John, Duke of Albany.

"A man so varied that he seemed to be
Not one but all mankind's epitome."

31st March, 1923.
JOHN, DUKE OF ALBANY.

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Duke of Albany

Sjb ymbra thk

Veritas: de: terra: orta: est
John Duke of Albany

John, Duke of Albany, as well by his family connection with Scotland as by his position in France, among those knights of French chivalry whose glorious deeds read like a page of romance, would have been an interesting and arresting study at any time. But his significance in Scottish and continental politics is increased by the changing issues of the era in which he lived.

The sixteenth century was an age of political, social, economic and religious upheaval, when the feudal system was dying and the old medieval ideal of hierarchy in Church and State was giving place to the new nationality when the peoples found themselves and their unity under competent rule of autocratic kings. France came to a realization of her power under Louis XI., and Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. carried on the work of centralisation and amalgamation of the great feudal fiefs. In Spain the same thing had been going on throughout the union with the Empire under Charles V. tended somewhat to vitiate the policy. In England Henry VII. had built up a powerful monarchy by ruthless crushing of his overmighty subjects and political alliance with the rising merchant middle class. These nations all/
all turned their newfound energy towards the Mediterranean, towards Sicily, which was still divided amongst its petty princelings and fell an easy prey to the vigorous tactics and efficient armies of the north. The central temporal claims of the rapacity seemed under Julius II. to be leading towards nationality even for Italy but the greedy nepotic acquisitivesness of the succeeding Medicis decreased still further the dying respect for the vicars of Christ and hastened on the Reformation. Always in all the negotiations of the time in the background stands the menace of the Turk who threatened Vienna itself after the victory of Mohácz in 1526. It was still the age of crusades though the medieval idealism was yielding place to a gross and almost immoral materialism. In all almost every one of these issues, John, Duke of Albany, was involved to some extent. The purpose then of this essay is to describe the life of the Frenchman who played such a large part in the destinies of the Scottish nation previous to his first regency which began in May, 1515. This period of his youth is not very complex being a record of the expeditions of chivalry in which he regained his training in knighthood. The second continental period from May or June, 1524, is
/is less simple. We become involved in the new diplomacy of the Balance of Power, which Albany's skill as an exponent rendered a familiar figure in European courts. His family connections with the Papacy and the Medicis made his influence in Rome a valuable asset to the Crown of France which Francis was not slow to make use of. 

But the main subject of our essay must be Albany's position with regard to Scotland. Why is he important in Scottish history? In the first place, in Scotland as well as in other European countries the old system was changing but it was the tragedy of Scotland that she evolved no new strong monarchy to crush the pretensions of a nobility which had always been turbulent. Had Albany been a native Scots King he might in spite of her poverty have led Scotland to the forefront of European nations for her geographical condition, for the new conditions was a good one. Europe was ceasing to look east and the centre of gravity was slowly moving from the countries of the Mediterranean to those situated on the Western fringe. But his visits were too brief and spasmodic to give the country that internal peace and good government which were essential for her expansion abroad. These visits extended from the first Regency/
Regency, from 16th May, 1515 to 8th June, 1517, a little over two years but he left a settled government based on a compromise between the opposing parties of the Hamiltons, and the Douglases. But anything he had done was neutralised by the fact that the state of French and English politics prohibited his return till November, 1521. He himself realised the danger of this pernicious inactivity and the evidence on the whole not rather proves that he went if/with Francis' absolute dissent, at least not with his express sanction.

The second Regency was even shorter from 8th November, 1521 to 3rd October, 1522. Again he was absent for almost a year and when he did return it was only for a few months from 22nd September, 1523 to the end of May 1524, returning in despair at the faithlessness of the needy Scots Lords and he never again set foot in Scotland, owing partly to his own disinclination to sacrifice himself for a nation with which he was, after all at one, and an office which, though it provided him with an honourable title held out few other inducements.

In discussing his relations with Scotland it was found difficult to separate the different issues, so interconnected and interactive were they; to solve one of his problems he had to solve all, and they are not/
not really separate or distinct. For the sake of clearness I have arranged the main data under two general heads: firstly his foreign policy, and secondly his domestic policy and the former must come first for never at any time were the domestic affairs of Scotland so completely and so minutely governed by the conditions of foreign policy on the Continent. The important question for Scotland as it had been from the beginning of history was her relation with England; the menace of her rich and hostile neighbour across the border. The first question which meets us is his relations with England and France. Was he merely a pawn in a political scheme for furthering the French policy of "plunging a knife" in the back of England. There is no doubt he was French in sympathy, signing himself "Jehan" and calling Francis his master. Let this statement be not entirely true. There is the matter of his departure from France in 1521 to consider. And both from Francis' private letters to his mother and from his own public declarations, which are less to be trusted, we learn that Francis did not desire him to go until England had definitely declared herself. Sometimes Francis spoke of him as a valuable "subject," but when the occasion served he could declare he had no control over the Duke who was
was entirely an independent agent. In his relations with Francis there also obtrudes itself the question of Francis' suspicion of Albany in connection with the Constable de Bourbon. Under this head also falls to be considered Albany's relation with Margaret who, with Angus, provides the connecting link between his English and his home policy. In spite of the allegations of his enemies and the vaguer rumours which persisted for many years there can be little ground for supposing that Albany entertained the idea of marrying the fickle Queen, though it was by his agency that she obtained her freedom from Angus.

Scotland during Albany's regency continued the foreign relations which James IV. had begun and really became for a time a potent factor in European politics. In the intrigue with Denmark and France for setting de la Pole upon the English throne, Albany brought Scotland, hitherto somewhat isolated by her geographical position, into close touch with the diplomatic issues of the time. Albany in his policy with regard to trade showed that he could use his power abroad to protect Scottish merchants even on occasion threatening reprisals by French shipping itself if the Scots did not receive their just rights. But as regards the staple Albany apparently made
made what he could for himself, or for Scotland, though the means he used were not immaculate. Yet the age was not conspicuous for a high morality in its public transactions. Henry VII's wealth was acquired by just as frank recognition of the powers of bribery. It is probable that Scots conservative feeling was in favour of retaining the staple not at the new Middelburg but at Veere where the Scotch ships had been accustomed to put in.

The Regent's policy with regard to the Church and Papacy enters into both his foreign and domestic policy. Though he used his benefices like extraordinary revenue and though the records show he was bounteous in almsgiving there was nothing very spiritual about him, he did at least free the Scottish Church from a possible Italian yoke. He ensured that if the Scots benefices were sold or given as bribes that at least the incumbents should be Scotsmen or French friends of his own. He did not desire the intrusion of the Papal power in the internal government of Scotland. But though he opposed the rapacity thus, the records are silent as to his attitude towards the Lutheran question. If he had any opinions on the matter he probably thought the old regime was as good as any other but he was not above sanctioning dealings with the heretics of Germany on Francis' behalf.
In his domestic policy Albany had to deal with the problem of Scottish social and even economic system which was governed still by the family or clan, on to which had been grafted the feudal bond. Inhabitants of these districts therefore besides being in the feudal relation of lord and man were more often than not connected by blood to their masters. The great lords of Scotland were thus almost little kings of their own hereditary lands, and could give or refuse homage to the King as they willed or as the monarch could compel. The frequent minorities which Scotland had to undergo prevented the Royal House from reducing these Lords to subjection. Almost as independent princes they could enter into bonds with foreign countries, the Douglases, and as a rule chose England as their hereditary enemies, the Hamiltons, relied usually upon France though they had no really settled policy. To find the Douglases in one camp invariably meant the Hamiltons in the other and only in the last extremity when both were "again the Government" were they known to unite.

To rule such a people successfully we are told Albany should have chosen no side and remained a neutral arbiter to outweigh both contending parties. Albany did attempt this but it was more easily said than done.
done. He was too French to remain unconcerned where French interests were involved. A governor sent from France, speaking the French tongue, supplied by French money and stores, could not but be looked upon as the leader of the party which I leaned upon France. Whatever the intentions he had, whatever ideals of Government might be, he had his side already chosen for him and whether he would or not he had to become a partisan. Yet, Cardinal Beaton, a few years later, coincided with the French policy, was the cause of Scottish national independence. If there was danger of Scotland becoming a province of France at least France was much further away than England, the ever-present menace at Scotland's very doors. It was a complex situation which he had to face and it was rendered even more difficult by the circumstances of his birth and parentage. If he owed his rank and his title to his father's royal blood, at least it brought with it the disadvantages of a record of treachery not easily forgotten.
Chapter I.

Title and Family.

The title of Duke of Albany, is one of long standing and ranks among the oldest Dukedoms of Scotland. The title of Duke arrived somewhat late in Scotland and the first was given by Robert III. to his eldest son and his powerful brother Robert, then Earl of Menteith, in 1398. The heir-apparent took the title Duke of Rothesay but the Earl of Menteith was content with nothing less than the Duchy of Albany, an ambitious title since Albany was the old name for all Scotland north of the Forth. A tragic end came to the power of this first house of Albany with the return of James I. from captivity in England in 1425. One by one the heirs of Albany were executed and the title became extinct not to be revived until 1453, probably it was felt that the title was too dignified and the lands too widespread to be bestowed upon any subject not of royal blood. In that year however, the Dukedom was recreated by James II. and bestowed with various other titles upon his second son, Alexander Stewart, Earl of March, and Lord of Annandale, then a child of about three years. 

The title seemed an ill-fated one for after a wild career of treason and dishonesty Alexander Stewart was
was compelled to flee to France, an exile, while all his lands reverted to the Crown. In France however the title remained and under his son John, obtained recognition by the Estates of Scotland and all the lands and dependencies were restored, but with some additions. Under John Duke of Albany the family obtained a wider European prestige than ever it had had before but the duky seemed destined to remain but a short time in any one family's possession. John, Duke of Albany, died without heirs and the title became once more extinct. The later fortunes of this precarious title need concern us little. Mary revived it as an honour for the unfortunate Darnley in 1565 and upon his death it reverted once more to the Crown as one of James I's titles. At the birth of the prince, afterwards Charles I, it was revived in his favour. Again the ill-fated title became extinct until in 1660 Charles II. in the distribution of honours at his restoration bestowed it on his brother James and after the glorious revolution a Duke of Albany is not mentioned until 1716. Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Asnabruck, the youngest brother of George I. was created Duke of York and Albany. In 1738 it died out once more, and was not revived until 1760.
When Edward Augustus, younger brother of George III, became Duke of York and Albany. Again the honour was shortlived the Duke of Albany died in 1767 and there were no heirs to succeed him.

It is not till 1784 that we find another Duke of Albany. In that year the honour was revived in favour of Frederick, second son of George III. but he also died without heirs in 1827. More than 50 years passed before it was restored to be bestowed upon Prince Leopold, the youngest son of Queen Victoria. The title thus has a curiously interesting history and it is fortunate perhaps for Scotland that no strong house was found to perpetuate a title and a power which were far too great in proportion to the power of her kings. Of those who have held the title, John, Duke of Albany is probably the most famous. Scotland during his time acquired a European significance which had hardly been equalled before save perhaps during the best days of James IV. Who then was Duke of Albany? He was the second son of that Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, the second son of James II. who had given so much trouble to his brother James III.

Before the son’s curious position can be explained it is necessary to examine briefly the career of the father. Born in 1454 the second son of James II. and Mary of
Alexander Stewart, while still an infant was promoted to some of the highest honours in the kingdom. By 1458 he is mentioned as Duke of Albany in accounts for horses to convey him from Stirling to Edinburgh and also obtained the Lordship of the Isle of Man.

In 1464 he had been sent by his mother to her native Guelderland for safety, by advice of Bishop Kennedy. In spite of all precautions, in spite of a safe conduct and a truce, he was captured at sea by the English, but was released on the representation of the good Bishop. He lived at St Andrews for a few months until Kennedy died and when only 13 we hear of him holding court at Dunbar for his vassals; so powerful indeed was he that he had his own justiciary and treasurer. He held the earldom of March and the important castle of Dunbar. His power rapidly increased. He was made warden of the East Marches and governor of Berwick. He became Admiral of Scotland and as Lord of Annandale he held the important stronghold of Lochmaben.

In 1471, though a minor, he was sitting in parliament and by 1472, in addition to the governorship of Berwick he obtained the title of Lieutenant of the Kingdom. Albany's power in the Merse and on the
the Borders was extremely likely to provoke the jealousy of barons like the Humes and the Hepburns and his conduct was not such as to placate them. The result was that the Humes allied themselves with the much hated Cochrane, the King's favorite, who played upon the King's belief in astrology to such an extent that he was convinced that his brothers, Albany and Earl of Mar were plotting his death. Both were seized and put in Edinburgh Castle, but Albany managed to escape and fortified Dunbar. The Royal forces were too powerful and Albany fled overseas to France, while his Castle of Dunbar, fell before the cannon of the Chancellor Evandale. The fugitive arrived in France some time during September, 1479, and was received with honour by the French king Louis, who sent estates to meet him with m. de Guagcourt, as Royal Lieutenant, at the gate of St Antoine, on the Vincennes road. He was conveyed to Paris to Rue de St Martin, and remained there some time supported by Louis who allowed him 10-12 followers. Louis also gave him as an attendant or companion M.de Monypenny seigneur de Concessault - a Scot who had come to France about 1460, probably as one of the famous Garde Ecossaise. Albany's object in coming to France was to obtain aid from Louis against his brother, but the French king was
was unwilling to alienate an old ally whom for some time he had been urging to join him against England. Albany however was deceived by the splendid reception he had received and resolved to extend his power by a French marriage. He had already been married once, namely to Catherine Sinclair, eldest daughter of William Earl of Orkney, and Caithness, but this marriage had been dissolved on a somewhat flimsy pretext of propinquity by John Otterburn, official of Lothian, on 2nd March, 1477-78. This decree was ratified, 15th November, 1516. by this marriage Albany had three sons, one named like himself, Alexander, who became a churchman, and on 13th November, 1516, consented to be declared illegitimate in favour of his half-brother the Regent. A second son of Albany's is mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts 1502-3, 26th February, when he is given £35 to go to France.

Again in 1504, we hear of this son accompanying James IV. on one of those Northern journeys in which he executed justice and relieved his own conscience.

In 1506-7, 20th March, he is again mentioned as receiving £38 for another journey to France.

A third son did exist but by 1497 payment is made to the Duke's other son's only.

He also had a daughter, Margaret who is probably the
the lady who married Patrick Hamilton of Aincabel, brother of James, Earl of Arran, and would thus be the mother of Patrick Hamilton the martyr. But this first marriage had been annulled and the offspring declared illegitimate. In 1477 James III. had attempted to negotiate a marriage between the Duchess of Burgundy, Edward IV's sister and Albany. Edward instructed Leith to say that it was not customary to marry when in a year of bereavement and dool, Albany thought to strengthen his position by a marriage with a powerful French house. On 10th February, 1480, he married Anne de la Tour, 3rd daughter of Bertrand Comte de'Auvergne and Boulogne. This marriage does not seem to have been so fortunate as Albany had hoped. A son was born to him in 1481, who was named John and it was he and not any of Albany's sons by his first marriage who was ultimately to succeed him. Louis XI's assistance did not amount to more than sending an embassy to Scotland to attempt to effect a reconciliation between the two brothers urging James to pardon Albany and join with him against Edward IV.

The only result of this for Albany was that the process of forfeiture was postponed but as soon as Albany perceived that no further good was to come he
he resolved to appeal to Edward IV: and in May, 1482 crossed to England. From this time Albany is a traitor against both king and country, in fact an "English" lord ready to barter Scotland's own independence for his own advancement to the crown. On 10th June 1482 the Treaty of Rotheringhay was signed in which Albany promised to do homage to Edward and surrender Berwick. Albany was even to be contracted to Cecilia Edward's daughter provided he could clear himself of all other women — a statement which shows what respect he had for his late marriage, and also reveals the fact that there was still some doubt in Albany's mind as to the legality of his divorce from his first wife. Albany took the title of king under the suzerainty of Edward. Then followed that march north in which the Scottish barons deserted their country for the sake of petty jealousy. Albany's career is one of double dealing with both sides, accepting the restoration of his lands on condition of faithfulness to James while at the same time promising to Gloucester to abide by the conditions of the Treaty of Rotheringhay.

A hollow reconciliation took place between the two brothers and Albany received the Earldom of Mar and Garioch which had belonged to his unfortunate brother John.

Soon he was at his intrigues again and ultimately sent messengers from Dunbar to agree to the Treaty of
of Westminster, in which he offered as soon as he became
king to become the vassal of Edward and to obtain the
restoration of the traitors the Douglases. With even
greater duplicity, Albany managed to secure a reconcilia-
tion with his brother, but upon the death of Edward IV and
the disasters which followed he was cited for treason.
and forfeited July 3th, 1483. He fled to England where
the following year in conjunction with Douglas he made an
unsuccessful raid on Lochmaben. Albany escaped; though
Douglas was not so fortunate, and he fled once more to
France, where not long afterwards in 1485, he was
accidentally killed by a splinter of a lance, while
watching a tournament between the Duke of Orleans and
another knight. He was buried with imposing obsequies in the
choir of the Church of Celestins, and the Dukes of
Orleans and Lorraine were present. Of the mother of
"Jehan", we can learn little, save that she was the 3rd
daughter of Bertrand de la Tour, Comte D'Auvergne et
Boulogne, and of Louise de la Tremouille. She seems
merely to have been a pawn in the schemes of her husband.
But she does not seem to have remained long a widow; for on
15th February, 1487 we find records of her marriage with
Louis Comte de la Chambre in Savoy by whom she had a
son - Philip de la Chambre - Albany's half brother, who
who became a churchmen and ultimately through his brother's influence, a Cardinal. Anne died 13th October 1512 and was buried in the Carmelite monastery of la Rochette in Savoy, with her second husband who died 7th May, 1517.

