France, in the service of Albany, till his death at Paris in 1519 (*Chart. of Cambuskenneth*, pp. lxii-lxxxvii).

¹ The young King at this time was in Edinburgh Castle (*A.D.C.*, pp. 84-6).

seigneur a notredit cousin et ce qu'il nous a este dite et declaire de par luy et aussy comme par la Poussiniere¹ et Chanoy avons peu entendre du bon vouloir que de present il a envers nous notredit cousin et royaume nous avons pour ces causes depesche et envoye nosditz ambassadeurs pardevers luy et a luy faire entendre de par nous ce qui s'ensuit et semblablement a entendre son bon vouloir et aussy pource qu'il a mande *a notredit cousin son venir pardevers luy avecques bon et ample pouvoir pour renouveler les alliances d'entre nous et noz royaumes et depuis par le Sieur de Chanoy luy a mande superceder son partement et attendre jusques a ce qu'il luy eust plus aplain fait savoir de ses nouvelles et de celles de la diett d'entre luy l'empereur et le roy catholique*² aussy a fait savoir a notredit cousin comment la paix estoit faicte avecques eulx et les treize quentons des Suysses.³ A cest cause et pource que *le temps et terme* de la tresve en abstinence de guerre par nous prinse avecques le roy d'Angleterre notre oncle nous semble estre bien court pour pourveoir en noz affaires dans icelluy temps⁴ nous avons depesche nosditz ambassadeurs pour *aller devers* le roy notredit frere affin de luy faire entendre toutes choses qui touchant le bien d'entre luy nous et nosditz royaumes et que par iceulx il nous *face savoir* son vouloir et intencion le plus tost que faire se pourra a cause de [] de temps.

Item remercieront notre bon frere et cousin trescordialement de sondit bon vouloir et semblablement de ce que veult estre demourer et continuer en la bonne et grant amytié quy de toute anciennete a este entre nous noz predecesseurs et royaumes et de conserver les anciennes alliances que parce devant ont este faictes par nosditz predecesseurs et si faire se peult les augmenter en tant que

¹ La Poussiniere seems to be Francis de Bordeaux, Sieur de Pontoviere. See note to following instructions, and Brewer, 2505.

² A treaty of mutual protection was signed by Francis, Maximilian and Charles of Spain on 11th March 1516-17 (Brewer, 3008).

³ The peace with the Swiss was made 29th November 1516.

⁴ The truce between England and Scotland had been extended from time to time. It was due to expire on St. Andrew's Day, 30th November 1517.

besoing seroit s'il est advise ainsi le faire pour perpetuellement estre et demourer en bonne paix amytié et concorde et semblablement dece qu'il veult nous ayder et secourir tant a notre deffencion que par invasion contre les Angloys au cas qu'ilz vouldissent rompre et nous courir dessus.

Item diront et remonstreront que nonobstant les grans affaires despences et troubles que nous avons supportez depuis le trespas de feu notre treschere et tresredoubte seigneur et pere que Dieu absoille nous n'avons jamais *entendu en aucune* practique quelle que ce soit *au des-avantage* dudit seigneur *ne luy estant dela les montz en ses gros affaires* et combien que de luy n'avons *jamais eu aucun confort* ains plustost ayent este favorisez les Angloys¹ si avons nous attendu et supporte le temps jusques a son retour et reffuse *plusieurs* grans et bons partys et quant il a este question de prendre simple tresve en abstinens de guerre avecques les ennemys commungs et anciens *tousiours* en a este amplement adverty par notredit cousin et tuteur lequel a *besoigne selon et en ensuivant* le vouloir et intention de notredit frere et *cousin* comme assez appert et dont *dece il doit estre bien records* et jacoit ce qu'il ne nous ait si amplement escript et adverty comme la raison le vouloit ce neantmoins a este ladite tresve prinse pour moings d'un an ainsi qu'il a mande.

Item diront et remonstreront surce que le semblable n'a este faite envers nous ne les alliances et confederacions faittes n'ont este entretenues par son predecesseur ne en general des Francoys aux Escossoys dont l'on pourroit plus clerement deviser quant besoing seroit et faire entendre que jamais n'avons eu aucun secours ne ayde et si ont prins paix sans nous.

Item et outre plus quant nous avons envoye quelcun pardela avecques aucuns advertissemens et choses necessaires pour les affaires il n'en est fait aucune ou bien peu d'estime et n'avons eu responce sur aucun propos ou l'on sceust prendre fondement.

Item et pour les causes dessusdites et combien que les

¹ This may refer to the treaty of 8th May 1515, between France and England (Brewer, 428).

voulons de tans ceulx de notre royaume en leur profondeur feussent [] anciennete inclinez a avoir l'amour et benevolence perpetuelle des Francoys neantmoins pour tant de longues et continuelles evidences de mal et depreissement ilz ont este en vouloir de prendre autres finalles resolucions a eulx tresdeplaisantes et ne fust l'esperance en quoy notredit cousin les a tenuz et l'ancienne amour telle que dessus est dite ilz se fussent resoluz et eussent faict de sorte que a l'adventure il en eust est beaucoup de pys au royaume de France tant par le passe que a l'advenir car cuydons que hardiement et pour la verite povons dire jusques la que sans craincte de nous et de notredit cousin tuteur et gouverneur susdit a l'adventure que les Angloys feussent descenduz en France iceluy notredit bon frere et cousin estant dela les monts.

Item diront et feront entendre a icelluy seigneur et luy affermeront de notre part que nous avons garde entretenu et observe de point en point la comprehension par luy faicte de nous et notre royaume au traicte d'entre luy et le roy d'Angleterre sans aucunement l'avoir enfraincte blesse ou rompu en facon que ce soit pour honneur de luy et non autrement combien qu'elle fust bien fryable pour nous et ne sauroit le contraire nul vivant prouver par raison mays bien a este rompue et viollee par lesditz Anglois ainsi que ferons assez apparoir en temps et lieu et quant besoing sera et pareillement diront du bon et honneste traictement qui a cste faicte par notredit cousin a notredit treschere et tresredoubtee dame et mere la royne d'Escosse sans aller au contraire du droit et de la raison ains plustost avoir derogue en sa faveur aux loix et coustumes de ce royaume comme sommes acertenez ¹ et qu'il peut apparoir par bons actes surce prins par notredit cousin et de l'entreprise faicte et conspiree de vouloir surement prendre ravir et

¹ Both sides complained of trouble on the Border. Dacre, at least, on the English side, fomented it (Brewer, 2293), and the flight of Queen Margaret to England, and her reception there, helped to produce bad feeling. Henry VIII., on 1st June 1516, had invited the Scots lords to remove Albany from the person of the King to promote the amity between the two realms (Brewer, 2128).

transporter notre personne et celle de feu notre trescher et tresame frere le duc de Rosse hors notredit royaume et nous mettre en la main des Anglois nos ennemys a quoy il fut tresdilligement vertueusement et bien obvie par notredit cousin et tuteur ¹ moyennant l'ayde et grace Notre Seigneur et de sorte que les rebelles et proditeurs que avoient faict ladite entreprinse et conspiracion demourent confuz et frustrez de leur intencion.

Item par le Seigneur de Chanoy ² le roy notredit bon frere nous a semblablement mande le bon et continuel vouloir qu'il a envers nous et par iceluy a envoye le collier de son ordre a notredit cousin lequel il a tresvoulontiers humblement et honnorablement receu et accepte et de notre part en avons este et sommes tresioyeulx et autans et l'avons eu bien agreable et aussy ont les gens des estatis de notredit royaume semblablement dont nosditz ambassadeurs remercieront le roy notredit bon frere de par nous.

Item pareillement le remercieront dece qu'il a este recors de nous aux traictez de paix alliances et confederacions qu'il a faictes tant envers l'empereur roy de Castelle Venitiens et Suysses ainsi qu'il nous a faict apparoir ³ surquoy nous donne et donnons charge a nosditz ambassadeurs entendre la forme de notre comprehension croyant fermement que du tout entierement le roy notredit bon frere desire notre bien et que ce sera a notre honneur et prouffict et selon iceulx avons charge a nosditz ambassadeurs se conduire et gouverner oudit affaire moyennant que

¹ Balfour (*Annales*, vol. ii. p. 242) narrates the discovery of this plot by Albany in July 1515, resulting in his committing the King and his brother to the care of four noblemen. Lord Home, concerned in the plot (*A.D.C.*, pp. 52-3, 55, 61, 66), was banished, and, according to the chronicler, 'playes the deuill in the borders and committs maney wicked actes.'

² *Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. v. p. 115: 22nd March . . . 'lettrez to warne all the lordis and baronis of the Vestland to be in Edinburgh at the colar of cokkyllyeis taking quhen the Franche ambassatour come.' The order of St. Michael, established by Louis XI. in 1469, had a golden collar of cockles interlaced, with a badge of St. Michael. Dacre, in a letter of 17th April to Wolsey, notes the arrival of a knight and herald with the order (Brewer, 3138).

³ The Scots were not named as contracting parties.

ce soiet le bien prouffict et utillite de nous et notredit royaume.

Item parce que l'amytie doit estre franche et libere et que en choses de tel et si grant importance il est bien raisonnable que l'on soiet informe a la verite avant y entrer remonstreront et requerront noz ambassadeurs a notredit bon frere que doresennavant quant il traictera aucunes choses ou il vouldera que nous soyons comprins qu'il nous face entendre la facon maniere et teneur des traictez et de bonne heure a ce que mieulx nous puissions resouldre au contentement plaisir et utilite de notredit frere nous et noz royaumes et pour evicter inconvenient.

Item en oultre diront et remonstreront au Roy notredit bon frere que en ensuivant ce qu'il a escript et mande a notredit cousin quant au faict de la tresve d'entre nous et les Angloys ladite tresve a cote prinse et acceptee pour d'icy a la feste Saint Andre prouchain venant ainsi qu'il la desiree lequel terme nous semble estre bien court parquoy le prieront bien affectueusement que de brief il nous vueille faire responce et expedier nosditz ambassadeurs a ce que avant la fin d'icelle nous puissions entendre et savoir ce que aurons a faire pour la conservacion et sceurete de notre royaume et entretenement de bon paix et amytie.¹

Item au cas que les choses se perfeissent et demourassent entre nous de la sort que le commencement en est et que le roy notre dit bon frere monstre en avoir le desir en ce cas requerront nosditz ambassadeurs de par nous avoir briefve expedicion et eulx en retourner par devers nous sans faire le si long seiour que l'evesque de Ross y a fait.²

Item diront et feront entendre audit Seigneur que s'il veult estre avecques nous comme ses predecesseurs nous ferons le semblable sans faillir de notre part et mieulx si faire povons en continuant et perseverant en ceste bonne et ancienne amytie et pour le bien et sceurete de l'un et de l'autre et de ces deux royaumes tant pour le present que pour le temps advenir et aussi pour l'entiere confiance que les Francoys ont eu avecques nous et noz royaume et

¹ See p. 129, note 3.

² See p. 124.

subjectz et en consideration de l'envye querrelles et in-nymitie que lesditz Angloys ont sur eulx ce sera chose tres-agreable et tousiours avons desire et desirons.

Item et surce en cas de reffuz nosditz ambassadeurs prieront et requerront le roy notredit bon frere nous faire savoir son vouloir et intencion dans brief temps a ce que nous ne demeurons impourvez et sans donner ordre en notre affaire car il a este en nous et encores est d'avoir avecques noz voisins bons et avantageux appoinctement et combien que tousiours a este notre vouloir et encores est de procurer et avoir paix a notre pouvoir par toute la cress-tiente ce neantmoins avons differe d'y entrer jusques a ce que nous puissions finalement entendre la conclusion que le roy notredit bon frere voudra prandre en ceste matiere affin de nous resouldre car comme bien accertenez et informez de ce qui est necessare tant pour nous que pour nosditz royaume et subjectz ne povons plus differer ne dissimuler et de tant que nous avons parfaicte congnoissance des choses concernans l'affaire d'entre nous et nozditz voysins nous esperons que cela pourra redonder au grant bien et honneur tant de notredit bon frere et cousin que de nous et qu'il entendra toutes choses ainsi qu'il doit de raison et les prendres a la bonne part.

Fait a Edinburgh expedie et signe de notre part par notredit cousin et tuteur le [] jour de may l'an mil cinq cens dixsept.

XXVII

Instructions to the Bishops of Dunkeld and Ross and Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Scots Ambassadors to Francis I.

[] May 1517.

Touching the truce between the Scots and the English, which is to last till St. Andrew's Day next, a very short time, they are to inquire the intentions of Francis I. as to the confirmation of the old alliances and as to the treaty of marriage, for, if he intends to maintain them, the Scots are resolved to enter on no treaties of peace with any prince without advice of the King of France; especially also as to his future friendship with the English, which, if the Scots are included, they are to desire him to accomplish.

If he makes any difficulty as to confirming the alliances made by the late King Louis, they are to show that this should be done, for three reasons.

If the French King inclines to make war, they are to ask what assistance would be given in the event of the Scots' participation, the reason for so doing, the benefit to be derived by both nations, for they have no inclination to embark on such ventures without understanding it and seeing the prospect of its usefulness, because of the recent irreparable loss of the late King, nobles and subjects of Scotland.

As to the answer made by Francis' ambassador to the request for a marriage between one of his daughters and King James, they are to express contentment at the proposed union between them and the Most Catholic King and his brother, as a great assistance to his affairs.

And as to the offer of another daughter, should it please God to give him one, they are to thank the King for the offer and accept it, begging him now to show the affection which he protests, because of their goodwill towards him and France, so that by the marriage all Scotland may realise his affection and forget the evils suffered in France's quarrels. If the King remembers the death of the late King of Scots, the age of the present King and of his own daughter, how there have been previous alliances between their two houses and his promises by de la Poussinere, it is believed he will agree.

The said de la Poussinere also brought the King's answer touching the county of Saintonge that he desired justice to be done to them and that, in consideration of the great losses of the Scots, both at the time the county was given and later, he would order it to be granted. It seems that he should be willing to give it back without semblance of a process because even had they no right to it, they have deserved it.

XXVII

Instructions a nos amez et feaulx conseillers orateurs et ambassadeurs l'evesque de Dunkeld l'evesque de Rosse et l'abby de Cambuskynneth notre secretaire pour les affaires cy apres declairez sur lesquelles leur avons donne charge traicter et accorder envers notre trescher et tresame frere cousin et allye le trescrestien roy de France selon et ensuyvant les commissions et povoirs que nous leur avons sur ce donnez par l'avis conseil et deliberacion tant de notre trescher et tresame frere cousin et tuteur le duc d'Albany gouverneur de notre royaume et des gens des estatz d'icelluy.

Premierement diront et remonstreront au roy notredit bon frere que en ensuyvant ce qu'il a mande et escript a notredit cousin quant au fait de la tresve d'entre nous et les Angloys ladite tresve a este prinse et accepte pour d'icy a la feste sanctandre prochain veu lequel terme nous semble estre bien court ¹ parquoy le prieront bien affectueusement qu'il nous vueille sur ce donner advis et conseil car s'il est delibere demeurer en amitie avecques nous et qu'il vueille confermer les allyances et les augmenter et amender si faire se peult il nous a mande et semblablement entendre au traicte de mariage avecques nous et autres princes ² nous sommes deliberez n'entrer ne proceder en maniere du monde en aucun traicte de paix avecques prince quelconque sans le bon conseil et advisement de notredit bon frere et cousin parquoy sur ce nosditz ambassadeurs luy prieront et requereront de notre part nous voulloir donner advis et *nous faire entendre la sorte comment il veult estre et demeurer avecques les Angloys et s'il veult entrer en plusgrande amitie avecques eulx* ce que nosditz ambassadeurs luy prieront *semblablement voulloir faire moyennant que nous soyons en ceste mesme paix* traictans et accordans avecques luy pour nous asseurer par ensemble.³

Item et si le roy notredit bon frere et cousin fait quelque difficulte de confermer les allyances faictes par le feu roy Loys son predecesseur on luy donra entendre quelles

¹ See p. 126, note 4.