The baby, John, Duke of Albany, born of a renegade Scottish prince and an heiress of an old and powerful French family, had thus a very curious position. His father was forfeited and declared a traitor so that return to Scotland was impossible. The child therefore grew up a Frenchman but how far he retained the Scottish point of view and how far his interests were Scottish or French is a matter for inquiry. His was not the only case of a Scotsman being educated and growing up in the service of the French king.

The famous Scottish regiments, Scots Guards and Scots Horse, were instituted in 1445, as Louis in his general letters of nationalisation to the whole Scottish nation definitely stated in 1513, as an acknowledgment of the service the Scots rendered to Charles VII in reducing France to his obedience and of the great loyalty and virtue which he found in them. The army in 1445 was organised into 15 ordnance companies. Of these two were composed of Scots, the first known as Les
Les Gendarmes Écossais, under the command of John Stewart, Lord of Aubigny - a descendant of the Sir John Stewart of Darneley who brought over one of the first detachments which assisted the Dauphin to repel the English advances at Beauge. The second company was known as Compagnie Écossaise de la Garde du Corps au Roi.

Great lordships in France were given to them not only as rewards but as just compensation for fortunes spent in the service of the King of France. The Lordship of Concessault remained in the family of Monypenny, and we find Scotch names such as Cunningham, Douglas, Henderson, etc. figuring largely in the official records of the time. On all state occasions they were present in the chief positions of honour upon equal terms with the noblest in France, clad with the splendour of the age, in red white and green covered with gold embroidery with plumes in their helms of the same colours and their swords and leg harness richly mounted in silver.

Louis XI. trusted himself utterly to his Scots Guards (c.f. Duke of Burgundy and the Liegeois) and the extent of his confidence may be gauged from the fact that at his death he entrusted to them the charge of his son Charles.

Bernard Stewart of Aubigny played an important part
part in Charles VIII's Italian expedition while the splendid appearance of the guard attracted admiration all along the route of his triumphal progress south. At the battle of Fornovo they were no less conspicuous and Bernard Stewart was left in Italy as second in command under Gilbert de Montpensier to retain the French possessions. We shall meet him again in Albany's campaigns in Italy and it was in Scotland, whither he had gone after the surrender of Pavia and Senno, that the old hero breathed his last, honoured by his Scots kinsfolk, and decorated by the French King with the highest order of St Michael.

The youth was evidently bent upon winning his spurs and proving his military efficiency. The Duke of Albany, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Valentina (Jaraco Pangia) and the Duke of Albany, each even at the age of 31 years, held the position once the French troops were acquired. He allied himself with Cardinal Albornoz, Duke of Savoy, and Savo de Madelaine followed the King, and the victory of the Duke of Guise.

The next meeting with his is in May 1500,
CHAPTER II

YOUTH AND EARLY LIFE UP TO HIS FIRST REGENCY.

Amid such famous compatriots, the young Duke as he grew up could not have remained indifferent to the homeland which they had left and from which he was exiled for his father's transgressions.

In 1400 we hear of him receiving a pension of 1,500 livres from the receiver of Aides d'Évreux and the act is signed by the Duke himself. Even previous to this in 1407 there is mention of a pension paid to Antoine Jontour Governor for the Duke. Pensions continued to be paid to him until 1506 his pension was increased to 3000 livres tournois.

The youth was evidently bent upon winning his spurs and undergoing his military training in the lists of Italy, for when Louis XII made his entry into Milan in October 1499, Jean d'Auton tells us how the great Italian Lords came to meet him. The Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua rode out in all the splendour in which the chivalry of the time delighted.

With King Louis were present Cardinal Amboise, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Duke of Savoy, Duke of Valentinois (Jesare Borgia) and the Duke of Albany. Thus even at the age of 18 his position among the French grands was assured. He along with Cardinal Amboise, Duke of Savoy and Sire de Ravestain followed the King, 200 gentlemen forming the Advance Guard.

The next mention we find of him is in May 1500, when
...the Chronicles reciting the splendour of a great tournament and pageant held at Lyons tells us incidentally that with the King in his gallery were gathered the noblest in France, including the Comte de Beix, the Prince of Orange, Comte de Dunois and the Duke of Albany.

Within a few months we find him engaged in a much more serious enterprise. In June 1561 Louis XII had his ships ready at Genoa for a Crusade against the Turks in Greece. The Monarchs of England, Spain and Portugal had all promised to send their detachments to Corfu since a universal peace had been arranged. Albany at this time was staying with the rest of the nobility at the French Court and he is mentioned as going with the great lords by land to Savonne near Genoa. This expedition against the Turks took place just at the time when the Swiss made their descent on Lombardy.

After many delays by the 16th August 1561, the French fleet was near Sicily ready to pass through the Straits of Messina. Philippe Comte de Ravestain was in charge of the expedition and after waiting for a fair wind for two days upon the third they commenced their passage through the Straits. As they approached the Volcano Stromboli the daring leader determined to go ashore and investigate the burning mountain for himself. He took with him the Duke of Albany, evidently another adventurous spirit like himself, his
his confessor and a few others including 4 archers. The rock strown ascent, however proved too hard for them, and by the time they had gone half way night was fast approaching. Descent by the way they had come was impossible. They, therefore, returned by another side upon which was a great forest. Through this they had to penetrate and come out as D'Auton tells us looking like charcoal burners owing to the grime and scot with which the foliage was covered. A heavy misty followed and the ships put in at Milaggo, but after a short time they were able to proceed to Reggie. Hence they sent to see if the Spanish and Portuguese forces were ready to accompany them. None was forthcoming, and the French and Genoese ultimately had to set out alone.

A storm scattered the ships of the Crusaders, but after some delay they were once more collected and sailed together across the Gulf of Venice as far as Jacinta. The army of the Venetians was already at Corfu. The French were unwilling to turn back and were urged to go against the town of Lavollonna, a town subject to the Turks in Albania.

To the Council of War which Philippe de Ravenstein summoned, came Johan Stewart, duc d'Albanye with such leaders as James Infante of Navarre and Jacques de Bourbon. They decided that it would be foolish to return to Corfu and resolved to attack the island of "Hadello" (Hytilens). While in harbour in Jacintha Philip of Ravenstein and Albay...
went ashore we are told, and there found "plenty of good wines." They also witnessed a hare hunt and the spectacle of the Burning of a Sodomite. Thence sailed to Modon, a town in Morea while the Portuguese coming up took the Island of Cephalonia.

Ravestein sent to the Grandmaster of Rhodes and obtained his consent that the Expedition should proceed to Myletene and in October 1501 the Crusaders attacked the Island.

On the first attack on the town of Myletene, Albany was wounded by an arrow which pierced his helmet. Ultimately the Christians after a hard struggle were driven off, but during a second attack, we find the Duke conspicuous for his courage and daring. The Turks made a sudden night attack which found the French unprepared. Albany we are told was engaged in a fierce hand to hand combat "with one whom he killed." The Crusade was achieving nothing, the Turks were prepared and the island fortified, and after long deliberation it was agreed to give up the siege and return to France.

On the return voyage misfortune once more overtook them. The ship of the leader Ravenstein, named La Nonnelline was wrecked on the coast of the island of Cytharea. The heavy seas and winds broke the masts and left the Crusaders at the mercy of the elements. Out of 800 men only 200 escaped.
escaped by clinging to the rocks on which the ship was breaking to pieces. It was a moonlight night and the survivors assembled together to pass the night as best they could. Among the rest, there gathered there the Seigneur de Ravenstein, James Infante de Foix, and our Duke of Albany. They were in a dangerous predicament, stranded with no clothes nor money at the mercy of a strange people.

As they crouched there back to back for warmth, they saw another of the Crusading vessels, "La Pensée" wrecked before their eyes, and were powerless to help the drowning men, not one of whom was saved.

When morning came at last the inhabitants of the island refused to give them food and they had neither arms nor numbers to compel them to do so. After 21 days a Venetian galley put in, and the master, Paul Salbe gave them 100 armed men to force the Cythereans to give them food and clothing. He then informed the Genoese, who ultimately came from Corfu and rescued the shipwrecked Crusaders. So bitter however were the Venetians at the time against the French that they even punished Salbe for giving them this assistance.

Soon Albany was called to a different scene of action. The next year 1502 we find him commanding a company of 100 lances in the Garrison of Bordeaux. His appearance is here described as being fair and his stature short and hardy. He wore a beard and had piercing eyes and very thin lips.
In July of that year war broke out between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon over the division of the spoil of Italy as arranged by the Treaty of Granada 1500. Jean D'Auton gives us a picturesque account of how the king left Padua for Genoa in August 1502. Philippe de Ravestein was governor of Genoa in name of King and provision and lodgings being assured, Louis took his way thither by the route of Tortona, La Eccachetta, Borgio and Busatle. He arrived at Genoa on 25th August. Ravenstein had a splendid pageant waiting for him. The women of Genoa lined the streets clad in their richest garments to welcome him, while the noblest Genoese lords went to the Gate of St Thomas to meet him. The procession as it passed through the streets must have been a splendid one. First came the seigneurs of the city then 300 of the King's household all on horseback and dressed in velvet robes. Then some of the nobles in France preceded the King. Among these was Albany beside Jacques de Vendome, Francois d'Orleans and the Comte de Dunois. The Archers of Garde Ecossais were the immediate attendants of the King and as the glorious company passed, D'Auton tells us the air was filled with cries of "France." "France.

Albany then was in the forefront of the French Chavaliers which took part in the Italian campaign. He was one of the great Army which encamped near Rome to watch over the election of the new Pope (Pius III) in September 1503. When
the result of the election was known the Army set out towards Naples, while Cardinal Amboise watched them from the battle-
ments of Rome.

An attack on the town of Roccasanta having failed the French went on to Aquina where they met a Spanish force which howeyer retreated.

Then followed the campaign of the Garigliano when the armies faced each other across the river, neither for some lime daring to attack. The French were successful in throwing a bridge of boats over the river, but ultimately threw up an earthwork to protect it and withdrew to the town of Garigliano. The French army was posted all along the river—The Marquis de Saluces at Vallefredda, Sire d'Alberi at Castelforte and the Seigneur Xandiscourt a mile back. To the right of the bridge were Albany and James de Foix.

The French experienced the greatest hardships. The weather was very bad, rainstorms rendered the roads almost impassable for transport and lack of food and lack of money began to make their effect upon the army. Many of the troops fell sick and among them John, Duke of Albany lay wounded and ill at Gaeta.

It was decided to ship the heavy artillery and the sick to home, but no sooner were they embarked than a storm arose, the ships sank, many were drowned including Pierre de Meaux who had been expelled from Florence 1405. Albany was fortunate in having remained at Gaeta.
The Heavy Artillery thus lost, the retreat began. The Spaniards were able to force the bridge at Mollo. Albany ill and wounded as he was collected men from Gaeta and rode to bridge of Mollo armed "to live or die in the service of the King".

It was in this battle of the Ganglano that Bayard's feats of valour are conspicuous, overshadowing all others but we may be sure from the casual mention we have of Albany that he too was in the thick of the fight.

The French retired upon Gaeta but their position was hopeless. Gonzalvo hemmed them in and ultimately on 1st January the town capitulated on the condition that all prisoners should be free without ransom including La Palice and Bernard Stuart. This was agreed upon and the French put to sea and sailed off to Genoa. Louis recognised their courage and endurance, e.g. Bernard Stuart got the collar of St. Michel, but D'Auton says that many felt the disgrace so keenly that they died of grief.

In July 1525 Albany married. His wife was his own cousin German Anne de la Tour. Balisse quoting from the family records published the interesting marriage treaty of Johan Stewart, Duke of Albany and Anne de Boulogne, elder daughter of late Johan Count of Boulogne and Auvergne. It is stated that Madame Jeanne de Bourbon, Comtesse de Boulogne, Anne's mother is acting with the consent and on advice of the
Generlological Table

Showing Albany's relations with the French Houses.

Charles
Comte de Vendome

Jacques
Beauvoir d'Ancre

Anne

1. Duke of Bourbon

2. Jean

3. Francoise de la Plume

Anne

1. John, Duke of Albany

2. Madeleine

m. Lorenzo de Medici

Catherine de Medici

m. Henry, Duke of Guise
King. Anne's dowry is all the goods and lands which belong to her. If she dies without children, Albany is to get 2,500 livres tournois annual income and one of the principal residences. If Anne is the survivor, whether there are children or not, she is to have income on half of all Albany's possession or the sum of 4000 livres tournois annually and one of his principal residences. The Contesse d'Auvergne gives up to her daughters Anne and Madeleine any rights she has through a posthumous daughter born after death of Johan de la Tour (died 28th March 1501).

This is dated 13th July 1505, but in the act passed under Royal Chancery of Montreuil and it is dated 8th July 1505.

Anne's mother Jeanne de Bourbon was the daughter of Conte de Vendome. She married three times; firstly in June 1487, Jean II, Duke of Bourbon; her second marriage to Jean I de la Tour (Anne's father) and the brother of Albany's mother, also Anne de la Tour) took place in January 1495. She married a third time, Francois de la Pause, Baron de la Garde 27th March 1503. She died 1511.

By her second marriage she had three daughters, the youngest of whom was born after her husband's death, Anne who married her cousin Albany, Madeleine who in Jan.16th 1518 married Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino and nephew of Clement VII and became the mother of the famous Catherine de Medici.
Albany was thus brought into relation with the house of Vendome, indirectly with the House of Bourbon and by the marriage of his wife's sister into very close and friendly relations with the Pope.

Where there was any fighting to be done, Albany was almost certain to be there. D'Auton tells us that in April 1507 he was present at the siege of Genoa. (Forbes leith p. 80 mentions him as having brought reinforcements to Louis from James IV, but this is almost certainly a mistake.)

He distinguished himself by his courage. D'Auton's account of the siege is a stirring one. On the 24th April 1507, Jacques de Chabannes Seigneur de la Palice set out from Fortedeoine with 3000 to investigate the mountain passage to Genoa and to dislodge the defenders from a very important fortress on the top. The adventurous expedition seems to have been reinforced by a number of gentlemen volunteers and conducted operations from the little town of Rivarolo.

La Palice determined to ascend the mountain itself. John, Duke of Albany was one of the leading spirits in this exploit along with Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Rousselton, Rene d'Anjou, Bayard and Jean de la Chambre.

The enemy had a force of about 30,000 on the hill top and threw down great boulders upon the attacking party. Charles d'Amboise, the Royal at Fortedeoine seeing their precarious position led a force of 3000 Germans to their assistance.
assistance along with Robert Stewart and 80 archers of the guard.

A gunner stationed between Rivarolo and the mountain was successful in bombarding the fort and the assailants returned to the attack. La Palice was wounded in the throat by an arrow but drew it out with great courage. But so weakened was he by loss of blood that he could not continue to lead the army but had to rest in a house near by. The Command of the expedition he entrusted to John Duke of Albany.

Albany marched boldly on - so rough was the ground that all the cavalry had to dismount and within a stone's throw of the summit found a company of Genoese drawn up to block the passage. These were soon routed and were pursued right to the top of the hill. The Genoese were now demoralized and finally abandoned the Bastion whence they were pursued right to the Gates of Genoa.

On the 25th of April 1507 Louis arrived before Genoa and had an interview with the ambassadors whom the town had sent to treat for terms. Even while they were engaged in conference the Genoese made a sally and gained some positions on the surrounding hills. Louis in person rode out to battle and inspected his army. With him rode the Duke of Albany, Duke of Bourbon, and its Duke of Longueville and Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome (Anne's half-brother). In the skirmish which followed the Genoese were completely routed
and the Duke of Genoa Paul de Novi fled to Corsica.

On the 28th April 1567 at 8 a.m. Louis made his triumphal entry into Genoa fully armed. Towards him came 30 of the most prominent Genoese citizens clad in black robes with their heads uncovered, asking for mercy and offering explanations which the King would not listen. Before the King in procession went 100 Senigors of his guard. They came Antoine de Loraine, Duke of Calabria and John Duke of Albany, Bernard Stewart and Duke of Bourbon with others of the nobility. Louis passed on in a triumphal progress to Milan and it is most probable that Albany accompanied, for in the next function of political importance we find he was again present.

In June 1567, Ferdinand of Aragon with his new wife Germane de Foix (Louis's niece) came to visit the French King at Savona. D'Auton recounts how Louis had mules taken to the harbour to accommodate the royal retinue and how as the Spanish ships entered they were flying the red and yellow colours of Louis. Among the lords who followed the two Kings and the Queen into the town was John, Duke of Albany, doubtless walking with some Spanish Lord as did Cardinal Amboise with Fougères, their late brave opponent on the Garigliano; Bourbon, Lonqueville, Comte de Foix, and Vendôme are once more mentioned with Albany and it is to be assumed that these were the people with whom most of his time was spent at court in attendance on his Majesty.
At the great banquet which followed Albany again occupied a very honourable position at table.

Albany does not seem to have had any very personal relations with James IV, but as far as we can judge there seems to have been no ill will between them. Albany's friend Antoine D'Arce de la Bastre, who was to come to such a tragic end in Albany's service, was frequently employed in embassies to Scotland. In fact he had been at James' wedding in 1502. And in the Treasurer's accounts we find a servant of his in August 21st, 1507 receiving 28/- from James. While a little later 15th Oct. 1507, Guillaume, servant of the Duke of Albany received 36 livres as present for bringing which Albany sent to James. On 7th April 1508, a servant of Albany's who brought writings to the King got £7.

A list of expenses from 2nd Decr. 1511 to 11th April seems to refer to John de Albany. He is provided with necessaries brought to him at Kirkcudbright. "His livorey coit agane yule 35/- elnis Rowan tanne and to wayne a stripeit ½ of taffeta. His doublet and bonnet are also accounted for.

On 1st February at his departing from Scotland to France, a paritt coit 5 ells of velvet and black satin. He also got a chekkaert doublet of cramecy satin and black velver.

Again on 30th Marche he got £3.18/- for his expenses from Scotland to Dieppe and on 11th April while in Dieppe he...
he got £7. 4/- sent by the Laird of Lundy.

This can hardly be the Duke but from the Livery coat we may assume it is the Albany Herald going to France. In no other place do we find a reference to Albany visiting Scotland previous to his Regency.

The Treasurer's Accounts IV p. 344 contain the entry The last day of April 1512 to M. de Albansis Secretary at his passage to France 40 crowns of weight were given — £36

Again in June 1513, John Campbell was allowed £31.15/- for the French Secretary's expense that come from my Lords of Albany furth of France.

Within a few years we enter upon much graver issues than the chivalrous formalities of the age. By 1513 the whole question of the Papal right to nominate the Benefices and the Scandal of St Andrews has been opened and at the same time the crowning disaster of Flodden is approaching.

Andrew Forman has always been looked upon as a sinister figure in Scottish History. He was probably no worse than the other self-seeking ecclesiastic of the period. In 1511-12 he was in France negotiating renewal of the Franco Scottish treaties and it is almost certain that Albany must have known him fairly intimately. From various notices we find that Forman was regarded as having a vast influence over the Governor.

In 1510 Forman had undertaken a mission to the Pope to try to effect a universal peace and on his way to Rome/
Rome was instructed to stay in Paris to induce Louis to give up the demand for the Council in Rome. He failed in his main object but found favour in the eyes of the martial Julius with his jest at the ignorance of Italian priests who did not understand his Latin grace.

"And the Dieu I gie you to a false ear in nomine Patris filii Spiritus Sancti, Amen."

In 1512 Borman returned once more to France and was the chief instrument in urging James to go to war with England as well as transmitting the famous ring and letter. He remained in France till after Flodden and in reward for his services Louis appointed him to the Archbishopric of Bourges on 7th August 1513 in face of the opposition of the Emperor himself, whose assistance had previously been obtained by the appointment of Mathew Long his Secretary, and of the canons of Bourges who were only prevailed upon by the repeated threats of the King and a Bull of Pope Leo to admit him.

On 13th Nov. 1513 he made his entry into Bourges and Louis granted the general act of nationalization to Scots thus freeing them of the necessity of making individual application on landing in France. He also obtained for Scots the right of holding benefices in France, but these gains were slight in comparison with the disaster of Flodden which he did so much to bring about.

Borman had obtained the licence and in the Privy
Seal of 15th October 1509 to obtain from the Pope any
Archbishopric, Bishopric or prelacy which might fall vacant
for himself and any benefice for his brother John Forman.
This he was to use the following year in obtaining
nomination from the Pope to St Andrews though he only
consented to do so when Forman gave to Cardinal Cibo, the
Pope's nephew his See of Bourges.

With this wily prelate the Duke of Albany was to be
closely connected during his stay in France.

In January 1511, James IV wrote to Albany by the
Bishop of Moray recommending them to each other, and by May
of the same year James informed Maximilian that he was eager
to join the Crusade proposed by Julius II.

Before such a universal Crusade could take place it
was necessary to reconcile Louis XII and the Pope. The
martial Julius was at this time organizing the Holy League
to drive out the French in the cause of a "United Italy".

James says he has already sent the Bishop of Moray to the
same end, but he now commissions the Duke of Albany so that
peace may be better established." In September James still
urging this Papal reconciliation by the means of Albany and
Forman, and in the same month he wrote to Albany in favour
of the Bishop of Moray, Ambassador at the French Court.

We may take it that Albany was not idle in the cause of
uniting the Courts of Europe against the Turk since he him:
self had experienced the dangers of discord among the
Christians.
of the Mediterranean.

On 12th April 1512, James almost despairing of peace wrote to his cousin Albany, thanking him for his communications through Octavius Clarius and asking him what "hope had he in this confusion" and what side he meant to favour for if the fury continued all Europe would be in flames.

James himself wasted his life and almost ruin his kingdom in the general conflagration. The prelate who did most to bring about Floddan was rewarded with Bourges and in the disputes with the Chapter which followed it is more than probable that Albany assisted him.

Julius had meanwhile died and the new Pope Leo graciously allowed Moray to retain Moray and Dryburgh in addition to Bourges though he saw that he got something for it. Moray made his triumphal entry on November 13th. But the news of Floddan altered the whole aspect of the diplomacy of the time. The greater benefices of Scotland were left vacant by the death of her priests on the field of battle and Scotland entered upon a long struggle with the Papacy in which Albany was to play no dishonourable part.

Archbishop of St Andrews, Alexander Stewart died by his father's side and the see of St Andrews was left without a head. The one man who should have filled the position was old and broken by the news of disaster. W. Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen first according to Euseb refused the dignity. However that may be by November 15th, 1513 Dacre could report that at a great council/
Council at Perth, it had been agreed that the Bishop of Aberdeen was to be Archbishop, Caithness to be transferred to Aberdeen while George Douglas was to have Arbroath and James Hepburn Dunfermline. While it is interesting to note the connection with the Kelso case which we shall deal with later "a brother of David Ker of Ferniehirst has taken the Abbey of Kelso".

The scattered remnant of the fine Scotch fleet had returned to Arran and a "French Knight brought letters from Albany and the French King".

On November 26th the "French Knight" Antoine de la Bastie and James Ogilvy, Albany's servant appeared before the Parliament at Perth. Louis desired a renewal of the auld alliance and they mentioned that when Arran and Fleming were in France they had made a request that Albany should be sent to Scotland. The Ambassadors were therefore sent to enquire if this would be acceptable to the Scottish people.

Parliament's one voice agreed to the Alliance and said that Albany should be invited along with Robert Stewart of Audigny and all Scots who could get permission to come. If Albany did not come then they requested the King to send anyone else at his discretion and Robert Stewart to come "as said is", always provided that the King's will be kept as in James IV's will, he under Marquess of Bothwell and control.

Albany had then lost no time in putting forward his
November that there was constant intercourse between France and Scotland by way of Ireland, and that the Duke of Albany was going soon.

But now Henry VIII interfered in Scotch affairs reminding the Pope of the fact that at Flodden, Scotland was in opposition to the Holy League and the Papacy. Her Archbishop was slain in arms there, and he suggested the revocation of St Andrews once more within the jurisdiction of York. But Leo had other views on the question. He had a nephew, Innocenzo, the son of Maddalena de Medici, the Pope's sister and Francisco Cibo the son of Innocent VIII. This youth was only 21 but being related thus to two papal families it was necessary that some promotion should be given him. On September 23rd 1513 he was created a Cardinal and on Oct. 13th he was presented with the Archbishopric of St Andrews - a prize valued at 12,000 ducats. Yet when on November 3rd the Pope replied to a letter of the Scotch Estates, he promised to maintain the privileges of the national Church but did not dwell upon the provision of Cibo.

Albany's part in opposing the Papal programme was after ward to be an important one, and though his motives are open to disconstruction there is no doubt that without his skilful diplomacy the Pope might have succeeded in using Scotland's misfortune to increase the power of the Papacy. Whatever his attitude at this time to Rome, Albany was too busily occupied with/
with the thoughts of the Regency though it is proved he did nut write letters of recommendation.

In January 1514 a spy in France, reported to Wolsey that at Elois he had seen captains who had come for money to go with the Duke of Albany to Scotland. Louis himself was ill but Albany was at Elois and it was rumoured he was going shortly with a company of Almaynes. On January 26th the same spy saw at Honflete three galloys and 10 other ships preparing to sail with Albany. He also reported the death of Queen Anne. She was to be buried at St. Denis with her first husband Charles VIII. At this state funeral which was of surpassing splendour, at which an English spy reported all the nobility of France and Britteny was to be present, the Duke of Albany walked in procession at the head of the Ambassadors. Brantome gives the date as February 3rd 1514, but on the 27th an English spy wrote that the court is in mourning for the Queen who is to be buried on Friday. And the Scots Ambassador is mentioned as being at court, while Albany it is rumoured is to have 10,000 men for Scotland.

This ambassador was probably the one whom Epinelly from Brussels mentions as: "the man sent to Albany has gone to France, the ship which brought him to Flanders having run aground. No information could be obtained by the busy diplomat for the wily Scots threw all the letters into the sea."
In the same letter Spinel told Henry VIII that Balthazar Stewart a Savoyan the Pope's Secretary left on the 6th of February for Calais. With him went a Secretary of Cardinal Cibo the Pope's nephew, to take possession in Innocenzo's name of the Archbishopric of St Andrews. If they were met with refusal they had orders to interdict the land. Thus Leo was bent upon prosecuting his claim in spite of his promises of protecting all the privileges of the Scots Church.

The Pope's messengers travelled by way of England, but on April 6th Dacre reported that Balthazar had been refused admittance and detained at Coldingham until they knew his message, while Cibo's secretary was not permitted to cross the Border. Public indignation no doubt had vented itself against an Italian Archbishop forced upon them by a nepotistic Pope in defiance of the well-established customs of the land.

Meanwhile in Scotland what was happening? The country was distracted, deprived of many of its wisest counsellors, the prelates and the great lords, and the English Warden Dacre had his spys everywhere ready to turn every quarrel to his master's advantage. On the 16th March he reported that the "young lords are undecided". There had evidently been a reaction of feeling "if they get assurance of Albany's coming speedily they will send an ambassador to hinder it. If not they will despatch ambassadors after Easter. Not the Scots spirit was not crushed for on the very day Dacre/
Dacre wrote they raided the Border and burned five towns even coming within two miles of Berwick. Dacre believed they only awaited Albany's coming with his force of French and Danes to besiege it. Dacre reported that a bill for Albany's Restitution had been read in the Scottish Parliament which broke up on 5th April, in which was proposed the restitution of the Duke of Albany to all the lands and titles his father had forfeited. No decision was come to at this time, but it was afterwards passed. Dacre thinks that a Proposal of the Scots for embassy to England would only be to gain time until Albany's arrival which is daily expected and they have sent the Islay Herald to him by West Coast of Ireland. There must have been many messengers official and unofficial coming and going between Scotland and France at this time for a few days before Wallace, a servant of Albany's had landed at Leith and was very soon despatched again by Ireland.

While Albany's coming was so eagerly awaited what was he himself doing? Spinelly was growing more and more alarmed at the increase of French influence in Flanders. Albany took leave of Louis and went to Brittany to embark for Scotland. Where he is likely to be unpopular owing to the division of the country and his long residence in France. Along with Albany's name is coupled Formans. Be says the Bishop of Moray is at the French Court anxious to change his Bishopric. By the time Spinelly's letter was written 24th April, several important incidents had occurred in the papal controversy
When last we mentioned it the Pope seemed decided even at the
cost of interdicting Scotland to bestow St Andrews upon his
nephew. Now on April 11th we find him writing to Albany as
Governor and Regent and naming Forman for the Primacy of
Scotland. Forman was to resign Bourges in favour of Cito and
was in addition to St Andrews to receive some rich benefices.
Among these were Arbroath, Kelso, Dryburgh.

Now Spinelly mentions that Forman disliked the French who
had compelled him to give up Arbroath. On November 20th 1514
he formally yielded his rights in Arbroath to James, later
Earl of Moray, natural son of James IV, who had been studying
with
under Erasmus, and whom Albany no doubt was on intimate terms,
since he came to Scotland with him and one of the first
acts of Albany's Parliament was to get the Earldom conferred
upon him. It is evident from Spinelly's letter that Forman has
been trying to ingratiate himself with the English. "He is
anxious for peace with England except to put the royal children
in Henry's hands. He is waiting for a safe conduct to go to
Scotland by England." Spinelly cannot understand why Moray has
not gone with Albany to Brittany but perhaps "they do not agree
together". If Albany had been instrumental in depriving Forman of
a rich benefice, and if he had discovered the Archbishop's
trafficings with England, it is not strange that their relations
were far from cordial.

By June 5th, 1514, Albany's preparations were no further
advanced/
advanced, but his name was closely associated with that of Richard de la Pole. By 15th June they were still detained in Normandy as the French King was anxious for peace and had even written to England proposing a marriage alliance with the King's sister Mary. (There is also reported that the Pope's ambassadors left France on the 9th for England.)

On 1st July the news of the refusal of the Council to accept Cibo has been communicated to Spinelly who informed Henry. A Secretary of the Emperor has also been in Scotland to see the Queen whom the "Emperor would gladly have in marriage". The Bishop of Moray is negotiating the exchange for Bourges. The whole question of the Archbishopric is so intimately bound up with Albany's position both in Scotland and in reference to the Papacy that we may be pardoned if we digress for a moment.

On June 22nd Margaret wrote to the Pope urging the appointment of her nominee - still probably Elphinstone, but by August the danger of Cibo's appointment merited a letter from the Estates. In this the privileges of the Scottish Kings are set out in a dignified fashion. Innocent VIII had granted by a Bull of 1568 the privilege of allowing all benefices of one 200 ducats to remain vacant 8 months, until the King should nominate some one to it. The Estates pointed out that as the King was young he could not nominate, but still the privilege ought to be maintained for the clergy as the
the first Estate of the Realm had a very large say in the
Government of the country, and moreover, the Archbishop
of St Andrews has usually the custody of the King. They
therefore formally nominated once more Elphinstone to
St Andrews, George of Holyrood to Aberdeen,
Patrick of Cambuskenneth to Holyrood,
Cambuskenneth to Bishop of Caithness,
Dunfermline to James Hepburn,
Inchaffray to Alexander Stewart.
Glenhead to the Bishop of Baysmore.
Coldingham to David Hume,
while what is most noticeable is that Gavin Douglas is
nominated for Arbroath, although Albany in France had pre-
vailed upon Forman to give it up to the Earl of Moray.
Letters were written at the same time to three Cardinals
one almost certainly to Jibou. That the Scots were fully
determined to defend their privileges is witnessed by a
significant clause: "Namque causa nostra vincat
domi tamen victor est abimus."

Under such circumstances relations between the Pope
and Scotland could not but strained. Since his nephew's
cause seemed hopeless, there was only one way in which he
might vindicate his authority and that was by supporting
his own nominee namely Forman, who was not supported by
any faction in Scotland.

And factions there were many in Scotland, so much so
that on 10th July 1514 the lords of Council had found it necessary to contradict the rumours that there was any ill feeling amongst them—rumour which had induced many to break the low thinking there was no settled Government. On 12th July a formal bond was drawn up and signed by Margaret, Beaton, Huntley, Angus Crawford, Arran, Lennox, Merton, Gavin Douglas and Glencarn. "We are content to stand in ane mind and concern with all the lords, to pleasure of the King's grace and your grace". But within a few weeks this bond was to be broken. On the 6th August the day after the letters of protest were written to the Pope, Margaret married by Archibald Douglas. The Lords went to Dunfermline and declared that her marriage she had forfeited the regency. Beaton and Hume were eager for Albany's arrival. Pitcito gives a picturesque account of this meeting though he says "It was held in Edinburgh". Hume said neither Angus nor Arran had a right to the regency. It was Albany to whom the authority should go. To this the Chancellor Beaton objected that as a Frenchman he would not understand the laws and nominated Arran and Lennox. To this Hume replied sharply that if Albany did not come shortly, he would go to France for him himself. It was ultimately agreed to summon Albany and subscribe his election as Governor. Hume was first to sign and it was arranged to send their communication by Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.

On August 26th the Council met and an arrangement was arrived/
arrived at between the two parties between Gavin Douglas, Lord Drummond and Ogilvy on the one side, and Bishop of Argyle, the Chamberlain, the Abbot of Holyrood and the Archdeacon of St Andrews on the other. They agreed that the Queen's grace with consent of her husband and her lords shall consent that my Lord Duke of Albay as Governor of Scotland be send now incontinent for in all haste. She was to sign the letter and cease to use the "pertinence" of the Crown until 12th Sept. so that the lords might decide if she had the right to them. The Great Seal was to be delivered to the Archdeacon of St Andrews by the 12th, while Gavin Douglas was to have the keys of the Great Seal. There seems here to have been an attempt to achieve a fair and satisfactory conclusion of the quarrel. Alexander Stewart, and Patrick Hamilton asked that the Lords instruct the Secretary to write to the Duke of Albany, him in ye superscription Governor of Scotland.

Meanwhile an international peace had been concluded which was naturally to affect Albany's coming to Scotland. On the 7th August Louis XII made peace with England—the last to be reconciled of the powers who had entered the League him.

On 14th September Louis took his oath to the treaty and the Duke of Albany was present to witness it with Valois Bourbon and Orleans. Albany's departure thus seemed as remote as ever but the Scots now began to look upon him definitely as their Governor for on September 18th the Lords
in Council authorized letters under the Great Seal to the Duke of Albany Governor "to desire at the King of France all munitions permitted to the realm of Scotland baith in time of peace and war - money, artillerie and all munitions, in and especiall our ships and artillery in them, to be delivered to the Duke as Governor. They also authorized a letter to him urging him "to come home to this realm of Scotland in all possible haste for defence of the same and for good reule to be put and kept in ye said realm in all parts". Albany was also authorized by the same Council to present to the most Christian King, the compréhension of Scotland in the late treaty with England which was now sent under the Great Seal, yet at the same time to try and to improve the conditions for Scotland. The compréhension it seemed to them seemed to imply rather war than peace and Albany was authorized to receive all the help the King of France granted both for peace and war especially war. This letter to Albany was signed by practically all the Lords with the exception of the Angus party who were now through Gavin Douglas protesting against the jurisdiction of the Chancellor. The Council however decided that the queen was no longer owing to her marriage.

D.C.

By October the quarrel was becoming obtrusive. On the 24th of the month the Lords disowned her authority. She commended a Parliament for 20th November at Perth. The Council proclaimed that the
Real Parliament was that called by Lords for the 17th in Edinburgh. By the 34th October also the good Bishop Elphinston was dead and the Council at once foresaw the dangers which would follow. They prohibited anyone negotiating without the King and Council's licence and letter of commendation. They were determined as ever that their privileges should remain intact.