² On 1st March 1516-17 the Lords of Scotland had given full power to Albany to treat for the King's marriage (Brewer, 2976), and the Bishop of Ross had been sent to Francis I. to ask the hand of his daughter Louise. Francis replied curtly by Francis de Bordeaux, Seigneur de Pontoviere, refusing. By the treaty of Noyon, Louise was betrothed to Charles, King of Spain; whom failing to his brother Ferdinand. Failing Louise, Francis' second daughter, Charlotte (not Renée) was similarly bound (Bapst, *Mariages de Jacques V.*). The treaty, concluded by Albany in August 1517, provided for the marriage of Charlotte or another daughter to James V. (Teulet, vol. i. p. 8).

³ Some rumour must have come to Scotland of Wolsey's secret negotiations for an understanding with France, which culminated in the treaty of July 1518. This, among others, contained a clause by which the Duke of Albany was not to be admitted into Scotland, nor to have the governance of the King (Brewer, 4357). Francis I. had refused also to ratify the treaty made by de Plains on 2nd January 1516.

povoient estre gardes et entretenues a son honneur considere trois choses la premiere que d'autrement elles sont faictes inviolables parquoy ce qui a este depuis fait au contraire n'y peut contrevenir de raison Secondement elles sont ratifiez de son temps apres l'an passe comme il est contenu en icelles et les peult l'on de ceste sorte et facon entendre Tiercement le roy d'Angleterre comme nous entendons a rompu la paix parquoy toutes choses bien entendues il y a des raisons assez pour les ratifier et confermer.

Item et si le cas estoit que le roy notredit bon frere voulsist faire la guerre il faudroit savoir de quoy il nous voudroit ayder s'il voullait que nous la feissions de notre part et dans quel temps il voudroit commancer et s'il la veult faudra savoir pourquoy et a quel occasion et qui le mouveroit de ce faire et quel bien il en pourroit venir tant a la crestiente que a luy nous et noz royaumes car d'entrer en matieres de tel et si grande importance nous ne sommes deliberez de la faire sans entendre bien clerement le tout et sans veoir l'aparence bien bonne d'en venir a bout tant pour notre honneur que pour le prouffiet et utilite de nous et notre royaume ayans regarde a la rescente doloieuse et tresdommageable perte de notre feu trescher et tresredoubte seigneur et pere le roy que Dieu absoille et des gens de bien et subiegtz de notredit royaume.

Item et quant la responce qu'il pleut audit seigneur nous faire par la Poussinere son ambassadeur sur la requeste et demande luy faicte de notre part par l'evesque de Rosse son ambassadeur a ce que son plaisir fust nous vouloir donner en mareage Madame sa fille ou Madame Renee par laquelle notredit frere nous a fait entendre qu'il estoit pourparle d'elle avec le roy Catholique et son frere comme bien appert maintenant par l'effect de cela nous en *avons este et sommes* tresjoyeux et contans actendu que c'est ung grand bien et appuy a notredit frere et cousin dont ne nous scaurions bien trouver considere que reputons ses affaires les notres propres et luy comme notre pere.¹

¹ See p. 133, note 2.

Item et surce que ledit de la Poussinere nous dit de la part de notredit frere quant a notredit mareage que au plaisir de Dieu notredit frere pourroit avoir d'autres *filles a l'advenir* et que *lors* seroit trescontant y entendre nosditz ambassadeurs le remerciant le plus cordialement que faire le pourra et luy diront et feront entendre que de lors nous *acceptasmes et acceptons* ladite responce pour tresagreable requerant a icelluy notredit frere et cousin *maintenant que le cas est advenu* nous voulloir monstrier l'amour qu'il dit nous porter pour le desir que nous avons envers luy et son royaume a ce que de tous estatz en notredit royaume l'on puisse cognoistre et entendre par ce mareage l'amour que notredit frere nous porte et que ce soit chose *vraye et non faincte* qui sera cause de *oublier les grans maulx et pertes* qu'ilz ont souffertes pour les querelles de France ce que autrement ne scauroient bonnement faire ne croire que nous ayme ce que croyons que notredit frere ne refusera *en rememorant* la mort de feu notre tresredoubte seigneur et pere le roy que Dieu absoille et l'aage enquoy nous et ladite dame sommes et comme paravant alliances par mareages ont este faictez entre ces deux maisons et le *devoir* en quoy nous nous mections et croyons firmament qu'il *souviendra* a notredit frere et cousin des paroles qu'il nous a *mandees par* ledit de la Poussinere en accordant *notre* affectueuse honeste et juste requeste parquoy faultra savoir son voulloir touchant ledit mareage et des conditions d'icelluy.

Item nous dit et rapporta ledit de la Poussinere outre et davantage touchant le conte de Xanxtoune ¹ de la part du roy notredit bon frere qu'il voulloit que la raison et justice

¹ The county of Saintonge had been conveyed to James I. by Charles VII. in 1428, at the time of the betrothal of the former's daughter, Margaret, to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., as a return for promised military help from Scotland. Louis XI. had refused to give effect to the gift and had suggested as an alternative that James III. might lead an expedition in conquest of Brittany. This project was opposed vehemently by the Scots Estates and came to nothing. Francis I. in the articles to de Bordeaux denied all knowledge of the grant, stating also that it was part of the patrimony of the Crown and could not be parted with lightly (Brewer, 2505).

nous en feust faicte et qu'il ordonneroit en consideration des grans pertz que nous et notredit royaume avons faictez tant du temps que ladite conte par bonnes causes et raisons fut donne que *depuis enca* et nous semble *fermement qu'il sera contant icelle nous faire randre sans figure* de proces et au plustost que faire se pourra selon que la raison et droict le veullent et requierent considere que nous sommes *pour le meriter* et que *ja nous* l'avons tresbien merite de sorte que quand nous n'aurions nul droict en ladite conte *l'on nous feroit* ou *devroit* faire don d'icelle ou de plus grande et meilleur chose et surce demandront responce pour nous resouldre.

Fait a Edinburgh expedie et signe de notre part par notredit cousin et tuteur le [] jour de may l'an mil cinq cens dixsept.

XXVIII

Instructions to the Bishop of Dunkeld, Bishop of Ross and Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Secretary, ambassadors to the King of France.

Edinburgh, [] May 1517.

If the French King will not consider the confirmation of the alliances nor make war, the Scots will be content with the least possible, namely the renewal of the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty between himself and the King of England, this to endure so long as their treaty, or like the truce between the Scots and English, which lasts till St. Andrew's Day next, without any change, also that it shall not be lawful for the English and Scots to make war during the treaty between France and England; that this shall be confirmed by all parties and the whole approved by the Pope, with the condition that the party who breaks it shall be liable to invasion from the other two parties so soon as they shall learn of it by common repute or when the injured party shall make complaint; or else to make conditions such as were made between the late Kings of Scotland and England.

Or if he will make the following conditions: that one of the allies may not make peace with the enemy without consent of the other included in the truce or peace; that the enemy may not make war on the other ally during the said truce or peace for any reason, and if it happens that any offence is committed between the said enemy and the party who made the truce or the ally included in it during the said truce or peace, in

that case the matter will be decided according to the laws and customs in such attacks, used and wont in Scotland and England and according to the last peace between the said Kings of Scotland and England and between France and England as was the use in the past between them ; that the complete form and manner of the said truce or peace shall be sent by him who makes it to the ally included therein in order that he may consider whether it is to the profit of the two kingdoms.

Should the King not approve or be unable to do this, the ambassadors will ask that all three, or the English and Scots alone, with consent of the said King, shall make a defensive peace for their lifetimes and one year beyond, without contravening any existing alliances between the Most Christian King and the King of Scots.

If the said King is willing neither to engage with the English nor to make war, the Scots must find their own remedy. If he pleases to inform them of his pleasure, in that case the ambassadors are charged to do everything possible for peace, to the point of going wherever it is necessary ; and when he will not agree with them, he must warn them so that they can come to a sure agreement with their neighbours, for because of the youth of the King and the great losses of men which they have suffered for long in the service of the King of France and his kingdom, it is very needful that they should find a remedy and put an end to the matter before the end of the truce.