Meanwhile where was the Governor? He was back once more at Court as we have seen witnessing Louis' Oath and on the 9th October he was present at the marriage of Princess Mary and Louis, and on the 5th of November when Mary was crowned, the Duke of Brittany led her in procession while before her walked the greatest nobles in France i.e. the Dukes of Alençon, Bourton, Longueville and Albany. He was not, however, amid the gaiety of the Court celebrations, forgetting his interests in Scotland. The Council was doing its best to come to some agreement with the Queen and sent black and grey Liliers to Linlithgow to meet with the Queen's representatives to assure her that their proceedings in depriving her of government were within the law of the land, that none of the Lords were seeking their own advancement, and that the "Duke Governor" had written to instruct them to "offer all good wais to the Queen and Lords with her." All they desired was that the business should be left in the Chamberlain's hands until the Governor's arrival. Everything would come right if only the Queen and her friends would come to the Parliament in Edinburgh.
Edinburgh in "sober manner".

On the 20th November 1514 an interesting transaction took place before the Council. Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, appeared as representing his brother the Bishop of Moray and Antoine D'Arcos, Sieur de la Bastil as representing Albany. In accordance with letters received from Forman and Albany, the Dean, at the Command of the Council was to surrender the Castle of Dunbar of which Moray was keeper, with all its munitions, artillery etc. "on the 6th December to D'Arcos who was to enter without farther delay. If the Governor did not come before Easter "Dorsio" promised to restore the Castle within eight days of Easter at the command of the Lords. Arran and Alexander Hume the Chamberlain stood surety for the contract.

This proceeding shows us that within the interval when Spinelly wrote "they did not agree well" Forman and Albany had become reconciled.

The Pope in consistory on November 13th was busy arranging the exchange of St. Andrews and Bourges. Louis XII had probably objected to Cibo and was insisting upon the Appointment of Antoine Echer. The Pope annulled any Chapter elections which might have taken place in St Andrews and then bestowed it on Forman who also got permission to retain Moray. The Cardinal Eusebius ceded to Forman some rights in Minstermoly and consistory then bestowed Bourges on Cibo, Forman/
Forman getting a pension. Later Cibc resigned as Echo, obtaining the usual pension. It was to the Pope's interests to support Forman without reference to Henry VIII or Margaret. Albany's relations with Forman are rather puzzling.

On November 20th James Stewart (James IV's son) was nominated to Arbroath (which Forman had obtained from the Pope), and a few days later the Pope desired Gavin Douglas to yield to Stewart within six days. Forman's position was still precarious even though it was strengthened by a decree in Consistory. Since Elphinstone's death, Gavin Douglas had been nominated by Margaret while John Hepburn had obtained election by the Chapter, and by the 23rd November was besieging Gavin Douglas in St Andrews Castle, and succeeded in expelling him.

On December 6th Leo wrote in a determined style to Margaret stating that he had received her letter of 22nd June urging the appointment of her candidate (really Elphinstone) and urging the Scotch benefices to be given to nominees of the Queen and Council. He had the interest of Scotland at heart and had thought of appointing his nephew for a closer bond with Scotland. But he had deferred to the request for a Scots Archbishop and has therefore given it to Forman. He has also made him Legate a latere. This was ratified on December 10th by a decree in Consistory. The Pope promised to observe the privileges of the Scots would acquiesce in the Papal decision on this point. This was his final decision.
From mention in other letters we learn that Forman had been supported by letters from the King of France and from Albany. It is doubtful whether this would be a violation of privilege since Albany was really in a position to distribute Royal patronage. Everything now seemed to point to the early departure of both Albany and Forman, the one to the highest temporal position, the other to the highest spiritual. England France and Scotland were at peace; there could be no reasonable objection to Albany's going yet Henry's agents had instructions to do their utmost to prevent it.

On the 18th November 1514, Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk wrote to Wolsey telling him how Albany had come to his lodging and said that the King of France had commissioned him to speak with him. Louis had advised him to go to Scotland to mediate between the opposing factions for a peace which would be in Henry's honour. To avert suspicion of his motives he was to leave his wife in France and travel by England. He said he intended to return as soon as possible "for he must go over the mountains". Suffolk replied that he had no commission to grant permission in Henry's name. The French Council had also approached the other Ambassador West who had agreed with Suffolk to do all he could to prevent the proposed journey.

Albany was evidently at this time in accordance with
Louis' policy endeavouring to maintain his position in Scotland without irritating the English. Messengers were still coming and going between him and the Scots for on the 23rd November, Margaret writing to her brother reported the danger which her supporter Adam Williamson suffered from shipwreck along with three other Scots ships which left before him with the Lyon Herald and other messengers sent by the Adverse Lords to Albany with letters under the Great Seal which they "detain and use as Kings".

Again a few days later Dacre reported that nothing had been heard of the Lyon Herald who went to France last September. It is feared he is drowned. In the Exchequer Rolls of 1515 the expenses of the Lyon King are paid out of the customs of Edinburgh - "the last time he went to France and suffered shipwreck". He had evidently made more than one journey to the Governor.

Dacre also tells of a Herald named "March" who came from France for ratification of the comprehension. Arran thought that it should probably be left to Albany to do as he pleased.

The Duke is also claiming Dunbar as part of the Earldom of March.

Whatever Albany's hopes may have been, they must have received a rude setback when Louis at Clermont promised to the English Ambassadors, Suffolk and Dorset, that neither he nor the Bishop of Moray should be sent to Scotland. If mediator there was, it should be "but one in a long gown of no great estimation"
Such was the position of affairs when Louis XII died worn out it is said by his elderly efforts to please the young English Queen, on 1st January 1515. Francis of Anjou was the heir apparent and succeeded at once. On the 25th of January, Francis was consecrated king in Paris. In the procession amid the nobility of France, the Duke of Albany was conspicuous, richly dressed in white satin embroidered in silver. He also wore a splendid girdle encrusted with jewels. His mantle was also embroidered in silver "Sub umbra alium lucern," and altogether his bonnet was of white velvet with white plumes. He must indeed have been a splendid figure. Indeed the Duke seems to have had somewhat expensive tastes which in later years the Scots were not slow to grumble at.

Before Albany's preparations were far advanced he was already appealed to by an arbitrator in "quarrels of Churchmen. George Brown, the Bishop of Dunkeld was dying and the Earl of Atholl with unseemly haste set the Chapter to elect his brother Andrew Stewart to the approaching vacancy." Albany was informed of this, but he refused to do anything in the matter until he arrived in Scotland; he probably felt that his troubles there would not be far to seek and he had already committed himself perhaps too far in the affairs/
affairs of St Andrews. On January 14th the old Bishop died, and a few days later Gavin Douglas announced that he too was a candidate and wrote to Adam Williamson to ask him to obtain for him Henry's favour. The Douglas party was obviously looking with apprehension for the coming of the Duke, and had even contemplated carrying off the Royal children to England before his arrival. This Douglas Churchman hoped maliciously that the promotion which the Bishop of Moray had obtained with the assistance of Albany would bring them both into disrepute. Henry, he thought, should see that the "Bishop of Moray nor yon Duke should not steal thither as did John Sauchie Forman's secretary" who published the Bulls of St Andrews in Edinburgh on the 16th January mainly it would seem, by the means and under the protection of the Humes on the promise of Holyrood for one of their family.

An English messenger to the queen was satisfied that the Lords would league against the election of the Bishop of Moray and if the Duke took his part he would be the worse received. It thus seemed that there was feeling in England and Scotland that Forman and Albany had trafficked for Papal support and they seemed to be so connected in the public mind that it would be a case of "both or/ neither".

A glimpse of the distracted state of the country may be caught from a letter of James English, the English messenger. "On Thursday Lord Hamilton set an ambush of 600
to slay Angus coming from Glasgow from the Earl of Lennox. He
failed and is now trying to besiege Angus. Lennox has taken
Dunbarton and everyman is taking what abbeys he can. The
ecclesiastical quarrels kind echo in the Council. On the
25th January James Hepburn postulate of Arbroath appeared
and stated how though he was nominated by the Queen and Council
yet the Bishop of Moray has purchased most of the benefices vacan
after Flodden and he appealed to them to defend the King's
privileges. Robert Forman defended his brother the Archbishop
of St Andrews and legate by saying that though he had purchased
them it was only to keep Italians out. Once more it was decided
that this difficult problem should be remitted to Albany while
the Chamberlain moved that whatever Albany commanded in his
letters should be fulfilled. The militant Postulate of
Dunfermline however the next day moved that the Bulls brought
by John Sauchie should " ceis from execution and an act passed
against purchase of benefices contrary to King's privileges".
To this the Lords wisely gave no definite answer. Henry's
influence was meanwhile at work and as the result of pressure
on his part, Leo with unaccountable though doubtless diplomatic
fickleness agreed to revoke the Commission of legatine authority
which he had granted to Forman, yet Leo at the same time had
instructed Forman in the interests of peace to return to
England if he obtained a safe conduct.

Perhaps it was owing to Henry's influence that a Pseudo
Council meeting was held at St Andrews in early March which
John Hepburn the belligerent prior organized and which proclaimed Forman and exile and a traitor.

Leslie says an attack on Spynie Castle the Episcopal Palace was arranged but the meetings or decisions of this Council were not chronicled. Huntly, Crawford, Errol, Hepburn, Gavin Douglas and Beaton and Arran were present and in the incident probably marks a reaction against both Albany and Forman. The result of it was letters to the College of Cardinals in which they stated that Forman had tried to subvert the ancient privileges of the Scottish Kings and obtained letters from the King of France and our cousin the Duke of Albany aiming at the palaces and highest offices. They urged the Pope to dismiss his claims and restore the ancient privileges as he was unworthy of any benefice.

The English King was using every means in his power to detain Albany in France and he seemed to be fairly successful for on 3rd February 1515 the English Ambassadors reported that the Duke was not going to sea nor did he intend to go, but was at court. Francis was desirous of placating Henry during his Italian campaign. Wingfield and Suffolk however did not give absolute credence to Francis' assurance but sent their spies to work and on 3rd March they sent a messenger to Wolsey who claimed to be the pilot of the Great St Michael and took La Hotte to Scotland. He says he knew which way Albany was to pass and the havens on West Coast he was likely to land at.

It must have been about this time or perhaps as Toulon places /
it, a little earlier about January that Francis sent Johan de Planis ambassador to Scotland with the assurance of the King's desire to preserve the old alliance which he has empowered his cousin of Albany to ratify. He intended that Francis was sending with the Duke of Albany to help and advice them; Louis XII had been compelled to make peace with England when attacked all at once by Spain, the Emperor, the Swiss and England, but such a thing had never been done before without consulting the Scots. He proposed to send an embassy to England to continue the peace including Scotland. If the English refused them, the French would ally with the Scots for mutual defence. Francis had commissioned Albany to ask to have the younger brother of the King of Scotland educated in France.

Anticipation of a firm government under a Regent with a powerful Monarch backing him must have seemed a remote possibility to many in the stormy days through which Scotland was passing, yet the hope was skilfully kept alive. On 15th March, Magnus reported that there was no doubt Albany was coming for Sandy Jardine (afterwards Albany's Controller of the household) had arrived from France boasting of Albany's speedy arrival. Welsey's spies were ever watchful, and Spinelly (through the Flanders Ambassador) obtained his information from all quarters. By means of Albany he said the French would aid the Chamberlain's party in Scotland and James Ogilvy Albany's servant was already in Scotland with Hume. The financiers Fossebaldii and Cualterretti heard that the
the Duke was at Rouen and that Robert Barton (the future 
Controller) and other pirates were ready at Hesflete to sail 
with him whom he chose. The Bishop of Moray had made it 
known that he would attend Albany who was reported to be sailing 
on the 1st of April with 400 men at arms and 4000 foot. He 
had been chartering vessels in Holland ever. That Hume was 
sagely awaiting the Governor's arrival may be gauged from 
a curious letter of Christopher Coo, captain of the Lizard 
who captured in the Firth of Forth a small boat in which 
where six Scots sent out by the Lord Hume from Fastcastle, 
thinking that the ship was a French vessel returning with 
the Duke of Albany. The Lord Hume (how Lord Warden) and 
Angus were upon rather strained terms, but there was no 
outbreak as yet. Nearly all the ships of Scotland had gone to 
France to fetch the Lord Protector who it was reported was 
coming with Robert Barton in the Great Michael along with the 
"James and the Margaret" (part of the once great Scots fleet). 

How great was the importance attached by the English 
King to this Scottish Governor may be understood when the 
English Ambassadors were instructed to offer Francis peace 
for both lives and comprehension of the Scots if he would 
promise not to send the Duke of Albany to Scotland. Francis 
however was obdurate. He had promised the Scots and could not 
now retract though he pledged himself to see that he did 
nothing contrary to the welfare of the Royal children or 
their mother. Francis reiterated what Albany had told
Suffolk some months before, that he was going to appease the variance of the realm and if he did not accomplish this within three or four months, Francis would bring his subject home again. Albany, he said, was needed immediately if he was not there within 15 days a good opportunity would be gone so that by no means could they persuade him to postpone the Duke's departure. So it happened that on 2nd April at 5 o'clock Albany departed towards Orleans thence to Tours and so to Bretagne (St Male), and when the Ambassadors remonstrated against Francis sending money and artillery, they were silenced by the reply that Francis was doing no more than he was bound by treaty to do.

Wingfield could but pray that the said unhappy Duke be not the occasion of too great evil and inconvenience.

It was known that the Bishop of Moray had a commission from the Pope to proceed to Scotland with Albany; on the 2nd April he was at Lyons with money borrowed at Rome in expectation of a hasty departure. In an interview which the English ambassadors had on the 6th April with the French Chancellor Du Frest over the Queen Dowager's dowry and expenses the affairs of Scotland came under discussion. The Chancellor said that the King of France had no security that his old friends would be safe unless Albany went. To this the English asserted that the Scots could declare themselves comprehended in the Treaty of Franco and England within three months during...
during which time Henry would do nothing against them. The
Chancellor made a counter proposal that if Francis postponed
Albany's departure, Henry should give no countenance to his
sister's party, while Suffolk should remain as a guarantee.
The Ambassadors however had no power to sanction such an
arrangement and pointed out that if Francis sent aid by Albany
to one party the King of England would send as much assistance to
his sister. The idea of the Duke as independent mediator seems
to have given place to one as being the French representative.
The Chancellor also mentioned some preparations for a ship to
attack Scotland, but of this the envoys professed themselves
ignorant. If any such ship there was they openly admitted
it would be to intercept the Duke of Albany, this aspect
would seem to be an independent agent acting with permission of
a supposedly neutral power, and the two ideas are being
constantly interchanged.

Suffolk in the meantime had married the Queen Dowager
Mary and while they were at Mass, Francis came in to tell them
that he had "stopped Albany's going and would send another
ambassador through England - Henry to see his instructions".
As for the treaty the Scots and French would be included
within three months, not one without the other.

In spite of this Royal resolve, Albany seems to have
continued his preparations and Spinozzi writing from Flanders
reported he had gone home to take leave of his wife. Dorman
by this time had arrived in Paris and had gone to meet the
Duke and "whatever the King (Henry) does for the beggarly Scots, the Duke will labout to undo."

Yet on 21st April, West heard that Francis had had a letter from Albany who was still delayed at St Malo afraid to depart on account of the English vessels patrolling the coast. On the 21st also Spinelly wrote to Henry that the Unicorn Herald had come to Flanders, returning to Scotland with a message that Albany would take ship at St Malo.

Contrary to expectation the Bishop of Moray had returned to Paris and no one knew what he will do. Had he quarrelled once more with Albany? Certain it is that Forman was at this time trying to gain the English favour. Henry had shown himself an uncompromising enemy and had obtained the revocation of Forman's legacy. Yet he (Forman) had paid a visit to Rome in the interval and on April 22nd Lec wrote a curious letter expressing his regret at Lec's choice of a nuncio and legate. Forman let Spinelly know probably through "a Scots priest named Barry that he was desirous of peace and that if he can obtain a safe conduct from Henry he will secretly commune with such persons as Henry shall appoint. He did not obtain his safe conduct, or the English favour, and lost of a time the friendship of Albany. Albany after many delays at last set sail though the precise date of his sailing can only be conjectured. He arrived at Ayr on the 16th May 1515 and finally anchored at Dunbarton.
Dunbarton on the 18th and his actual Regency in Scotland had begun. So eager were the Lords to welcome him that many took the oath of allegiance to him when on boardship. He remained a few days in Glasgow for on May 22nd we wrote to Francis that before his arrival the Scots Council on 4th May had agreed to be included in the comprehension of the treaty made between England and France on 5th April. He now as Protector signified his approbation of the act Leslie tells how the Duke - a prince endowed with all virtues softened all the bitterness of the realm and was conveyed everywhere by the nobility of the West. Then on the 26th of May he arrived in Edinburgh where he was joyfully received by the burgesses who entertained him according to Leslie with comedies.

On the 30th of May the Council was summoned. The Duke was aware of the pressing nature of the many problems with which he was faced and lost no time in meeting them. "Domino gubernatore praesente" it was decided that Parliament should be summoned on 12th July and all having complaints had to present them to the Governor. The following day the attention of the Governor was directed to foreign affairs and it was agreed to send Ambassadors to the Pope and Denmark. Albany's energetic conduct seemed to have roused the hopes of the despondent patriots. On the very day he arrived in Edinburgh he caused a well known thief Peter Moffat to be executed and his head was stuck up on the Tolbooth.

Of the immediate problems which confronted him the most important...
important from Albany's point of view for the strengthening of his own position and statutory recognition of his powers.

(2) The most pressing from the Scots' point of view, was the Papal question as exemplified in the case of St Andrews and there was much in this which vitally affected Albany's position.

(3) There was the question of factions to be considered.

Albany was backed by the majority of the Lords but the Douglas feeling ran high though at first the Queen seemed reconciled to Albany's coming.

Albany's position could not be definitely settled until Parliament met. This was not to be till 13th July. In the meantime the Governor was busy at the ordinary affairs of state, presiding regularly at throughout June at the Council meetings, which were held in Holyrood House - a palace which had been repaired and preparing for his residence some time before his arrival. The Treasurer's Accounts show the expenses for glaziers and joiners employed in the work.

The Council dealt for the most part with the question of St Andrews, which we shall deal with later. But, Albany accustomed the Scots to the idea of himself as administrator and final Judge in the settlement of small Border troubles connected with the ransoms of Scots captured in recent raids or even as far back as Flodden.

On 23rd June he dealt with some petty slander cases, while the
the same day the question of the coinage came under consideration and it was decreed that all false money coiners were to be punished. No one was to coin without the Lord Governor's consent and a strict inquiry was to be made.

On the 25th of June the Governor was arbitrator in a curious case. Andrew Sibbald asked remission of John, Bishop of the Isles, Treasurer of Glasgow, whom Beaton alleged was a wolf judge. "The said John seems to have objected very strongly to the insinuation made by Beaton that his mother's brother was hanged."

With such bickering was the Supreme Council of the realm distract:

Other business of more national importance was also done however and on 28th June in the presence of the Governor, the Council ratified the sale of the "Kingis Groit Ship", the St Michael with all her tackling and artillery, which Albany had negotiated on behalf of the Scots with Antoine Du Prêet, the French Chancellor on 2nd April 1514. Letters under the Great Seal were given in James' name sanctioning the bargain. For the vessel which had been James IV's pride the Scots were to receive 40,000 francs to be paid to the "Illustrious Duke" within four years by instalments of 10,000 francs the first payment to be the following Christmas.

The Queen we learn mainly from the Correspondence of Balthasar Stewart the Papal envoy who had been detained in Scotland
Scotlands till the Duke's arrival, was on good terms with Albany who was making lavish promises and it is probably to this period that the curious letter written by Margaret belongs in which she asks Francis I to help her son and the Duke of Albany, regent of the Kingdom against the King of England, Lord Drummond, the Earl of Angus uncle came in to Council on 23th June and offered his allegiance but the Douglases were spending their strength in contests for the Archbishopsric. Angus did not attend the Council, but Albany was taking no risks. Drummond was arrested on a charge of striking the Lyon Herald before Albany's coming. The Lyon King in Council on 11th July moved that since Drummond was accused of treason, he should be removed from the keeping of the King, and the old lord was sent to Leith in ward of James Logan until the 16th of July, when he would appear to answer his accusations, but in the mean time no one was to hold any communication with him without Albany's permission.

Albany's desire for official recognition at home and abroad is seen by the letter sent to the Pope not in connec-
tion with Papal quarrel but as a formal intimation on behalf of the King and Estates authorized in Council on 3rd July that Scotland had chosen the Duke of Albany protector and Governor. He has now arrived 18th May. He was wanted by the all three Estates and came with consent of all including the Queen. The Power is rightly his by birth as next...
next in blood. All the Lords have made homage to him and the Pope is asked to receive his ambassadors as the King's. There was a rumour current that the King of England was naming himself Protector, but this was not true and the Pope was therefore warned not to receive any English applicants for Scottish benefices. Christina of Denmark was also duly informed of Albany's arrival, and Albany's first public Act was to ratify the comprehension in his position as Protector accepted by the Council as the national leader and president; there only remained the Parliament to give its final sanction to his authority. He showed that he knew the value for the commons of Edinburgh of the Pomp of the Riding to Parliament. And on the 11th in answer to his question what insignia he was to have the Lords decreed he is to "wear the mantle of a Duke, the coronet of a Duke, the sceptre in sign of Regiment and government of the realm and the sword in sign of justice". He had all the regalia with the exception of the Crown.

Albany was declared Regent and Guardian in the Parliament of 12th July, but little was done except to put down the thefts and crimes which were so prevalent. Albany's recognition and statutory statement of his position did not come till November 1516. On 13th November of that year, Parliament dealt with the divorce of Albany's father and Catherine Sinclair his first wife on the ground of propinquity by the Official of Lothian, John Otterburn in 1487. Parliament decreed that/
that "an excellent prince John Duke of Albany to be the only natural and lawful son of his father. He is the second person of the realm" and failing James and his heirs is the heir apparent. Alexander Comemdate of Inchaffray the eldest son of the first marriage was therefore with his own assent declared bastard and renounced all claim to in the family.
CHAPTER III.

ALBANY, ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

Albany was now safely established in Scotland accepted by a majority of the leading men. His relations with those nobles important as they are to the student of the party politics of Scotland, must yield precedence to foreign affairs, for Scotland was in danger of extinction after the disaster of Flodden, with a powerful English Monarch, wealthy, and ruler of a United England to defend herself against. Margaret, the Queen Dowager was a typical Tudor, sensuous and greedy. She never probably was a Scotswoman at heart and she had joined herself by marriage to the young Earl of Angus, the head of the Douglas faction which represented the English interest in Scotland. The most important question then for Scotland as at all times was the menace of England. Henry had already shown his hand in an attempt to subjugate St Andrews to York, and it was more than probable that he would extend his claim of suzerainty to the temporal power as well. Since Flodden there had been no absolute truce and though Henry had often protested that all he desired was to protect his nephew, yet the Scots all knew and dreaded what that "protection" meant. They had already protested against his nominating to Scottish benefices in that capacity. England and France were by this time formally at peace and Scotland after long delay had consented to be included in the comprehension presented to her Council by M. de Villebrose May 15th 1515.

They
They as French Allies and the Prince of Castile as an English ally were given three months in which to notify their acceptance of the Treaty of Louvain 5th April 1515, though they believed that the comprehension looked more like war than peace. Scotland, England and France were thus at peace but as we saw England realized the danger of Albany's presence as likely to upset the English party's schemes. Henry had a splendid opportunity of interfering "for the sake of his sister's dignity", and even in January there had been suggestions to "rescue" the Queen and the Royal children. Balthazar Stewart, the Papal Nuncio, who had remained a year in Scotland waiting for Albany's arrival, on his return by way of England, was able to assure Henry that the question of the Queen's position was to receive first consideration in Albany's Parliament. All Henry could do then when Albany sent him formal notice of his arrival, was to assent to Scotland's inclusion in the peace of Louvain, although as he said he had been fully prepared to invade, but he resolutely refused to recognize Albany's title to the Regency. "The position belonged by right to his sister".

Francis never quite know whether to call Albany his subject or not, but at least strained relations became increasingly apparent between England and France over Albany; indeed Wolsey told the Venetian ambassador that Francis had ceased communication and was treating Englishmen as enemies. The English were not slow to circulate suggestions.
suggestions that Albany would never rest till he had accomplished the destruction of the Queen and Prince and made himself King. This was the ever present fear of Henry pretended or not. A French Regent was bad, but a French King would be infinitely worse and the fear increased Henry's pious regard for his "nephew's welfare, though the thought of himself as Lord Protector was by no means repugnant.

He exclaimed time and again against the crime of removing James to France but he did all in his power to bring him to England. Henry's pious affections were extremely elastic.

If Margaret had been steadfast and cautious, the English influence stood a good chance of winning. England was after all much nearer in every way to Scotland than France was, but Margaret complicated matters by assenting to the Regency and receiving Albany graciously. English diplomacy however soon made her wish she had "kept to her old "friends". Her fears were farther aroused when Gavin Douglas, her husband's uncle, was imprisoned in the Sea Tower of St Andrews, for no other reason than that he was promoted to Dunkeld by the Queen's and Henry's letters. Feeling against England ran high and the Queen's party's shallow reconciliation did not seem to be of much avail. Lord Drummond, her husband's uncle was removed from Stirling Castle in which the princes were kept as one of the strongholds belonging to their mother as her dowry, and she appealed once
once more to her brother and Lord Dacre, the English Warden of West Marches to assist her. The latter had his spies everywhere; Albany's authority was of no avail unless he could govern in the name of the King and this was impossible as long as the King's person was in the custody of a faction dealing with England. History had shown in the minorities of James II and James III that the faction which held the King was able to rule at will, appointing the Lords of the Articles from its own members while Parliament such as it was confirmed and ratified the "Articles" as it was commanded.

Parliament in July agreed to appoint eight Lords, four of which were sent to Stirling to the Queen who was to select three. This would at least ensure that there would be no absolute Anglophiles guarding the King. This was the occasion of the dramatic tableaux, which Margaret organized with such fine stage effect. The two Princes appeared at the Castle gate with their nurses, while the Queen took upon herself the role of injured motherhood, dropped the portcullis and refused to receive the ambassadors. She proposed her own supporters Angus, Earl Marischal, Sir Robert Lauder and none — who had by this time defaulted from Governor owing it is said to Albany's jest as to his stature. Both sides realized the importance of the question. Albany by insisting upon it was definitely declaring himself against the English party and involving himself in a dispute which was to determine his whole attitude to England. It looked as if civil war would
ensue, but Angus deserted Stirling and George Douglas, his brother, fled to the Bonhill Castle, while Hume, ordered to arrest him, refused and fled to Newark. How England was concerned is revealed by the fact that it was the wily Lord Dacres who at the bidding of Wolsey was stirring up this struggle, Angus against Albany and Albany against Hume.

The possibility of armed intervention was not far from Dacres' mind when he said that Stirling could hold out against the Duke's forces until he heard from the English Council what he was to do and he urged Henry to send money in case of war, and remonstrate with Albany by a Herald. Dacres had even arranged with Angus and Hume to ride to Stirling with 16 horse and carry off the princes before the Duke began the siege on 4th August.

It is little wonder then that the Duke proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh that peace would only endure as long as France kept truce with England. At the same time Dacres insinuated that the Duke was aiming at the crown for the late comprehension only mentioned "the King of Scots" and not by name, and perhaps King Johann might be substituted for King James. One of the terms of this comprehension was that it should be broken if there occurred a raid by more than 300 persons.

When the English hopes of successful resistance were disappointed and the Douglases fled at Albany's approach with/
with "most of the temporal Lords to the number of 7000", Dacre pointed out to Henry two alternatives (1) sending an ambassador for peace or (2) stirring up war by means of the Warden Hume who could keep out Albany from the Borders and at the same time means might be found "by policy" for him to invade England with over 300 men so that the breach might seem to come from the Scots. A constant correspondence was kept up between Angus, Dacre and Hume, but the Englishman placed more faith in Hume who was provisioning East Castle to annoy the Duke and flee to England if he were pressed too hard. Angus on the other hand though dwelling near the Chamberlain seems to have earned Dacre's contempt by "the childhood that he uses".

The Queen had thus been compelled to give way; again her sense of the dramatic came into play with the surrender to the Duke of the King's Keys of Stirling Castle while she herself implored his favour for herself, the King and her husband.

To disarm all suspicion of his motives and to give the English King no excuse for maligning him, Albany in the presence of the Council, back once more in Edinburgh took a new oath of fidelity to the King and Duke of Ross, promising to defend them with his person and goods and all the friends he can purchase", and swearing to maintain justice "in safer as is possible during the time of his office". The lieges were immediately summoned to be ready.
ready to proceed against Hume.

But Albany was evidently anxious that no absolute breach with England should occur at that particular time for he could hope for no assistance from Francis who was just then crossing the Alps in that campaign in which the Swiss prestige was lost at Marignano and Bayard, Da Palice and Z Trivulzio won undying fame.

Thus throughout August Albany and Dacre continued the usual business of Border negotiations, by heralds and messengers, for redress, and Albany could assure Dacre that the order for assembly on the Border was not as Dacre suspected against Berwick but merely to march against Hume and when Past Castle had been surrendered to seek out traitors and generally pacify the country. Meetings of commissioners were arranged, and Albany seemed to be trying his best to escape from a difficult situation.

But Henry was not satisfied with this. He wrote a peremptory letter to Francis complaining (1) of the capture of English vessels pretending to be Scots, (2) of Albany's conduct in assuming the Government and taking the royal children from the Queen, especially since Francis had promised he should not go to Scotland at all. Henry accused him also of stirring up the Scots contrary to the comprehension which Henry would never have agreed to, if he had not thought the Scots would send ambassadors to him, since it was not in the/
the terms of the comprehension that Albany should enter Scotland. Henry attributed to Francis the responsibility for any danger to the Scottish King and the letters became threatening in the demands for Mary's claim to the Jewels and Plate of Louis XII.

Henry VIII was plainly chagrined by the surrender of the Princes to Albany and wrote sharply to Margaret who was now of the opinion that she and Albany were really on the same side. She assured her brother that the custody of the princes was deputed to three Lords whom she herself had received and accepted. The Queen Dowager had either a great power of making the best of the situations she found herself in, or the personal persuasions of Albany were of more avail than the remonstrances of her brother. Albany knew the power of flattery when through his agency letters arrived from the French King asking her influence in keeping the peace between the two countries. Henry was evidently determined that the Scots should send Ambassadors for peace since the situation from his point of view was changed.

Since the time of the comprehension, Albany expressed himself to the Queen willing - even to go himself, but Dacre raised the question to Henry that if ambassadors were not sent, letters of approval should be written to Hume to induce the Scots to desert Albany who would thus be compelled to submit. Dacre was now growing more insistent that certain Border/
Border murderers should be surrendered to the English Warden. The date for the meeting of commissioners had been fixed for 31st August and if they were not then surrendered, the comprehension was ended. The English were obviously trying to pick a quarrel even going so far as to outlaw Dacre's brother that he might join Hume in ravaging the country and compelling Albany to make terms. Albany's commissioners, William Scott, Patrick Lindsay and Robert Lauder were delayed by floods which retarded Albany's letters and did not keep their day at Coldstream though they wrote explanatory letters offering to give another rendezvous. The English however did not insist on this. Diplomacy was taking a different direction. The fickle Margaret had changed once more and to excuse her lapse she said that any letter written by her to Henry had not been signed "your loving sister" and therefore Henry would understand that no credit was to be given to it - it had been forced upon her. Margaret had rather a habit of doing this kind of thing and the real reason for her change of policy may be found in the sentence, "though Albany has given her fair words she has not yet had a penny of her conjunct fee".

This led Dacre to consider the ignominious position in which he could place the Duke if it could be said he had driven the Queen Dowager by his ill treatment out of Scotland.
Scotland to seek refuge with the generous King Henry. He accordingly used every persuasion to induce her to leave Edinburgh and come to the tower of Elsinore, whence he would convey her to England. She was to pretend sickness and go to Linlithgow, thence with her husband to meet the Chamberlain and go to Elsinore. The plan succeeded and Margaret and Angus remained in the Castle some time while, through their information, Villebremme carrying letters to the Pope, France and Denmark signed by Margaret under compulsion, was stopped by Dacre and deprived of his despatches. Subsequently the fugitives continued their flight to Morpeth and the English scheme was accomplished. Albany must have been apprehensive as to what use his enemies would turn this situation for in September (though the date is doubtful) he wrote a reply to "what the French ambassador brought him on behalf of Queen Margaret signed by Angus and Alexander Hume". Albany's offers were generous and in Council which considered the reply he reminded the Lords that he had come to Scotland at their request, and that King Francis his master, holding the welfare of Scotland as dear as his own, commanded him to go. He pointed out how the Estates gave him the keeping of the King only to prevent them being spirited out of the Kingdom. He protested he had never refused the Queen her dues and would return her goods whenever she wanted them.

Dacre meantime studiously went on with the arrangement for the deferred commissioners' meeting now arranged for 12th
September.

Francis' "famous victory" had aroused Henry's angry jealousy and he continued his policy of irritating Scotland perhaps in the hope of involving a quarrel with France. Nevertheless Albany did his utmost to maintain peace. He himself wrote to the Princess Mary, his former queen, urging her to use her influence for peace, while Johan de Flanis a French ambassador wellknown to Scotland wrote to Wolsey justifying Albany's actions from the beginning for he himself had come over with Albany.

It was now a case of Albany backed by France versus Margaret backed by England, contending for the Regency. On 10th October Margaret from Harbottle notified Albany of the birth of a daughter and formally demanded the whole "rule and government of her children and Scotland". The Council, now all supporters of Albany, replied immediately that she had forfeited any testamentary claim she had by her second marriage and they had appointed Albany Governor with her consent. In spite of this which seems almost a declaration of defiance, Albany still made valiant efforts for peace, sending Rougecroix to the Duke of Suffolk, Mary's husband, to show the real state of affairs as he "was certain the Borderers i.e. Daunce were miscarresenting his actions". All he did with the army he summoned in September was to pacify the country and there was no attempt against England. He renewed
renewed his exhortations to Wolsey and on 13th October made a very generous offer to the Queen:—

(1) Liberty to Gavin Douglas and a benefice.

(2) All wardships and marriage within her lands.

(3) Entire control over her children,

but he made it evident that this was his ultimatum. Margaret realized that these terms were all she could reasonably hope for and on 17th October notified Albany that she would accept "though since the Council decided she cannot have guardianship of her children the offer seems rather inconsistent". However she said she would agree if Albany would communicate with her brother. Thus an internal quarrel was again to be at the arbitration of the English King, and English diplomacy was endeavouring to strengthen the recalcitrant nobles in their opinion. On the 15th October Arran, Angus and Hume signed a bond at Coldstream to deliver the Prince out of Albany's possession and none was to give in without consent of the rest; for by this time Hume had learned that no mercy was to be expected from the Governor who had induced the Chamberlain through the French Ambassador to meet him at Douglas and then imprisoned him under the charge of Arran in Edinburgh Castle. Arran had warned his captive and Hume fled with Arran to Wales, met Angus and signed the bond.

The question was now assuming international importance and Wolsey was anxious to point out th
unscrupulous and inhuman conduct of Albany to the Queen to the Ambassadors of foreign courts. Feeling ran high against Scotland and France, and Do Bapaume the French ambassador to England wrote to Louise that in spite of Wolsey's protestation, Henry was so jealous of Francis and so enraged at Albany that had Marignano been a defeat, the English would have been in France. Wolsey insisted that if Albany was recalled there would be no occasion for war but that Henry was determined at all costs to see that his sister's rights were safeguarded.