In this case the ambassadors may negotiate with those of England, if any are at court or elsewhere in Flanders, to hear their opinion and arrange a peace. They are to report to the Governor or to the King of France. They may also negotiate with the ambassadors of the Emperor or of the King of Spain.

XXVIII

Instructions a nos amez et feaulx conseillers orateurs et ambassadeurs l'evesque de Dunkeld l'evesque de Rosse et l'abbe de Cambuskynneth notre secretaire pour les affaires cy apres declairez sur lesquelz leur avons donne charge traicter et accorder envers notre trescher et tresame frere cousin et allye le trescrestien roy de France selon et ensuyvant les commissions et povoirs que nous leur avons surce donnez par l'advis conseil et deliberacion tant de notre trescher et tresame cousin et tuteur le duc d'Albanye gouverneur de notre royaume et des gens d'estatz d'icelluy.

Premierement si le roy notredit frere ne veult entendre a la confirmation des alliances ne entrer jusques la ne aussi faire la guerre nous nous contenterons du moings que

pourrons assavoir que le roy notredit frere et cousin nous face *faire et passer* par luy et le roy d'Angleterre que la comprehension qu'il a fait de nous avecques lesditz Anglois soit de rechef renouvellee et *fait de tel effect et valleur* comme leur paix pour durer et estre entretenue jusques et durant le temps de leur traicte ou en la propre facon et maniere comme la tresve maintenant faicte entre nous et lesditz Anglois qui est a durer jusques a la feste Sanctandre prochainement ven^t sans alterer en aucune chose ne riens changer ne tranformer de la substance d'icelle et qu'il ne soit licite aux Anglois ne Escossoys faire la guerre durant le traicte et paix de France et Angleterre et qu'elle soit confermee par tous d'eulx et que de leur consentement le tout soit approuve par le pape avecques obligacions et soubzmissions soubz censures apostolicques telles qu'il appertiendra pour faire entretenir et observer entierement les condicions apposees en icelle qui seront de telle sorte que *celuy qui l'enfreindra* rompra aux autres deux lesquelles seront tenuz et obligez soubz lesditz censures courir sus et invader celuy qui rompra toutesfois que besoing sera et quant ilz seront advertiz de la rompture l'un envers l'autre soit par *commune renomme* ou autrement quant le confidere complainant fera apparoir de *son grief* et de ladite rompture a l'autre son confidere et que par luy en sera requis *ou les faire* avecques les faveurs et condicions telles pour la reparation des attemptatz que les feuz roys d'Escosse et Angleterre *les avoient faictes* entre eulx.

Item ou s'il est advise faire et passer les condicions telles c'est assavoir qu'il ne *sera permis* a l'un des confiderez prandre tresves ou paix avecques leur ennemy sans le consentement de l'autre confidere soit comprins en ladite tresve ou paix sans autre condicion c'est a dire il ne sera pas permis a l'ennemy de faire ou mouvoir la guerre sur l'autre confidere comprins durant le temps de ladite tresve ou paix pour *aucune cause qui pourra advenir* et s'il advient que aucunes attemptatz soient commis entre ledit ennemy et celluy qui prent ladite tresve ou paix ou le confidere comprins durant le temps de ladite tresve ou paix en ce cas reformation sera faicte *dece* selon les loix et coustumez des

reformacions des attemptatz *usez* et accoustumez entre les royaumes d'Escosse et d'Angleterre et comment il estoit *devisé* en la derniere paix d'entre lesditz roys d'Escosse et d'Angleterre et entre France et Angleterre comme il a este use le temps passee *entre elles* et que la forme et maniere entiere de ladite tresve ou paix soit envoyee par celui qui la prant au confidere comprins affin que icelle et sa *valleur* puissent estre considerez par ledit confiderat comprins s'il est a l'utilite et prouffit des deux royaumes.

Item si cela n'est trouve bon par ledit Seigneur ou qu'il ne se peult f[aire] demanderont que tous trois ensemble ou lesditz Angloix et nous seulement par le consentement dudit Seigneur faisons une bonne paix *en defence* simplement pour nous vies durantz et pour nos royaumes et ung an apres la v[ie] *du procuerant* qui soit merchange et la mieulx conditionne que faire ce pourra sans *rompre* ne contrevenir aux alliances d'entre notredit frere trescrestien et nous.

Item et si notredit frere ne veult autrement entrer avecques les Angloix ne aussi faire guerre il faudroit nous *pourveoir de remede* et que son plaisir fust nous en advertir de son voulloir en ce cas et surce avons donne et donnons charge a nosditz ambassadeurs y faire tout ce que possible sera pour le bien de paix et pour l'un et pour l'autre *jusques a eulx transporter jusques la ou il sera de besoing* et *la ou il* ne voudra *entendre avecques* nous nous en advertir affin que nous puissions avecques Dieu nous conseiller et prandre une bonne *resolucion et sceurete avecques noz* voisins par la meilleure maniere que faire pourrons car il nous *en est de besoing* veu notre jeune aige et les grossez dispences et pertes des gens que nous avons supportees par longue espace de temps et le tout pour le bien et service de notredit bon frere et cousin et de son royaume est tresrequis que nous y donnons remede et y *faisons une fin* durant le temps de notredit tresve pour *obvier aux inconveniens* qui se pourroient ensuivre en l'advenir.¹

¹ See p. 126, note 4. The treaty of Rouen, 26th August 1517, gave effect to the greater part of these demands, with detailed promises as to assistance in case of war with England (Teulet, vol. i. pp. 4-8).

Item et *en ce cas la* nosditz ambassadeurs pourront communiquer avecques ceulx d'Angleterre s'aucuns en y avoit en court ou ailleurs en Flandres pour ouyre leur dire et venir a fin de bonne paix et de tout nous advertir ou notredit cousin semblablement pourront communiquer avecques ceulx de l'empereur du roy catholique et autres.

Fait a Edinburgh expedie et signe de notre part par notredit cousin et tuteur le [] jour de may l'an mil cinq cens dixsept.

APPENDIX I

*Sequuntur articuli in consilio turronensi per dominum
Cancellarium propositi super quibus*

[September 1510.]

Primo: An liceat pape bellum inferre principibus []-
alibus in terris non subditis temporalis dominio ecclesie.

Presertim ubi talis princeps in nullo modo offendet ecclesiam
nec igitur de causa fidei vel iuris ecclesiastici absque indictione
belli.

Item: Utrum liceat tali principi impedito defendendo se et
terras suas pro tuitione subditorum et dominiorum suorum non
solum propulsare iniuriam armis sed verum etiam invadere
terras ecclesie a tali principe inimico notorio ipsius principis
possessas Non tamen animo retinendi dictas terras sed ne
pretextu illarum sit potentior ad offendendum Presertim ubi
tales terras per centum annos et ultra ab ecclesia per tyrannos
occupatas opera et oppe talis principis ipse pontifex recupere-
rasset et maxime quin ex ipsis terris daretur maxima facultas
ad offendendum talem principem cristianum.

Item: Si proponitur talem iniuriam notoriam et aggressionem
(manifeste iniustam) liceat tali principi substrahere se an [ab]
obedientia ipsius pontificis Presertim ubi ipse pontifex omnes
principes et potentes cohortasset et impellere tentasset contra
talem principem de ipso pontifice ac sede apostolica bene
meritum et de facto aliquos impullisset ad invadendum terras
et dominia talis principis.

Dicta subtractione ut premittitur facta quid agendum sit
per talem principem eiusve [subditos] presertim presentatos
in hiis pro quibus ad sedem apostolicam recurri debet et solet.

Item: Utrum liceat principi cristiano et illum principem sibi
confederatum cuius protectionem legitime suscepit defendere
cum armis pro rebus terris et dominiis quas iuste possedit
quando longissimo tempore possedit si in dictis terris rebus et
dominiis invadetur de facto per pontificem de cuius consensu
talis princeps invasus ingressasset talem confederationem quam

ipse pontifex est ingressus tanquam caput et maxime quando talis princeps auxilium prestitit ipsi pontifici et aliis confederatis pro recuperandis eorum rebus iuxta formam dicte confederationis.