It was in vain then that Albany sent his secretary in November to Harbottle to urge Margaret to return. The Scottish Queen's person provided an excellent opportunity for English interference and May the secretary was sent back by Dacre to persuade Albany to let the Queen have her dowry and to send the younger prince the Duke of Ross to his mother. All sorts of schemes were in the air for depriving the Duke, and the English Warden advised Henry to write to Arran and Lennox in affectionate terms to weaken their already wavering allegiance to the Governor.

It must have been with peculiarly gloomy satisfaction that Dacre communicated to Henry the death of the Duke of Ross on 18th December, and that the Queen was so ill that they were afraid to break the news to her,—a pathetic picture that Henry was by no means reluctant to make sure of in his campaign against Albany. In the early days of January/
January 1516, Wolsey exclaimed in righteous indignation to the Venetian Ambassador that the queen was on the point of death owing to Albany's ill treatment, one child was already dead, and there now only remained one child's life between Albany and the throne. There can be little reasonable doubt that Albany did not have any designs upon his nephew's lives in spite of the fact of his unfortunate assumption of the Royal plural "our Warden", and "our border". Wolsey however persisted in his belief that there was some deeprooted plot engineered by the French King who had now begun those negotiations at Bologna which were to result in the famous concordat of August 1516. The Pope himself had proposed to Francis the recall of Albany. The French King declared it was impossible since Albany was next in succession and governed in that right. This naturally only enraged Wolsey the more but the rumours of war were not yet to be fulfilled.

Albany was certainly at this time actuated by a genuine desire for peace and began negotiations for sending Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St Andrews, Sir W. Scott of Dalwery and Jehan de Planis the French Ambassador as envoys to bring about the new peace which Henry desired. Even Margaret admitted his kindness but said she would place more faith in it if Drummond and the Bishop of Dunkeld were liberated and sent to her, and jewels, which she had left in Tantallon, were restored to her.
Dacre however was anxious that the queen should not be reconciled to Albany and accordingly when Albany offered to agree to the restitution of Drummond and Dunkeld, he was met with a long list of Margaret's complaints against him indignantly protesting against his attack on Stirling & imputing to him the death of the Duke of Ross and expostulating against the attainder of Hume & the withholding of Bothwell and Tantallon from Angus, while Lady Hume for merely attending Margaret in her sickness was said to be imprisoned in Dunbar.

But in spite of this, the negotiations for sending ambassadors went on and the safe conducts were delivered by Dacre while Francis wrote expressing his satisfaction that a diet to arrange the differences was to take place and instructing Eapaume and Jehan de Planis to be present.

The list of complaints against the Scots was indeed a formidable one though it was stated that the truce was well kept until Albany came. He had indeed sent messengers on 20th August but no decision had been arrived at and the question had been postponed till Albany found means of redress. It was pointed out as significant that immediately on this announcement a series of border forays had begun: Hexham and Messelrig had been burned, while the new Warden Ker of Cessford was himself implicated; even Alexander Jardine, Albany's master of the Household was engaged in a raid/
raid with Maxwell the Warden of the West Marches. On several occasions the number had exceeded 300 and the comprehension was thus broken.

When the Queen showed her determination to go to London, Angus and Hume perhaps because they were afraid they had gone too far in treachery with England, made their peace with Albany in spite of Dacre's remonstrances.

The arrangement for the meeting of the ambassadors went on and on 12th April they were at Morpeth, the Bishop of Galloway, Sir W. Scott and J. Ogilvy Abbot of Dryburgh and on 30th May Dacre, Magnus and the Bishop of Ely received commission to treat with them at Coldingham and a truce was signed to last from St Andrews day to Midsummer 1517, while the abstinence was continued till the "said St Andrews Day." This was duly signed on the 1st June. Henry had thus assured the passivity of Scotland in the event of a war with France which all perceived his jealousy would urge him to. But he resolved on high-handed measures and it may be questioned whether he was not intending an indirect insult to his victorious rival through Albany.

On the day the peace was signed Henry wrote to the Lords and Commons of Scotland stating that after the meeting of the Commissioners at Coldingham he thought it "advisable to notify the Estates of the danger in which his nephew stood". He pointed out that the Duke of Albany "calling himself Governor" claimed to be nearest of kin. A fact in itself
itself suspicious. He ought therefore to be immediately removed from office and forced to leave Scotland. He imperatively demanded an answer before the expiration of the abstinence on St Andrew's Day. David, Bishop of Galloway presented Henry's letter to the Estates and their dignified reply was worthy of the best traditions of Scots independence. "The richt noble and mighty prince John, Duke of Albany" had come to govern them according to the desire and assent of the Council and Estates of Scotland and that they did not consider him "suspect" because he was next in succession. In fact it was a law of Scotland that the next in succession should govern in a minority and if he had not come they would have declared "in his contraire". It was only after persuasion that he left King Francis his master and his Lady, and if he were now to desire to depart they would not consent. They were fully satisfied with his conduct and Henry need have no fear for his nephew for three of the Earls of Eldest Bludo had been appointed to the guard of the King. This letter was signed by a large number of the barons and Earls including Hume and Drummond.

Though the national feeling of Scotland might be aroused perhaps Albany felt that his position was no sinecure owing to the ever changing sympathies of the nobles. It appears then that he entered into a negotiation with Wolsey which may have been secret from the Council and Estates.
E3tato

This agreement was signed on July 24th and was subsequently ratified on 31st December. It appears that Albany sent lieutenant Lafayette with letters not only to keep the peace of 1st June 1516, but to establish a perpetual peace and Wolsey was given full authority to negotiate it. Ultimately both agreed that peace should be continued (1) from St Andrew's Day to 24th June 1517.

(2) The Queen of Scots was to receive her rings and movable property immediately.

(3) The Queen was to have the fruits of her dowry during the period (4) and leave for Angua to visit her during this truce

(5) The Queen was also to have power to visit her son and return without any further safe conduct.

Neither King was to harbour the rebels and no one was to interfere with the guardianship of the King during the period of Truce. The Queen's friends were to be restored provided they acted as peaceable citizens while the question of whether the Scots had broken the comprehension was to be defended during the time of truce.

When Henry ratified these terms on 31st December, he extended the truce till 30th November 1517, almost a whole year. It was probably during these negotiations that the proposal was first mooted for the Governor to return to France by way of England - a scheme of which the corresponden:ence of the period is full. Albany wrote by Barbon his Secretary.
Secretary expressing his desire to visit England and offering to act as envoy, if Henry had any message for Francis. Henry replied equally courteously thanking him for his desire to promote better understanding between Francis and England and that if Albany wished to see his wife in France, he would be welcome to pass through England. Henry offered to assure Francis that Albany had done "all agreeable to the Queen's grace". The negotiations even went so far as to require a safe conduct from Dacre for the Duke to pass to Boulogne and if any difficulty arose Albany promised, when Wolsey went to Calais, to communicate with him. It is doubtful if Albany was ever really sincere in this project which would have been dangerous at any time. Yet La Fayette was certainly in France during August on an errand to obtain permission for the Duke to return. Wolsey meanwhile was entertaining the proposals of the Imperial ambassador for a league to drive Francis out of Italy and he himself went to Calais at this time to see to its defences. If the Duke delayed his coming "Dacre was to make him weary of staying".

Henry offered hostages, Dacre, Conyers and the Earl of Northumberland in Scotland and the Earl of Surrey in Boulogne. The Clarendon Herold was sent to Edinburgh to watch Albany's movements and wrote to inform Henry that Albany could not depart until he got Francis' permission to return and the Scots Estates' permission to go.
Clarencieux delivered to him the safe conduct but Albany insisted that the hostages should be surrendered before he left Scotland. Clarencieux in return demanded the payment of the queen's dower and on the 8th of August Dacre sent representatives to levy the "queen's regiment". True to his promise Dacre was stirring up dissension "to make the Governor weary of staying" an in a letter of 23rd August the unscrupulous English policy is revealed. "I am sowing dissension between the Lords and Albany and keep, Master of Kilmaurs secretly in my house. I reward 400 Scots outlaws for burning in Scotland". Yet at this very time he was sending secret messages of assurance to Albany.

Again Albany sent Jacques Marshall, a secretary of his to England to insist upon better arrangements for hostages. His official business was to obtain ratification of the articles of truce but Albany insisted that no mention of his projected journey to England was to be made. Clarencieux reported that Albany was eager for peace and said he would go without hostages were it not for the Estates and that France refused peace he would forsake that Alliance. He asked that until the French answer came, Clarencieux should remain with him. When the answer did come it gave him "full permission to return by way of England". Yet Albany must have known he would never use that permit.

What was his object in the whole negotiation? He
cleverly gained time when the fearless reply of the Scots Council might have incensed Henry to invade the kingdom, and he successfully deluded Wolsey and the wily Dacre into believing he would come, while he always reserved the loophole of escape that he must have the Council's consent; and this he knew would never be given. We can only regard the whole scheme as a remarkably clever piece of diplomacy. He was careful however to fulfill his open obligations and on 16th September the Council ordered that Margaret's jewels and wardrobe at Tantallon should be given up to her commissioners and a long inventory of these was sent to Dacre. The rents however were found more difficult to collect, although the Queen's commissioners stayed ten weeks in Scotland, and despite the Council's order, out of the £14,534 owing only £114 was paid. In the meantime the tragedy of the Humes had been enacted and Albany once more led an army into the Hume country to punish the traitors. The English wardens apparently had no apprehension this time. Throughout October Albany continued English expectations of his coming. Margaret firmly believed in the project and there seemed little doubt in Henry's Articles "declaring the King's mind to the Duke of Albany". He might, he said, object to Albany's demand for hostages and his assumption of the title "Governor" in the Articles, but he let it pass. (He had thus been inveigled into a recognition of Albany's status) though he asked that in the confirmation the title should be omitted since
since it was "only a form" and King could not prejudice his sister's rights. He expressed himself willing to send as hostages the Earl of Surrey; and the Earl of Devonshire to Boulogne but none to Scotland. Henry was prepared if Albany could not give an open bond to accept a secret pledge and in expectation of his coming Henry had confirmed the truce for a year, although if the Duke did not come the prorogation would be void. Clarendon accordingly told Albany that Henry would be satisfied with his promise and now the Duke had come to the crisis. He asked Parliament's consent; argued in the Tolbooth for an hour to no purpose, for they resolutely refused to let him go until the King's full age unless he could obtain extension of the truce concluded at London and do justice on all thieves. He thus gave Henry the alternative of a lasting peace or leaving him Governor of Scotland. Urged by Clarendon to give his private bond to come to England he declined vowing "he would rather have his head cut off than give a bond he could not fulfil". Nothing could be imputed to his dishonour but he had checkmated some of the ablest diplomats of the day. He swore he wanted to see Henry, would even walk on foot if it could in any way be obtained and vowed upon the relics "which he in a tablet of gold hanging about his neck that if he minded not as he said, that all his life be an evil chance". Since he himself was forbidden, he proposed to send his Secretary Jacques
Marechal to France to procure money for his return home and to get a commission from the English King. But a secretary was a poor substitute for the Governor. Albany, it appeared, was disgusted with Scotland, and said "he wished he had broken both legs and arms before ever he set foot in Scotland."

On the 31st December, Henry as we have mentioned above, ratified the truce extending to St Andrew's Day 1517. Thus Henry had accepted his alternative in his anxiety to be rid of Albany; as a precautionary measure however Hume's brother was still being supported by Dacre. Albany was relieved as he told Clarendon that no mention of his journey through England was made in the ratification and to Clarendon in private renewed all his oaths of coming to the King. On the 8th of January 1517, the truce was accepted by the Estate; and to show their desire for peace, they agreed to Henry's extension, while Albany carried the Lords so far with him that they moved a vote of approval on 28th January "We hold and repute the authority riall in all things well exercisit at home and abroad." Having now obtained what he was seeking Albany's conduct is amazingly clever. He beguiled Wolsey and Dacre with assurances of his coming, promising all assistance to the Queen in the affairs of her dowry. He then asked that a letter be sent to him "thanking him for his good treatment of James so that it may not be thought that this abstinence was..."
was obtained to drive him from the country". In its publication Dacre was to make no mention of Albany's departure. This appeal to Wolsey like a vanquished opponent trying to "save his face" before his countrymen but is it? Albany's semi-official bargainings - as much of them as he cared to reveal - had been officially ratified by the Estates and his conduct approved; he himself has given no absolute bond or pledge private or otherwise that he would come to England, a public letter of thanks from Henry removes him from all suspicion of surrender from fear of English disapproval. There is nothing against him. If he, then, can say that the Estates definitely and finally refuse to sanction his departure by way of England, on any conditions whatsoever, he has gained a decided diplomatic victory. And this now he proceeded to do. Henry suspected him and delayed sending the letter of Ratification, but Albany was punctilious in carrying out his promises to Margaret and seemed to comply with her every wish. When she wrote to ask him that Angus might be allowed to come to her he replied that he had his permission but he did not think Angus would wish to go but he (Albany) would do his best to oblige her. Only one excuse and another over Margaret's "Provision" the letters of prorogation were delayed. Albany insisted and Dacre finally advised their delivery. He and La Bastie met on 6th April at Coldstream and arranged the Queen's affairs and Clarendon was sent to accept the safe
safe conduct for Margaret to enter Scotland with 24 attendants. If she offended in any way redress was to be made by a conference of commissioners, three from England and three from Scotland. The Truce accordingly was proclaimed in Edinburgh on the 15th April and the safe conduct exchanged on the 17th April. But if Henry hoped to gain by the return of Margaret, Albany and the Council were taking every precaution she should not for on the 30th March it was specially provided that "if the queen comes home and insists on Stirling Castle as part of her dowry —"the King was to be kept in Edinburgh Castle if the Pestilence is not in the town; if so in some place the Governor and Council shall think expedient while definite arrangements were to be made as to the King's guard. Patrick Crichton the Captain of Edinburgh Castle, except the Great Tower where the King shall be with certain Lords as all be diversit. These Lords were diversit to be Borthwick, Ruthven and Broxun, each to remain four months with the King and to be exempt from all charges in the realm during their four months office. Robert Borthwick and six gunners were to remain constantly in the Castle while the King's Chamber was to be guarded by "twelve footmen under a Captain" chosen by Alan Steward, a French Scot called Le Captain of Milan from his brilliant defence of the tower de la Rocqueto during Louis' wars.

Albany had now gained his truce and on the very day it was proclaimed proceeded to demand the fulfilment of its terms.
terms, urging the surrender of George Hume, his brother the Prior of Coldingham and their accomplices. Dacre was negotiating with them but he had always a convenient habit of being absolutely ignorant of where Scots Rebels were. He replied they would probably be in Scotland, but promised henceforth to aid none of them.

Albany was thus successful at home and abroad — all his open opponents had either surrendered or paid for their transgressions with their lives and goods. But his success was vitiated by the attitude of France at this time and Scotland's "auld alliance" seemed for a time to be at breaking point. It was Wolsey's aim to oppose Francis' power increasing since Marinargo and his concordat with the Pope (finally ratified in August 1516).

He was trying to organize a counter league consisting of Charles (now King of Spain since the death of Ferdinand in January 1516), Maximilian and the Swiss but Charles was in need of money and could not afford to contest Milan so accordingly on August 13th 1516 he made peace with Francis at Noyon. Wolsey's hopes now rested on the Venetians, Swiss and the fickle Emperor. The last accepted the Peace of Noyon in December and from Sebastian Giustinian's correspondence we see that Wolsey's overtures to Venice were in vain while the Swiss were bought over by Francis. England was thus practically left alone but Francis desired her friendship and what was more Tournai and saw an
opportunity of regaining what Henry VIII had taken.
La Fayette, Albany's lieutenant had been sent to France
several times, and when he returned in November he brought
with him the French ambassador, Francis de Bordeaux,
who presented his Articles for discussion in Parliament
November 3rd 1516. After the usual congratulations and the
expressions of desire for peace it was seen that Francis'
attitude was distinctly cold to Scotland. When the Bishop
of Ross asked the hand of Francis I's daughter for James,
Francis replied she was already promised to Charles of Spain
but if he had another daughters she should be given to James.
He also refused to surrender the county of Xanteine which
the Scots asserted had been ceded to them in the time of
James I for the assistance given to Kings of France: on the
ground that it was in alienable crown land, he refused help
except for defensive purposes and stated he believed the
Scots King had allowed the last treaty to be broken, and
that the English were not intending war against the Scots,
so that if no war, French help would be expense to the Scots
to no purpose. He refused even to ratify the late treaty
made by De Planié as he had been making "peace with
England" which it would be wrong to break, "but he offered
to include them in his peace with Spain."

Albany and the Scots estates replied with dignity
and with surprising independence. The document stated
that the Scots as a nation had always kept faith to their
King and now not less so to the Governor who had put down factions by prudence rather than by a vindictive policy.

Their wars had been undertaken for the sake of France and for two years since Flodden had they borne perpetual inroads. Their enemies could not compel them to make peace but at the request of Francis and the Governor (then in France) they had done. As for Scotland which Francis refused them—when Henry V was harassing France Charles VII appealed to Robert Duke of Albany who sent 7000 soldiers under the Earl of Douglas, who became Duke of Tours, the Earl of Buchan—(Constable of France,) and Stewart of Darnley the ancestor of D'Aubigny. They quoted the victory of Beaune and the disaster of Verneuil where these Scots suffered heavily. With these lives was the county of Xanteine bought. As to Francis contention that he could even ratify the treaty made by De Planis because it would violate the peace with England, they reminded him how they had rallied to his cause even against the Holy League itself and James' only stipulation was no treaty should be made with England by either King without the consent of the other. This treaty had expired a year and a day from Louis' death and de Planis came to renew it, though neither Louis' nor Francis' agreements with the English were made with the assent of Scotland. They therefore bade Francis beware that "we do not repent of this treaty."