Item: Utrum si pontifex pretendat aliquod ius sibi competere pro aliquibus iuribus quod ipse pontifex asserit esse ecclesie romane princeps vero contra pretendit moveri ab imperio An si offerat talis princeps se velle stare cognitioni et definitioni arbitrorum prout de iure fieri debeat liceat pontifici (ex tali causa absque aliquali cognitione) inferre bellum tali principi de facto et aliis principibus cristianis adversus talem oppressionem et illum defendere.

Presertim quorum ipse princeps invasus est confederatus et sub quorum est protectione.

Et maxime ubi neque pontifex neque ecclesia romana tale ius pretensum possedisset a centum annis et ultra.

Item: Si pontifex recusando talem obligationem []dicam et honestam de facto et ex abrupto non servato ordine iuris tulerit aliquam sententiam adversus talem principem pretendentem se tale ius non teneri ab ecclesia si tali sententie per ipsum principem et alios sit parendum presertim ubi tali principi ad ipsum pontificem non patuit tutus accessus pro deffensione iurium suorum.

Item: Pari modo si pontifex iniuste non servato iuris ordine ac de facto et cum manu armata notorie precedens aliquas censuras comminatorias fecerit vel promulgaverit contra tales principes resistentes aut eorum subditos vel sequaces et fautores sit illis parendum.

Et quibus remediis in hiis casibus sit providendum.

APPENDIX II

Capita federis Gallorum cum Scotis

Et primo quia rex Anglie et sui predecesores sepemanere nisi et conati sunt tota sua potentia Francie et Scotie regnis dampna et despendia violenter inferre Ea propter illustrissimus (sic) Scotorum sui que heredes et successores et nos nostri et successores Francie reges adiuncti obligati existimus et in communi obligati erimus Anglicorum dampnis gravaminibus et injuriis obvia ire et eisdem per viribus resistere hac via modo et forma quod omni tempore illustrissimus Scotorum rex sui que heredes et successores supradicti egebunt auxilio seu consilio tempore guerrarum aut pacis contra Anglie regem Nos heredes et successores nostri antedicti subditi et comitatus illustrissimo Scotorum regi consilium auxilium dabimus in quantum poterimus nostrarum gentium copiis et pecuniarum subsidiis et in personis propriis si sit opus et adversus omnes adversarios infra et extra Scotie regna qui vivere et mori possunt veluti fidelis et confideratus suo confiderato facere debeat et teneatur Et idem rex Scotie sui heredes et successores et eorum communitates simili modo omni tempore quo nos nostri heredes et successores subditi et communitates egebunt auxilio et consilio guerrarum aut pacis tempore contra Anglie regem suos heredes et successores dabunt nobis auxilium et consilium in quantum poterunt suorum gentium copiis et pecuniarum subsidiis et in personis propriis si opus sit Et etiam adversus omnes alios adversarios infra et extra regna nostra qui vivere et mori possunt veluti fideles confiderati facere confiderato debeant et teneant.

Secundo si guerre mote fuerint seu moveantur inter eundem illustrissimum principem Scotorum regem suos heredes et successores et regem Anglie et suos heredes et successores nos nostri heredes et successores obligabimur et obligabuntur guerram facere pro tota nostra potentia super regem Anglie suos heredes et successores quam cito de motione dictarum guerrarum nos certiores per scripturam sufficientem fecerit seu fecerint aut per certam relationem seu per vocem communem

fuerimus certificati *treugis nihilominus captis et pendentibus inter illustrissimos Scotorum regem et Anglie regem finitis per quemcunque alium modum per factum dictorum Anglorum raptis et annullatis.*¹ Et pariformiter si guerre contra nos nostros heredes et successores per Anglie regem etc. ut supra.

Tertio nos heredes et successores nostros Francie reges non permittimus patiemur nec sustinebimus via aliqua aliquem ex subditis nostris prestare vel donare auxilium consilium aut favorem regi Anglie suis heredibus et successoribus confideratis seu auxiliatoribus eiusdem nec ire aut esse in auxilio per stipendia aut sine stipendiis aliquo modo aut via quacunque cum dicto rege Anglie aut cum aliqua persona quacunque que sit inimica adversaria aut rebellis dicto illustrissimo Scotorum regi suis heredibus et successoribus regno suo suis communitatibus in gravamen prejudicium et dampnum dicti Scotorum regis suorum heredum successorum subditorum et communitatem suarum et pariformiter illustrissimus Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores non permittitur etc. ut supra Et si post inhibitionem et generalem prohibitionem desuper factam aliquis ex dictis Francie et Scotie regnis compertus fuerit qui aut in preterito fecit aut in presenti vel in futura faceret hic capiatur et puniatur ut traditor et rebellis contra suum principem et regnum suum sine gratia aut remissione desuper ei indulgenda.

Quarto quia adversarii et manifesti rebelles illustrissimi Scotorum regis suorum heredum et successorum nullomodo recipientur per nos heredes et successores nostros Francie reges nec manutenebuntur publice nec private infra regnum nostrum aut dominium Francie quamcito et ab eo tempore quo per illustrissimum Scotorum regem nos fuerimus aut ipsi fuerint super hoc requisiti Et pariformiter prefatus Scotorum rex ut supra requisitus aut requisiti quinymmo nos Scotie et Francie reges nostri heredes et successores observabimus et observabunt honorem utilitatem jus privilegium et immunitates regum

¹ The passage in italics is deleted in the MS. It corresponds closely with a clause in the treaty between Robert II. and Charles VII., 24th October 1371, printed in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 1371. A French transcript of the treaty, made on 22nd April 1512, underlines that part of the clause which was deleted in the modern treaty: ' . . . nous noz hoirs et successeurs en seront certifiez par escript *suffisament* ou par *relation certaine* ou par *renommee commune* (les tresves toutesfoyes prinses et pendans a present entre nous et le roy d'Angleterre finies ou par quelque maniere adnullees ou rompues par le fait des Angloys . . .).

aliorum suorum heredum et successorum et inducemus et inclinabimus ad totam nostram potentiam nostros amicos confideratos in amore et auxilium mutuum eorundem regum et successorum suorum regnorum et communitatum et scandalum vituperationem et dampnum alterius regis aut principis alter alteri pro sua auctoritate tollit et delebit.

Quinto nos nostrique successores non poterimus nec valebimus poterunt nec valebunt treugas inire cum rege Anglie suis heredibus et successoribus absque consensu illustrissimi Scotorum regis suorum heredum et successorum *aut saltem que dictus Scotorum rex suum regnum et communitates noluerint in treugis comprehendi et simili modo predictus rex Scotorum ut supra comprehendi in quo casu alter principum confideratorum debet significare principi et confiderato comprehenso infra novem menses postquam dicte treuge sint inite ad noticiam et cognitionem principis eas ineuntis in treugis comprehensus sue utilitati pro tempore consultus manifestaverit et declaraverit se nolle in treugis comprehendere inter princeps iniens in treugis remanens suo confiderato in guerris existenti iuxta vim et formam confiderationum ante factarum subveniet ut bonus et fidelis confideratus facere debeat suo confiderato et tenentur sic et eo modo quam omni tempore confiderationes veteres in suo robore et firmitate permaneant.¹*

Sexto, Nos nostri heredes et successores Francorum reges non valebimus nec valebunt pacem facere cum rege Anglie suis heredibus et successoribus absque expresso consensu illustrissimi Scotorum regis suorum heredum et successorum *aut saltem absque eo quod ipse Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores suum regnum et communitas sint integraliter comprehensi* et similiter illustrissimus Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores non valebunt pacem facere cum rege Anglie ut supra.

Septimo, si casus evenerit quod deus avertat nos nostros heredes et successores in fata decedere absque liberis de nostris corporibus legitime procreatis si contentio divisio aut [] successionis nostri regni Francie inter contendentes moveatur In hoc casu illustrissimus [Scotorum] rex sui heredes et successores non subveniunt contendentibus nec [] qualitercumque partibus subveniat verum huiusmodi litis et debate discisio fiet per regni nostri prelatos magnates et proceres secundum tenorem legum jurium et statutorum eiusdem et

¹ Deleted in MS.

hereditarie juris et Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores eum pro rege amico suo et confiderato habebunt et reputabunt quod jure hereditario per regnum aut partem eius maiorem approbabitur et si aliqui eius adversarii per potestatem regis Anglie heredum et successorum suorum guerras contra eum moverit quo modo premissis rex approbatur predictus illustrissimus Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores manutenebunt et defendent eundem sic approbatum contra suum adversarium et sibi adherentes et auxiliares in vim et formam considerationum antedictarum et pariformiter si contingat regem Scotie.

Octavo quod dicte considerationes approbabitur ratificabitur et confirmabitur per sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam et quod illustrissimus rex Scotorum sui heredes et successores nec nos nostri heredes et successores Francie reges clam nec aperte faciemus aut facient procurabimus aut procurabunt per nos Francie et Scotie reges nostros heredes et successores regna aut subditos nos a juramento facto aut fiendo absolvi super observatione et perfecta custodia considerationum antedictarum.

Nono si Sanctissimus dominus noster pontifex maximus proprio velut motu aut persone alicuius inductus serenissimum Scotorum regem suos heredes et successores aut nos Francie regem nostros heredes et successores regna aut subditos a juramento supradicto absolvere vel huiusmodi jurisjurandum amittere nec Scotorum rex sui heredes et successores nec nos nostri heredes et successores uti poterimus aut poterint debemus aut debent ulla via huiusmodi absolutionis beneficio quoniam nos reges heredes et successores servabimus et servabunt et inviolabiliter custodiemus et custodient perpetuis futuris temporibus vere et sancte huiusmodi considerationes in omnibus articulis et membris absque dolo et malo ingenio sine aliqua re in contrarium agenda sic et eo modo ac si dicta absolutio juramenti et huiusmodi annullatio a dicto summo pontifice nusquam fuisset emanata.

Decimo et novissimo de juramento regis Francie de observanda dicta considerationem et omnia puncta et articulos in eadem contenta in verbo regis et ad sacra dei evangelia et nunquam contra eandem quovis quesito colore aut ingenio publice vel occulte devenire etc. et similiter Scotie etc.

Memorandum quod prima consideratio que commendatur memorie per presentes facta inter reges Gallorum et Scotorum

inita fuit temporibus Karoli Magni et Gayi regis Scotorum et in fortificatione dicte confederationis miserat predictus Gayus fratrem suum Guillelmum Scotum in subsidium dicti Karoli Magni in suis guerris qui Willelmus de post effectus est unus de paribus Francie et egit post victoriam dicti Karoli multa notatione digna in Almania Secundo dicta approbatio renovata fuit inter regem Scotorum Alexandrum huius nominis secundum et Lodovicum Philippi regis Francie filium qui Alexander vi et potentia armata cum quadraginta milibus huiusmodi init ad Dowar in Anglia et in dictam confederationem cum dicto Lodovico in propria persona approbavit Johanne pro tempore rege Anglie inito anno gratie j^m ij^c decimo sexto.

Postea dicta confederatio renouata est per quamplurimos reges Gallorum et Scotorum et precipue per Karolum Francie et Navarie regem et Robertum regem Scotorum huius nominis primum.

Et de post eadem confederatio renovata fuit per Karolum huius nominis septimum et Jacobum regum Scotorum huius nominis primum qui Karolus interveniente consensu dicti Jacobi fecit matrimonium contrahi inter primogenitum suum delphinum Francie et primogenitam dicti Jacobi.

Et pro fortificatione dicte confederationis et retentione amicitii et ligi inter dictos reges et eorum regna missi erunt in subsidium regis Francie et sui regni viz dicti Karoli septimi una vice sex milia hominum armatorum ductoribus comitibus de Douglas et Buchanie qui in bello de Vernell in defensione Gallorum et regni Francie elauderunt et pignora caritatis persolverunt et istud subsidium missum fuit per gubernatorem Scotie rege pro tempore in Anglia detento quod non est memorie dignum Et consequenter per deliberationem dicti regis Jacobi et contractum matrimonie inter eum et regem Francie miserat idem rex Jacobus alia sex milia hominum in subsidium et adjutorium dicti regis Karoli septimi et sui regni.¹

¹ After the defeats of Crevant and Verneil, Charles VII., in 1428, sent an embassy to James I. with the threefold purpose of renewing the old alliance, arranging a marriage of the Dauphin with Princess Margaret and obtaining a military force to assist in the struggle against the English. King James renewed the alliance, gave his consent to the proposed marriage and promised to send 6000 fighting men. Being in a position to demand concessions, he obtained an increase in the Princess's dowry and the gift of the province of Saintonge (see p. 135, note 1). Under the leadership of Joan of Arc the French position improved, Charles made no move

Postremo Edwardo in Anglie ultimo regnante et guerra pro tempore in Gallos et Anglos existente Galli cum potentia armata per mare Angliam intrarunt partes Northumbrie viz ibique aliqua castra et fortalicia ceperunt et precipue castrum de Anwik quod audientes Anglici magnum exercitum regalem viz. xl milia hominum vel eocirca congregarunt et obsidionem dicto castro de Anvik posuerunt in quo omnes Gallos in illa armatura contentos incluserunt qui Galli adiutorio quorumcunque pro tempore destituti excepto Scotorum miserunt nuntium regi Jacobo Scocie huius nominis tertio pro suo adiutorio pro eorum relevamine qui antiquam confederationem ligam et amicitiam inter Gallos et Scotos omni tempore servare intelligimus desiderio eorum libenter annuerit et comitem Angusie cum certis sibi adherentibus numero Anglorum in sexduplo minore ad dictum castrum miserat quiquidem castrum totaliter igne cremarunt et Anglicis presentibus cum eorum exercitu ac videntibus dictos gallos de [eodem] castro asportarunt et ad Scotiam sanos et incolumes reduxerunt et sic continue dicta confederatio approbata et servata est inter dictos reges inconcusse usque in hodiern[um] diem.

to implement his promise, as the aid formerly requested became unnecessary, and James omitted to press for fulfilment. The treaties fell into abeyance and the 6000 men were never sent (Barbé, *Sidelights on Scottish History*; Brewer, 2612).

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- Gordon, Lieut.-Col. R. Pirie, 46 Addison Avenue, Kensington,
London, W. 11.
- Gourlay, W. R., C.S.I., C.I.E., Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire.
- Grahame, Lieut.-Col. G. C., Ingleholm, North Berwick.
- Grant, Sir Alexander, Bart., 15 Hermitage Drive, Edinburgh.
- Grant, Alex., 11 Salford Road, Streatham Hill, London, S.W.
- Grant, Cormack, Weenen, Natal, South Africa.
- Grant, Francis J., W.S., LL.D., Lyon King-of-Arms, 18
George Square, Edinburgh.
- 180 Grant, Major Frank L., Langside, 11 Turner Close, Meadway,
London, N.W. 11.
- Grant, John, 31 George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
- Gray, Col. W. B., Commissioner of Education, Georgetown,
British Guiana.
- Gray, W. Forbes, 8 Mansionhouse Road, Edinburgh.
- Grierson, Henry J., W.S., Laguna, Murthly, Perthshire.
- Guthrie, Charles, W.S., 3 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
- Guthrie, T. Maule, Rosehill, Brechin, Forfarshire.
- HAMILTON, J. B., 11 Hatton Place, Edinburgh.
- Hannan, Rev. Thomas, The Rectory, Links Place, Musselburgh.
- Hannay, Professor R. K., LL.D., His Majesty's Historiographer
in Scotland, 5 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
- 190 Hay, W. J., John Knox's House, Edinburgh.
- Hayward, Robert S., Biniemyre, Galashiels.
- Hedderwick, A. W. Hunter, 19 Oakfield Terrace, Glasgow.
- Henderson, Andrew, 8 Church Hill, Edinburgh.