This/
This placed Albany however in a curious predicament, for
though his diplomacy was just gaining a victory over Wolsey
yet without French support his position in Scotland was
rendered insecure. The "English party" still had the secret
support of Henry while he would have to rely only on the
changing faith of the lords. He therefore saw it was indispen-
sable that he should get that support if he could, for
La Fayette had reported that Francis could give him no help
and advised his return. Francis was thus prepared apparently
to sacrifice the auld alliance for the sake of Tournais.
Albany was skilful to gain even the twelve months truce
under such circumstances. He delayed from month to month,
though he knew that he must go, settling the affairs of
the Isles and the Highlands, and guarding against English
supremacy after his absence as far as possible. Francis
tried to show that his action was only actuated by policy,
by sending Albany the collar of St Michael and authorized
the payment of 2,500 livres towards the sum of 40,000 for
the great Scots Ship. Pinkerton calls his return "a
disgraceful retreat", but we cannot think of it as other than
inevitable. Margaret was returning, in accordance with the
Articles of peace, on 13th June. Had Albany, been secure in
French support that need have affected him little and he
already had provided against her assumption of power.
By an ordinance of 24th May the queen was to be allowed access
to the King with twelve persons only four of whom were to be
allowed
allowed within St David's Tower and she was not to be permitted to stay a night. When all was arranged and provision had been made for the Queen's honourable reception, the Governor formally informed the Council that he, "conformably to the writing of the most Christian King returns to that Realm as hastily as he may and to do the King's gracious service for the public good". The following day the Lords gave their consent "for many divers reasons" that the Governor depart to France for expedition of matters concerning the commonwealth of the realm and for the well addressing and ordering of his own matters so that he may after the better remain in this realm to do justice". They thanked him for the great labour and expense and diligence made by him since coming to Scotland. He already had on 1st March obtained a commission with full power to treat with the Pope, France and Spain on behalf of Scotland. There is little of the "disgraceful retreat" in this. He left a competent government behind him composed of representatives of either party, Angus, Huntly, Arran and Argyle with his own representative, de la Bastille really as Vice Regent officially as Warden of the West Marches. As a further mark of confidence they consented to Albany's proposition that "12 skins of white parchment be sealed with the Great Seal so that he might use the same for the honour and profit of the realm while in France". These were handed over to him and the 12 seals registered. But/
But when he next proposed his visit to England on his return journey "that he might commune with the King of England for peace," and showed his safe conduct and pledges offered, as he expected and perhaps, as he secretly instigated, the Council refused to consent. Of this decision he sent his Secretary Gaultier Malynes to inform Henry as well as to communicate to him his arrangements for Government, while he himself departed on 8th June from Dumbarton. The decision according to Margaret must have been arrived at hastily. Everything had been ready for her arrival. She had only been waiting his going, to make her entry into Scotland. She crossed the Border on 15th June, met at Lamberton by Angus Morton and La Fastil with 300 Borderers. She was received with all respect, and with promises of all her conjunct ice. Margaret was a little alarmed that she might be asked, under the conditions of the close "to restore to the King what belongs to him" to refund what James IV gave her without consent of the Council, but the English relief at Albany's departure is expressed by her indifference to what the Lords will think. "Now Albany is away they will all be in fear of Henry". Albany adroitly flattered her by a letter urging her to get the peace prorogued beyond St. Andrew's Day.

So ended Albany's first Regency, but his negotiations with England did not end with his departure from Scotland. He wrote from Mont Michel to Wolsey expressing his regret that
that he could not come through England, but that ambassadors were despatched for peace between the three Kingdoms. They were then with Francis and he would add his persuasions for a world peace and in July he received a cordial letter from Wolsey by his secretary Gualtier.

The ambassadors for universal peace whom Albany mentioned were no other than our old acquaintance Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, Robert, Bishop of Ross, and Patrick Rantler, and on June 27th they wrote from Abbeville to Wolsey informing him they had been commissioned by the King of Scots to treat for universal peace and desired a safeconduct to come into England. This request was confirmed by Albany himself, July 28th, as there had been some scribal error in the previous letter.

Albany’s leave from the Scottish Parliament was only for five months and Wolsey’s complacency must have been somewhat disturbed by a news letter from a spy, communicating news of preparation for Albany’s departure; ships were being prepared at Honfleur and the spy was certain that Francis’ disbanding of troops was only a pretence in order to give them to Albany and there certainly were rumours that Albany would go by the West Sea by Cornwall. All this goes to prove that Albany did not beat a disgraceful retreat before English opposition and that he had every intention of returning to Scotland.

Throughout August these rumours continued. "Francis
is giving him money". "Francis spoke with him at Dieppe". "Francis sent to prepare ships at Brest and Honfleur". While in every town in France, "Artillery is being made", "Tournais is all for the French and if Wolsey does not surrender it soon Francis will take it by force". "The King has sent into Germany for 10,000 deniers and given out that all these preparations are against the Turks", but the spy has a shrewd suspicion that "the Turk" is England for "The White Rose" has command of the Germans, so that if Albany were now allowed to return there "would be mischief".

On August 3rd the Marchmont Herald went to England for prolongation of the truce between England and Scotland. If Henry was willing he was to notify Albany who was thus still the accredited head of the Government.

In the revulsion of feeling against England at the French Court, occasioned probably by some hitch in the Anglo-French negotiations, the Treaty of Rouen, 26th August 1517 was arranged, binding Scotland and France more firmly together than ever, thanks mainly to the efforts of Albany - an offensive and defensive alliance against the mutual enemy England - a change indeed from the time when Francis refused to ratify De Planis' Treaty. One wonders if considering Albany's immense popularity with the French King, his presence in France had anything to do with this change of policy.

This treaty signed at Rouen 26th August 1517 by Duke of Alencon and Albany, provided that each King is to cherish/
cherish as his own the country of the other, neither giving asylum to the rebels of the other. If the King of England moved against either King, on receiving due notification the following help was to be given.

(a) For the first and second times England attacks Scotland, the King of France is to pay £100,000 ecus de sol and send 1,500 lancesquenets and 500 foot, 200 archers, paid up to the time of their arrival in Scotland and archers paid continuously throughout by France. They are also to attack English continental possessions.

(b) If England attacks France, Scotland is bound with due help sent from France to make war on England. If attacked three or more times, the King of Scots is bound to send to France at French expense 6,000 men of war if he is asked to do so.

While it is after all the English continental possessions are captured, and England still attacks Scotland, France is to invade England itself."

A separate peace was only to be permissible when the other had not sent the stated aid and even then they had to ask the other's inclusion as allies.

To confirm this treaty it was arranged that, "the promise of Francis' daughter to the Catholic King or his brother was having been fulfilled, that when she arrived at marriageable age Francis should give her to the King of Scots.
If the previous marriage alliance did take place, and "it pleased God to give him another daughter", Francis would marry her to the King of Scots, Albany undertaking to secure James' consent to the marriage. Albany promised to have these ratified in the Scottish Parliament within two months of his return. Signed "Charles Johan."

This was duly ratified by Francis. [47 3. Register House.]

2 September, Chievres showed Spinelly letters stating that Albany had been despatched to Scotland but recalled and would not go till after Christmas and this can be explained by the fact that Francis was making a new offer for Tournais, 400,000 crowns and was keeping Albany back as a kind of menace in case of refusal.

Meanwhile in Scotland there had occurred the murder of Albany's lieutenant, De la Bastie, the brave "White knight", at the hands of the Humes of Wedderburn to revenge the blood feud between their family and Albany. England would not interfere because of the negotiations going on between Henry, James V and Albany for the prorogation of the Truce at the request of the French King and advised Angus not to commit himself with Wedderburn, refusing interference unless men of substance supported Angus, and the Queen and she had charge of the King. Scotland's domestic affairs were indeed at this time closely governed by the foreign politics of the Continent.

The result of the negotiations was an extension of the truce.
Truce from 30th November 1517 to 30th November 1519 and on 7th October 1517 the Lords of Scotland wrote to Albany approving the abstinence and thanking him for his efforts at home and abroad.

Francis however wrote on 16th November exhorting the Scots Estates not to pass over the murder of de la Bastie and the Scots through Forman and Beaten the Chancellor tried to show how diligent they had been in forfeiting the murderers while Arran the leader of the expedition against them reported that he had asked Henry VIII to surrender the fugitives. Albany was even reproached by his master for endangering the life of so good a subject as the White Knight.

Through Albany's agency therefore within a few months France had been won once more to Scotland and England had given assurance of peace for more than two years. When it was a case of "peace" or Albany, the otherwise bellicose Henry almost invariably chose peace. He was eager to prevent Albany's return, but the French ambassadors who were negotiating for Tournais would give no assurance. He was next in succession and they had no right to interfere with Scottish custom. The question was becoming still more complicated by the forthcoming marriage of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino the Pope's nephew with Madeleine dela Tour d'Auvergne, Albany's sister-in-law arranged at the Conference at Bologne and it was in vain that the English ambassador/
ambassador warned the Pope against the alliance with France it entailed. To gain the Pope's favour Charles proposed a marriage between the daughter of the great Captain Gonzalco and Lorenzo and when she refused, the niece of Chievres was put forward in her stead, but their efforts were in vain for before 13th February according to Spinelly the Pope urged by Francis favoured the French lady and indeed the marriage was celebrated on 16th January. It was foretold the French would now have all their own way in Italy.

**NOTE.**

This marriage was a very important one for Albany. Madeleine died the following year in giving birth to a daughter Catherine de Medici who thus became joint heiress with Anne, her aunt, of the Auyergne possessions. From a document 22nd July 1518, we learn exactly what Albany did possess; at one time even some question arose and possibly a law suit, over the inheritance. It is an agreement between John, Duke of Albany, and Laurentio de Medici on behalf of their wives' defining the sisters' rights and Albany's rights coming to him through his father and mother.

Albany and Anne got

- **Town and Castle de Vie** and Euron
- **Castle of Mirefleur**
- **Castle of Coupel, Montes Yboix et S. Bald.**
- **Town and Castle de la Forte, Chanderon.**
- **Castle of Chastelle, Ravel, Tignieres.**
- **Town and Castle of Clairvier, Town of Riom and Reignac.**

The Duke of Urbino and Madeleine held

- **Town and Castle of S. Saturnin, Lordship of Eulsin et La Varoume, S. Amant.**
- **Town and Castle of S. Sandoux, Castle of Montredon Montpeyroux, Castle and Town of La Tour.**
- **Castle and Town of La Besse, Castle of Feroux and Monge.**

The Lands of Doujerac and Boussaci in Limousin were to belong entirely to the Duke and Duchess of Albany, though there seem to have been lawsuits about them.

As for the county of Lescüstard, about which Francis had not decided Albany was to use the revenue for the expenses of the lawsuits.
In February 1518 rumours of war were current. The Bishop of Winchester reported from Rome that he heard a great army and navy were preparing in Normandy, while the King of England ordered out Militia in case of French invasion. At the same time the Estates wrote asking Francis to permit Albany to return – apparently they did not share Henry's suspicions of "his putting James to death".

In April Henry sent a Herald to France urging that the causes of war be removed (1) Albany's going to Scotland (2) Francis dealing with the Swiss (possibly for de la Pole) and a little later Charles was offering to defend Tournais for the English, proposing to get Tournais for himself as the marriage dowry of Princess Mary.

By July, the outlook was brighter; the English had provisionally accepted the offer of 400,000 crowns for the city and Bouhivet set out with a large retinue for England to negotiate the peace. Francis it was said was hoping to be Emperor by means of the Pope. "Albany has sent his people to all the ports of Normandy, Picardy and Brittany. He returns to Scotland on Wednesday 4th August."

The negotiations for the universal peace were slowly advancing. A preliminary draft of July 1518, contained the article that peace should be established between the Pope, Emperor, France, England and Spain, while the Swiss and Scots were to be comprehended – (1) on condition no
one fired the Swiss against the other and (2) the Duke of Albany was not to be admitted during the minority of James. Margaret was to be head of the Council and Francis was to restore the jewels of Louis XII.

Wolsey on 10th September confided to the Venetian ambassador that Francis had been annoyed at the stipulation regarding Albany, but had given in for the sake of Tournais.

The Treaty in its final form October 2nd 1518 provided for mutual defence and league of the allies against all others and especially the Turk. The Allies of France and Scotland were to signify ratification within four months but a special article for the inclusion of the Scots provided that if there was any disturbance on the border after 26th December the treaty would be annulled. If any expedition numbering 300 men was made and no restitution offered within 40 days the comprehension would likewise be void.

Bourbons had consented more readily owing to the attempts of Charles to hinder the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin. The surrender of Tournay was arranged and the Queen's dowry was commuted for 323,000 crowns but as for Scotland/Albany, Francis made no conditions.

But the Scots Council refused a comprehension which deprived them of their lawful Governor and Dacre was commissioned to find out if they intended sending an embassy to provide for an extension of their truce, and to keep

a/
a sharp watch even although Francis had promised he was not to return. Apparently Francis had no intention of adhering strictly to the Treaty for by the next month we hear that he was still supporting de la Pole "the White Rose" and had even increased his pension while in December Wolsey was informed that Albany had licence to go to Scotland next Easter well accompanied. These rumours frequent as they were, were never fulfilled, but Albany's cause was helped by a split in the English party itself. Margaret had never it seems forgiven Angus for deserting her and she wrote complaining that her conjunct fee had only produced £2000 since she returned whereas she ought to get £9000 a year; while Angus and the Douglases were withholding her rights from her in spite of the agreement with Dacre and Magnus to prevent her claims. He took the Castle of Newark in the Forest of Ettrick and Margaret threatened to go over to the Duke's party if she were not assisted. The feeling in Scotland was decidedly anti-English for at a Warden's meeting at Coldstream in May, Dacre was surprised at the respect shown to the Duke. The truce however would expire on 30th November and the Scots would have to decide either to make suit to Henry for a separate peace or accept the terms of the Comprehension of the Treaty of London. The English Warden reported that they were to send to Albany to come to them by August and chief among those/
those who pld with the French King for the Governor's return was the Queen herself. When Dacre and Henry remonstrated with her on this complete vitiation of their policy she justified her action on the plea of necessity. If she had not done so, she would have displeased the Lords - a thing which Dacre had always warned her against. With an injured air she complained of Henry's unkindness in not supplying her. She would have had to pawn her jewels had Robert Barton Albany's comptroller not paid her household expenses.

Wolsey had by some means obtained a copy of Margaret's letter and "marvelled what could move her to write so tenderly". The Homes, exiles and broken men, who had captured the French ambassador hoping to hold him to ransom for their full pardon, surrendered him at Wolsey's request and sent him with one of the Hume brothers to the Cardinal. In Dacre's opinion they ought to have been rewarded. "If only Albany can be kept out of Scotland the country will be ruined for lack of justice". Since the Scots refused to be governed by one of themselves.

But by October Margaret's opinion had once more changed and we enabled to follow what her plan had been. Having quarrelled with the Douglases her position was much weakened and the reason for her "undue tenderness" to the Duke must be explained by the fact that she was trying to get the government for herself.

The/
The Duke wrote to her that he could not come to Scotland himself but was willing that she should have the custody and keeping of her son as before. When however she put this proposition before the Council they refused to sanction her promotion over Arran. "She may have the right of the Duke but they will not consent to her".

Albany himself at this time was very anxious to return to Scotland but Madame assured the English ambassador that he should not go. He passed his time in France between Auvergne and the Court where he was so popular with Francis that he was even permitted to enter his privy chamber and together they went masquerading in the fashion of the time. Albany it seems according to Brantome was a man of ready wit and famed for his love of practical jokes.

Margaret therefore perceived that the Scots were not her friends and returned once more to Henry and Angus "and she hoped Angus would have more help from England, now she was with him", and by 10th October Angus wrote gratefully to Henry thanking him for reconciling him with Margaret by the medium of an English friar Chadworth, and asking him to use present his influence with Francis to induce Albany to set George Douglas free who had been detained in France two years.

The Council still however guided its action, with regard to England, largely by the Duke's advice.

On 24th November they ordered a letter to be written to England for continuation of the truce which was just about to/
to expire, pending the arrival of Lafayette from the Governor and both Clarencoix and the French ambassador appeared together on the 16th December. The Truce was again prorogued for a year till St Andrew's Day but only after the Articles had been shown to the French Ambassador and after James Wischert the "King's Advocate" had taken instrument that whatever was done in the matter of peace with England during the Governor's absence should not prejudice or diminish his authority in the office of Governor. The French Policy had been governed largely by Francis desire to keep Henry neutral in the great question of the Imperial election but in June 1519 German national feeling had chosen Charles and from now on Wolsey's plan was to be the Arbiter of Europe since both Francis and the Emperor were so evenly matched that Henry's support would turn the scales. It was essential then that Francis should avoid all danger of irritating England and turned a deaf ear to the request of the Estates for their Governor's return.

In April 1520 the Pope told the English Ambassador that Albany was coming to Rome, his excuse being to investigate the question of Madeleine's dowry - for she was now dead. In reality he was coming because he was dissatisfied with Francis who was not doing what he had promised for him in Scots affairs. Louise indeed said Wingfield that since they had withdrawn Albany from Scotland they had known the value/
value of English friendship.

In the ports of Brittany, Albany's galleons had been "doekying" for nearly two years though perhaps there was something going on which Wingfield suspected but could not discover. There were ships going to Donmark and though it was said they were going for strange beasts of the King's park yet the negotiations for de la Pole must have been in progress (see later).

In May Charles was at Sandwich with Henry, and in June 7th 1520 there was held the famous meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold at Guineses within the Pale of Calais. Affairs in Scotland were indeed troubled at this time. In December 1510 there had occurred the quarrel and riot over the Provostship of Edinburgh when Arran had been driven by the citizens and the Douglas faction. He had been compelled to withdraw to the West, but at a Parliament held in Edinburgh in April the famous incident of cleanse the Causeway had taken place. Arran's party was completely routed and the Douglas faction maintained themselves in power in defiance of Albany's authority. In any conference between England and France therefore Scotland must come under consideration and in an interesting document dated May 1520 entitled "Memorial of what is to be done for Scotland" at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Albany is shown complaining against the tyranny of Angus and asking permission to return to Scotland, since before his departure he claimed...
claimed he had a promise that no peace would be made between England and France without including Scotland i.e. getting her previous consent. The following propositions were submitted to Francis as the only conditions on which a treaty with England and Scotland could be based.