- Henderson, C. Stewart, Sharbrooke, 4 Craigmillar Park, Edinburgh.
- Henderson, J. G. B., Nether Parkley, Linlithgow.
- Henderson, J. Morris, 207 West Campbell Street, Glasgow.
- Henderson, Professor R. Candlish, K.C., 6 Doune Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Henderson, Robert, North Park, Moffat.
- Henderson, Sir Thomas, Langlands, Hawick.
- 200 Henderson, Thomas, B.Sc., 47 Moray Place, Edinburgh.
- Highgate, David, Mossgiel, Blairmore, Argyll.
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- Howden, W. H., 195 Scotland Street, Glasgow.
- Hutchison, David M., 8 Queensborough Gardens, Hyndland, Glasgow.
- Hutchison, Major-Gen. Sir Robert, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., 19 Montagu Square, London, W. 1.
- INGLIS, FRANCIS CAIRD, F.S.A.Scot., Rock House, Calton Hill, Edinburgh.
- 210 Inglis, Harry R. G., 10 Dick Place, Edinburgh.
- Inglis, John A., K.C., 13 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Ingram, W., Advocate, 22 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
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- JACKSON, S. D., c/o Messrs. Jackson, Wylie & Company, 73 West George Street, Glasgow.
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- Kessen, J. A., S.S.C., 33 Castle Street, Edinburgh.

- 220 Kilpatrick, Robert, 13 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh.
 Kirkpatrick, John G., W.S., 9 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
 Kirkwood, Charles G., Duncairn, Helensburgh.
 Knox, J. M., 57 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- LAING, JAMES, 17 High Street, Laurencekirk.
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 Lindsay, Rev. E. R., St. Mary's Presbytery, Wednesbury, Staffs.
 Lindsay, John, M.A., M.D., 18 Burnbank Terrace, Glasgow, W.
 Lindsay, Rev. John, 17 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.
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 Edinburgh.
- Loch, Major-General The Lord, C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O.,
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- Loney, John W. M., Solicitor, 6 Carlton Street, Edinburgh.
 Low, William, Balmakewan, Marykirk, Montrose.
 Lyon, W. K., W.S., 133 George Street, Edinburgh.
- MACADAM, J. H., 37 Shoe Lane, London, E.C. 4.
 Macarthur, Neil, Solicitor, Royal Bank Buildings, Inverness.

- M'Barnet, Judge, Mixed Court of Appeal, Alexandria, Egypt.
- 250 M'Bean, J. P., 6804 Lawnton, Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.
- M'Beath, D. K., Estate Offices, Sandbank, Argyll.
- M'Burnie, John, of Nether Laggan, Sheriff-Clerk, Dumfries.
- M'Candlish, Lieut.-Col. P. D., Bonnytoun House, Linlithgow.
- M'Coll, H. G., Laroeh House, Ballahulish, Argyll.
- MacCrae, A., 23 Doune Terrace, Kelvinside, Glasgow.
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- Macfarlane, James, LL.D., 2 Cleveden Crescent, Glasgow, W.2.
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- MacGillivray, Angus, C.M., M.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., 23 South Tay Street, Dundee.
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- Mackinnon, Rev. Donald, Free Church Manse, Portree, Skye.
- Mackinnon, Professor James, Ph.D., D.D., 12 Lygon Road, Edinburgh.
- Mackintosh, P., M.A., Solicitor, 19 Union Street, Inverness.
- Maclachlan, John, of Maclachlan, Castle Lachlan, Strachur, Argyll.
- Maclean, The Rt. Rev. Norman, D.D., 6 Grosvenor Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Maclean, Roderick, C.A., 1 Lombard Street, Inverness.
- MacLehose, James, LL.D., The Old Parsonage, Lamington.
- Macleod, Mrs. A. C., The Laurels, 361 Albert Drive, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
- 300 Macleod, John, 80 Montpelier Park, Edinburgh.
- Macleod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 72 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
- Macmillan, A. R. G., M.A., LL.B., Advocate, 48 India Street, Edinburgh.
- Macmillan, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., 44 Grosvenor Road, Westminster, London, S.W. 1
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- Macphail, Rev. Dr. E. M., c/o Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh.
- Macphail, J. R. N., K.C., 45 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
- Macpherson, D., F.S.A.Scot., 3 St. John's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
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- Macpherson, The Right Hon. J. Ian, 4 Ormonde Gate, London, S.W.
- 310 Macqueen, Miss E., M.A., 46 Mount Road, Montrose.
- MacRae, Major Colin, D.L., J.P., C.B.E., of Feoirinn, Colintrave, Argyll.
- Macrae, Rev. Duncan, 26 Douglas Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Macrae, Horatio R., W.S., 14 Gloucester Place, Edinburgh.
- MacRae-Gilstrap, Lieut.-Col. Iain, of Eilean Donan, Ballimore, Otter Ferry, Argyll.
- Mactavish, Duncan C., Castleton Cottage, by Lochgilphead, Argyll.
- McWhir, James, M.D., Norham-on-Tweed.
- MacWhirter, Miss, North British Station Hotel, Edinburgh.
- Main, Prof. Archibald, 8 The University, Glasgow, W. 2.
- Malcolm, Sir Ian, 57 Onslow Square, London, S.W. 7.
- 320 Mar and Kellie, The Earl of, K.T., Alloa.
- Marshall, Charles Hay, S.S.C., 97 Seagate, Dundee.
- Marshall, D. W. Hunter, M.A., LL.D., B.Litt., University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- Marshall, Robert C., Burntshields, Kilbarchan.
- Marshall, W. M., Solicitor, 3 Merry Street, Motherwell.
- Massie, James, 9 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
- Mathers, George Fleming, M.A., LL.B., W.S., 23 Manor Place, Edinburgh.
- Matheson, J. Carstairs, M.A., Meadowburn, Lanark.
- Mechan, Sir Henry, LL.D., 50 Montgomerie Drive, Glasgow, W. 2.
- Meikle, H. W., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road, Edinburgh.
- 330 Meldrum, Rev. Neil, B.D., 26 Carden Place, Aberdeen.
- Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Aros, Isle of Mull.

- Mellor, Major J. G. G., Knepock, near Oban.
 Melville, Alexander P., W.S., 6 St. Margaret's Road, Edinburgh.
 Menzies, John R., West Links House, North Berwick.
 Menzies, W., Mayfield, Montrose.
 Michie, J. T., British Linen Bank House, Balfroun.
 Mill, William, 4 Templeland Road, Corstorphine.
 Miller, Frank, Cumberland House, Annan, Dumfriesshire.
 Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 50 Queen Street, Edinburgh.
 340 Miller, William, Solicitor, 30 Brandon Street, Motherwell.
 Milligan, James, W.S., 15 York Place, Edinburgh.
 Milne, George, Craigellie, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire.
 Minto, The Earl of, Minto House, Roxburghshire.
 Minto, John (Librarian, Signet Library), 12 Nile Grove,
 Edinburgh.
 Mitchell, Alexander H., S.S.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh.
 Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street, Glasgow.
 Moncreiffe, William, Cuil-an-duin, Ballinluig, Perthshire.
 Montgomerie, Miss Margery, 33 Westbourne Gardens,
 Glasgow, W. 2.
 Mooney, John, Cromwell Cottage, Kirkwall, Orkney.
 350 Moore, R. T., 13 Clairmont Gardens, Glasgow.
 Morgan, Ian, Clydesdale House, Aberfeldy.
 Morris, David B., Town Clerk, Stirling.
 Muirhead, Ronald E., Meikle Cloak, Lochwinnoch.
 Munro, Rev. Donald, Free Church Manse, Ferintosh, Conon
 Bridge, Ross-shire.
 Munro, Robert, 71 Adele Street, Motherwell.
 Murland, Lt.-Col. H. S., Wooligooly, Suntikoopa P.O., Coorg.
 Murray, P. Keith, W.S., 19 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
- NICOLL, A., 5 Belgrave Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Normand, W. G., K.C., M.P., 11 Northumberland Street, Edin-
 burgh.
- 360 Novar, The Viscount, K.T., Raith, Kirkcaldy.
- Ogilvie, Professor F. W., 20 Murrayfield Gardens, Edin-
 burgh.

Ogilvy, Gilbert, Winton Castle, Pencaitland.
 Oliphant, Walter, S.S.C., 21 York Place, Edinburgh.
 Oliver, F. S., of Edgerston, Jedburgh.
 Orr, John, 74 George Street, Edinburgh.

PATON, HENRY M., 13 Argyle Place, Edinburgh.
 Patrick, Joseph, C.A., 247 West George Street, Glasgow.
 Peddie, A. L. Dick, W.S., 21 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
 Penney, Scott Moncrieff, Advocate, 14 Magdala Crescent,
 Edinburgh.

370 Petrie, James A., 28 Windsor Street, Edinburgh.
 Philip, Rev. Adam, D.D., Invergowrie.
 Pitman, H. A., 65 Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, London,
 W. 2.
 Pollok, Mrs. Gladys M., Ranachan, West Side House,
 Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19.
 Pollok, Miss S. E., 20 Augustus Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 Prentice, A. R., Newark Lodge, 28 Newark Street, Greenock.

RAIT, PRINCIPAL ROBERT S., C.B.E., D.L., LL.D., University,
 Glasgow.

Ramsay, Captain A. H. M., 4 Princes Gate, London, S.W.
 Ramsay, Miss E. Lucy, Stainrigg, Coldstream.
 Ramsay, Captain Iain, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London.

380 Rankin, W. B., W.S., 2 Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Reid, R. C., Cleuchbrae Cottage, Ruthwell, R.S.O., Dumfriesshire.
 Reoch, John, 16 Mansion House Road, Langside, Glasgow, S. 1.
 Richardson, Rev. Andrew Turnbull, Whyte's Causeway Baptist
 Manse, Kirkcaldy.
 Riddell, The Hon. William Renwick, LL.D., D.C.L., Osgoode
 Hall, Toronto, Canada.
 Robb, James, B.D., LL.B., 26 Ormidale Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Robertson, John Stewart, Writer, 176 St. Vincent Street,
 Glasgow.
 Robertson, Stewart A., M.A., Organiser of Education, Educa-
 tion Office, Dundee.

- Rose, Sir H. Arthur, D.S.O., 172 Leith Walk, Edinburgh.
 Rosebery, The Earl of, Dalmeny Park, Linlithgowshire.
- 390 Ross, James, 10 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.
 Roxburgh, John A., 15 Lynedoch Crescent, Glasgow.
 Rusk, J. M., 6 Rutland Square, Edinburgh.
 Russell, James, Solicitor, 51 High Street, Linlithgow.
 Russell, John, 2 Brunton Place, Edinburgh.
- SALVESEN, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, LL.D., Dean Park House,
 Edinburgh.
- Salvesen, I. R. S., 6 Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Salvesen, T. E., 37 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh.
 Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
 Sands, The Hon. Lord, D.D., LL.D., 4 Heriot Row, Edinburgh
 (*Chairman*).
- 400 Saunders, William, 15 Morningside Grove, Edinburgh.
 Scott, Rev. Archibald B., B.D., The Manse of Kildonan,
 Helmsdale.
 Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
 Scott, John Henry Francis K., Gala House, Galashiels.
 Scott, J. C., 15 Napier Road, Edinburgh.
 Scott, Walter, 860 Broadway, New York.
 Shaw, The Lord, Craigmyle, Torphins, Aberdeenshire.
 Shaw, Mackenzie S., W.S., 1 Thistle Court, Edinburgh.
 Shiells, C. J., 17 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
 Shipman, Henry Robinson, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, New
 Jersey, U.S.A.
- 410 Shoemaker, Col. Henry W., Litt.D., American Legation,
 Sofia, Bulgaria.
 Sinclair, Right Hon. Sir Archibald, Bart., M.P., of Ulbster,
 Robin Hood Farm, Kingston Vale, London, S.W. 15.
 Sinton, James, Braehead, Inveresk, Musselburgh.
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 Smith, D. Baird, C.B.E., LL.D., 5 Windsor Terrace, Glas-
 gow, W.
 Smith, Miss D. Nimmo, 35 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.

- Smith, Lt.-Col. Ian M., D.S.O., M.C., 15 Montpelier Square, London, S.W. 1.
- Smith, John, Birkhill, Lesmahagow.
- Smith, John Lamb, S.S.C., 26 Napier Road, Edinburgh.
- Smith, J. K., 4 East Hermitage Place, Leith.
- 420 Smith, Mrs. Mackintosh, 23 Cornwall Gardens, London, S.W. 7.
- Sommerville, John, Solicitor, 9 Hermitage Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Stair, The Earl of, Lochinch, Castle Kennedy.
- Steuart, A. Francis, Advocate, University Club, 127 Princes Street, Edinburgh.
- Stevenson, Professor W. B., 7 College Court, The University, Glasgow.
- Stewart, James King, C.B.E., Inchmahome, Longniddry, East Lothian.
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- Sturrock, G. W. L., 6 Alexandra Place, Arbroath.
- St. Vigeans, The Hon. Lord, 33 Moray Place, Edinburgh.
- TAIT, WILLIAM, 64 Albert Drive, Pollokshields.
- Taylor, Miss Henrietta, Duff Cottage, Angmering-on-Sea, Sussex.
- Taylor, W., 20 York Road, Leith.
- Thomson, Professor Harold W., D.Litt., N.Y. State College, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
- Thomson, Col., Kilkenny House, Sion Hill, Bath.
- Thomson, David C., Inveravon, Broughty Ferry.
- Thomson, Right Hon. Sir Frederick C., K.C., M.P., Advocate, 80 Egerton Place, London, S.W. 3.
- 440 Thomson, J. Albert, 118 George Street, Edinburgh.
- Thomson, Thomas S., 18 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh.
- Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 North Castle Street, Edinburgh.

- Tod, William Arthur, F.S.A.Scot., 7 Haslemere Avenue, West Ealing, London, W. 13.
- URQUHART, DONALD, 29 West Burger Street, Bloemfontein, S. Africa.
- Usher, Sir Robert, Bart., of Wells, Hawick, Roxburghshire.
- WADDELL, J. JEFFREY, Caldergrove House, Hallside, Lanarkshire.
- Walker-Love, Dr. Thomas, Greenbank, Clark Street, Airdrie.
- Wallace, Sir David, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.C.S., 6 Eton Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Wallace, H. Frank, Wyrley Hall, Pelsall, Staffordshire.
- 450 Wallace, Professor R., LL.D., 11 Bruntsfield Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Warr, The Very Rev. Charles L., 63 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
- Warrant, Major Duncan G., O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., 9 Somerset Place, Bath.
- Watson, Arthur, 23 Danes Drive, Scotstoun, Glasgow.
- Watson, Charles B. Boog, 24 Garscube Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Watson, J. Allen, 5 Charlotte Street, Perth.
- Watson, Professor James A. S., B.Sc., 147 Banbury Road, Oxford.
- Watt, James, LL.D., W.S., Craiglockhart House, Slateford, Edinburgh.
- Watt, Rev. Lauchlan Maclean, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow, W. 2.
- Weir, Thomas M., 227 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- 460 Whitelaw, Charles E., F.S.A.Scot., 22 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Whyte, Robert D., Town Clerk, Rothesay.
- Wightman, John, 23 High Street, North Berwick.
- Wilkie, James, S.S.C., 108 George Street, Edinburgh.
- Williams, Allan, Ormean Avenue, Belfast.
- Williams, Professor A. F. Basil, The University, Edinburgh.
- Wilson, J. A., O.B.E., M.D., 4 Central Avenue, Cambuslang.

Wood, Miss M., M.A., Ph.D., 16 Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh.

Wordie, William, 52 Montgomerie Drive, Glasgow, W.

Wotherspoon, Robert, Branxholme, Dores Road, Inverness.

470 Wright, James M. B., Righ-an-Rudha, Inveraray, Argyll.

YOUNG, THOMAS E., W.S., Auchterarder.

Younger, Miss Alice, 6 Osborne Terrace, Edinburgh.

Yule, Thomas, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street, Edinburgh.

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