(1) That Albany had full power to treat, he was recognised as Regent and whatever he did would be ratified by Parliament under the Great Seal.

(2) A Mutual treaty between the three countries must not derogate from the Franco Scottish alliance.

(3) If the English said Albany should not return to Scotland owing to their suspicions of him and his alleged "ill treatment" of the Queen, Francis was to point out that the Scots had no need to account for their actions to the English and that the Queen had shown she would be glad to welcome Albany back. The English only objected because Albany's return would spoil the English chance of ruining Scotland.

The Queen knew that the payment of her jointure depended on his return and there could be no fear for the King's person since he was in the hands of three good and great personages chosen by the Estates, removed every four months having a preceptor, nurse and the Captain de la Rocquette for his guard. The Governor was never in the King's presence without the Queen or other strangers being present.
present and that only three or four times in all the time he was in Scotland.

The memorial also suggested that if Francis wished to please the English he should send a watch of the Garde Ecossaise under their own leader, de la Rocquette, as a personal guard for the sovereign, or that envoys be sent from the Pope, Francis, England and Denmark to watch over the King and report to their masters.

If the Queen wanted to give up Stirling Castle to Albany when he was allowed to go as she probably would, the King would be placed there for security against Albany's supposed machinations. Any removal for pestilence would only be done with the consent of the ambassadors and the Queen.

The Governor was to come and go as others as seemed good to him without interference on the part of the English and if there was any debate about these terms Francis was to point out that the English had time and again received rebels and assisted the murderer of La Bastille and the Prior of Coldingham (Elacater) Francis told Albany who reported it to the Estates that at Tournelle in Paris the English ambassadors said Henry could not find that Albany had done anything but his duty and would recognize him as Regent, agreeing to friendship with Scotland. Surely then there could be no difficulty. The document seems to be from the Estates of Scotland but we have no record if it in the Acta or Acts of.
of Parliament. It concludes with an adjuration to Francis to remember his old allies for if the Governor did not soon return, there would be no hope of saving the Kingdom.

"All the English are aiming at is to keep Albany away, ruin the Kingdom so that they will be compelled to put the King and Government into English hands".

And this statement was not very far wrong as we can see from Dacre's correspondence. One wonders if this memorial really came from the Estates or was it Albany himself using one of his "white parchments" for the ruling party in May certainly was the Angus faction.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold and any negotiations done there bore little fruit and Henry passed on to another conference with Charles at Gravelines on July 5th.

Francis had sent Fleming to try and induce the Lords to agreement, but the Estates only asked the return of Albany. But Albany was arrested nominally and prevented from going while Jehan de Flanis and Robert Stuart of Aubigny were sent to Scotland instead.

The Scottish Messenger Flamigny (Fleming) did not find Albany at the Court for he had gone to Rome "called thither by the Pope", but Albany had returned by the time Aubigny left and it was then probably he was arrested. While he was in Rome, Taluze recounts an amusing incident peculiarly characteristic. It is an extract from the register of Ceremonies in the Church of Rome.

To Vespers in the Vigil of Ascension came the Duke of Albany. He was persuaded by his friends to sit among the Cardinals but the master of ceremonies excluded him until he heard from the Pope, who gave command to place him near Cardinal/
They were delayed by storms and did not arrive till late in November for on the 27th they notified Dacre of their mission to assist in prolonging the truce about to expire on November 30th. In their instructions it was stated that Albany’s return was to be deprecated since if he did some the English King had declared his intention of going to war whenever the truce expired. At their instance the truce was prolonged from month to month though very reluctantly, on the English side. These ambassadors were officially Francis’ state representatives yet at the same time they had a commission from Albany to meet with the Scots to arrange an agreement regarding Margaret’s dowry and her

Master House conjunct indentment. This commission bears the date 25th October 1520 and is signed by the Duke at his castle of Mirefleur in Auvergne. One wonders what Albany commissioned them to offer and if this negotiation had any bearing on Margaret’s change of policy within the next few months. Margaret was vehement in her complaints about money and voiced her old threat of going over to her “foes” and this time she meant it. There was some communication between/

Cardinal Dacca But he “Gallus gallice ambiens se posuit in scabelló Cardinalis” to the amusement of many.
between her and Albany. She must have continued the correspondence she had begun sometime before asking Albany to come to Scotland, and Margaret's vagaries were many. But Dacre by his spies by March 16th had intelligence of it, and warned her that Albany was only deceiving her. "He has paid part of her dues to make her believe he is not responsible for the breach of contract at her last entry to Scotland and signed by him". He indeed claimed one quarter of that fee himself i.e. the Earldom of March as his inheritance and Dacre marvels that she should be willing to restore the Duke whose coming she opposed, whose father was a traitor and who was never acknowledged by her husband James IV. Dacre reproached her for her indiscretion in leaving Angus and leaving Edinburgh secretly with his enemy, James Hamilton. He accused her of being induced to do so by Albany and suspects that the King is a prisoner and all his attendants Albany's creatures.

Francis meanwhile according to his own statements was experiencing the greatest difficulty in restraining Albany. He had even spent 50,000 francs to keep him. In March Francis accused him of hindering the acceptance of the Anglo-French Treaty, though Albany protested he had done his best to make the Scots send an embassy. Francis threatened, if Albany went that he would lose all his patrimony in France and all Francis' favour for ever. Francis himself urged a prorogation and said Aubigny would remain in Scotland till an embassy was sent/
sent. Upon this Albany was reported to have said "Sir, ye have possessans of my wife's lands in France and now of my life. I had as lief ye took my life as keep me here." For he was certain the Scots would never be content till he came. Perhaps in expectation of his departure he gave his wife, Anne de Boulogne, a charter of 16th April 1521 to administer all his goods and those of his niece Catherine de Medici whose wardship he held.

Into the successive prorogations of peace there entered on 20th May a statement that this is prorogued at the desire of Francis in the hope that in the interval Parliament would accept the terms of Andrés. James V promised that a Scots Ambassador should be sent for that purpose, provided the Duke of Albany was comprehended in this arrangement.

Francis was becoming more and more convinced that Wolsey had really concluded a secret league with Charles V and his attitude towards Albany correspondingly changed. France and the Empire were now tacitly at war and the Conference at Calais in August which according to Wolsey was to arrange the differences of the opposing parties was in reality to arrange the terms of the Anglo imperial alliance at Bruges. Wolsey's peace policy broke down and on November 24th the Articles of Bruges were signed.

The Pope was included in the league against France and in quick succession the French were driven out of Milan and Tournai, over which there had been so much bargaining, was captured.
by the Emperor's troops. The arrangement between England and the Empire however was still secret and the declaration of war was only made in May 1522 by Clarendon while Charles was in England with Henry. Leo had died on December 1st and the Allies seemed strengthened by the election of Adrian, Charles' laureate (though Wolsey had been bitterly disappointed).

In this situation of affairs where was Albany? He had arrived unexpectedly in Scotland on November 8th 1521 probably at the request of Margaret for on the 4th December she wrote to Dacres that he had come for the good of the realm and to help me to be answered and obayed of my lyfein which is with-held from me. Her letter shows independence in every line. She could not have done without Albany's counsel since she knew Dacres was prejudicing Henry against her in Angus' favour and would probably provoke Albany to war.

Did Albany come with Francis' consent? It is extremely doubtful.

On the 2nd October 1521 Francis announced to Madame that the Duke of Albany was departing, "I have done my best to detain him" said he "I have promised him a command of the Swiss but to no effect", Francis feared if he went it would mean rupture with England and he therefore asked Madame to detain Albany as much as possible and get him to promise not to leave without letting her know. This Albany did and notified the Queen and Robertet promising to return the following summer.

In early November the conference at Calais
would still be going on, Francis might his suspiciouss but
the arrangement at Bruges was not till November 24th,
Indeed the English Ambassador remained at the French court for
several months yet and both Louise and Francis protested he
had gone without their leave and even offered to order his re-
turn and if he refused to forfeit him, Albany was also sus-
ppected of going to help on the divorce which Margaret desired
and which had been agitating at Rome. Albany indeed had great
influence with the Pope who he thought would more readily take
up the cause of Scotland if he went thither, Albany's expedi-
tion apparently was at his own expense though he asked the
Treasurer for 30,000 crowns, he had only equipment for four
months and all the cavalry and foot he could afford.

Francis no doubt for his own purposes pre-
ferred to look upon Albany as a free agent on this occasion,
and Albany's first move seemed to show he was not sent to stir
up trouble for on the 6th December he sent his secretary to
Dacre for peace, and on the 10th wrote to Henry informing
him of his arrival and how he had paid homage to the Queen,
professing a desire to promote peace. At the same time he wrote
to Queen Katharine asking her to use her influence with
the King of Spain to whom he was sending an embassy to restore
Scotch goods and ships captured by Spanish and Flemish sub-
jects. He even expressed himself willing that the Queen of
Scots should go to her husband Angus though he must have
known she would refuse.

In January Francis offered to dismiss Albany
from his men at arms and even sent M. de Neufville to Scotland
via England to recall Albany, but Francis if he ever were
seriously perturbed by Albany's departure could not have retained his displeasure long, Neufvill's message was probably not all Henry expected it to be for on 5th February Albany was asking help from his master.

By May Angus—practically Albany's exile—was received by Francis at the French court according to Albany's desire and by the 22nd or 29th when Clarencieux came with the declaration of war, all Francis' qualms must have vanished.

Henry now secure in his Imperial Alliance in reply refused a prorogation of the truce which would expire Candlemas (February 2nd) as long as Albany remained in Scotland, since it is contrary to Francis' promise, Clarencieux was to be sent with this formal announcement and Henry accused the Governor of advising Margaret to divorce her husband.

Albany however seemed determined that if breach there was it should not originate with him. He was diligent in redressing Border grievances and quick to point out that Dacres had given harbour and passage to Wedderburn and the Bishop of Dunkeld whom Albany had caused to be summoned to Rome and who had fled to England. As the English persisted Albany's temper became less amenable and it reached the English Warden's ears that he had spoken lightly of him, "What man is this Lord Dacre? Can none of our Borderers pick a quarrel with him and do me a pleasure,
Wolsey was now doing his best to exasperate the French to a quarrel, and even seized some French ships on a pretext of violence done during Albany's passage.

Whether Albany came with Francis' express sanction or not became then of no importance since Wolsey's policy was now obviously anti-French, and Dacre pointed out that he brought with him eight score craftsmen with cartwheels and shovels, thirty falcons, and four bombards. Probably in expectation of a struggle Albany was trying to compose the quarrel at home.

At the Duke's dictation according to Dacre the Queen wrote to Home of Wedderburn offering to restore him and when Gaultier, the secretary came to London Wolsey could reveal how insincere the outcry had been against the Rebels. The rumour of Albany's intrigue with the Queen increased gradually till it even reached foreign courts though Charles V could hardly believe that the Pope would agree to a divorce since both parties were married and Albany had children by his wife. This is incorrect for Anne died childless in 1524.

Since it was obvious now that in the event of hostilities the French could count on the Scots it was agreed to counterbalance them that the Swiss must be induced to assist the Empire and England. Scotland was thus once more caught in the whirlpool of Continental politics. Spinelly even hinted that feeling in Scotland would be roused against Albany if Charles could be induced to close the ports of Flanders. This was attempted but all that was done was to send a warning to the
The English party with the arrival of Albany had lost its shadow of power, Angus, George Hume, and Lord Somerville having taken refuge in the Kirk of Steyle sent the Bishop of Dunkeld to Henry to urge their cause against the representation of Albany's messenger. They described how graciously Albany had been received by the Queen at Stirling and accompanied by her went on to Linlithgow and Edinburgh. In the symbolism in which the time delighted the captain of the Castle gave him the keys, he gave them to the Queen who in turn handed them back to him as a proof of her confidence in him. Dacre insinuated moreover and offered Dunkeld's testimony as proof that the Queen was ever tender towards the Duke and cared not who knew it.

It was a grave indictment of Albany which the Bishop of Dunkeld carried with him: He stated:

1 That since the Duke had no inheritance of his own in France or Scotland, and his father died a rebel, Albany should not be tutor,

2 He was a vassal of France therefore Scotland would be a subject province of France,

3 He governed his home policy by fear of England and France and removed the King from Stirling to the windy and right unpleasant castell of Edinburgh, and again removed him to Stirling to keep the castle in his own hands, Dunbar, Dumbarton, and Inchgarvie were full of Frenchmen.

4 He did not promote the interest of the King

- He wasted treasure giving pay to the French 4s Scot a month, and a liberal pension to Arran,
He appropriated 50,000 francs which Francis had sent to James.
He dressed his pages richly in the garments meant for the King and coined the silver plate.
He sold three of the King's great ships and jewels worth 3000,000 francs for his own use.
He disposed of all lands forfeited to his favour.
He sold wardships and marriages e.g. Drummond, Sanquhar, and Inverugie.
Justice was impeded by his presence e.g. the Chamberlain's death, even his letters fostered discord and he maintained the queen against her husband.
He sold benefices and gained up to his last return £2500/Scots.
He made Robert Barton the pirate controller and John Campbell "one bastard bribor" treasurer, by whose accounts he predicts the King of Scots is in debt 12000£.
This might quite easily have been the case if not more for Albany as we shall see died heavily in debt and may have spent his substance in the King's service without repayment.
Dunkeld concluded with a solemn adjuration "Remember Richard III."

If Albany's father had not rebelled he would never have gone to France, never married again, and Alexander Stewart his eldest son by his first marriage would have been the heir apparent. As a final argument he stated that on 21st January 1520-1521 the Scots Estates declared that if he
did not come by August 1st he should be reputed no longer
Governor, since he did not arrive till November his right had
really lapsed.

The Douglases therefore to oppose such villainy besought
the intervention of the English king,

A letter of Margaret's about this time seems to demonstrate
that Margaret's attachment to Albany was largely a financial
one. She wrote once more in a much humbler strain to Dacre
stating that she only asked Albany's return to please her son
but that now the payment of her infirmity seemed as remote as
ever and she already owed the Comptroller £600 Scots. She
even wished Dacre to send a servant when there are matters
which she cannot write and she earnestly hoped she had not
lost Henry's favour,

She even appealed to Henry not to irritate the Scots for
it lay with him whether she was treated well or ill. If she
was under Albany's influence at this time he was clever to use
Henry's brotherly affection to obtain an interval, probably
till his preparations were completed. War he knew must prob-
ably come sooner or later. Margaret told Wolsey that Albany
treated her more respectfully than anyone else and that every-
thing he did was with her consent. He had given her money of
his own and from the King's rents to supply her necessity
since she was not answered of her own through Angus' interfere-
ence. There is evidence to show that Albany was negotiating
with Rome against the Bishop of Dunkeld and that he even wishe/1
to hinder Gavin going to Rome for his defence for Douglas
protested that he would not be detained in England at Albany's 1

wolsey evidently did not quite know what to make of the
affair,. Albany was asking for a truce till August 1st with
comprehension of France. This did not seem to agree with the
promise of Arran, Argyke and the Lords not to break truce for
the sake of the French. He wondered if the Lords deceived
Dacre or if Albany seeing they will not have dealings with
France suborned the Queen to write these letters. He therefore
advises that the truce should only be continued for one month
until he can find out. Albany meanwhile went on with the
work of pacifying the country, arranging Border commissions
though Dacre said bitterly that it "were best they did not
meet since no result came of the conference and the "poor
caitiffs who were surrendered had no food so that he was fain
to pay for their meat himself". Albany took Tantallon and
marched through the Douglas district much to the alarm of the
Captain of Berwick who increased his garrison by 250 men.
Albany however was not yet ready for war. Angus even gave in
to his persuasion for a short time, but within a short time was regretting his
actions, while the worthy Bishop was "dolorous and full of
annoy" at the defection of the Lords who sent him. He would
never take part with Albany and the unworthy Earl of Angus.

"He was a young witless fool and probably gave in to Albany's
threats of the Bishop's detention in England.

In spite of Margaret's letters of justification of her
actions, Henry listened to the Bishop's allegations. Wolsey in
Council even called the Queen of Scots "Albany's concubine"
and Clarendon was sent to Scotland with a stern message.

"To the nobility of Scotland, He still pretended peace but said he would never consent while Albany remained in Scotland. If Albany was sent away he would be agreeable. Albany had come as heir apparent with money, arms and artillery. He had committed the guard of the King to a stranger of low reputation. [Henry thus refused to believe the Queen's assurances of the welfare of her son.] Francis, Albany's master, promised on oath not to let Albany go, and the English ambassador has since been assured that he went without Francis' consent and against his will. Henry admonished the Scots not to assist Albany in his enterprises. He intended to separate the Queen and Angus and marry her himself and he besought them to have regard to the King's life and the Queen's honour and send Albany home.

A copy of this denunciation must have been sent to Francis for Teulet's original has translated and certified by the English Clerk of Council. On the 3rd of February the Scottish Estates received this ultimatum, and the charges against Albany. National feeling was roused against English dictation and the Estates maintained Albany to be the lawful Tutor of the Realm; that he never meddled with the King's household and referred everything to the Estates who by the advice of the Queen had arranged for the custody of the King. The Estates therefore took that responsibility and they wondered that Henry should believe that Albany "quha has been nuryst with sa gret honor and had sa tender familiarity with Popes and gret princes" could imagine harm.
harm against the King or induce the Queen to leave her husband. They declared they were unaware of any promise made by Francis to Henry, but Albany had always acted well and Dunkeld was not to be believed. Therefore they saw they must either dismiss a good and lawful Governor or expect to be invaded. Clarencieux's account of his reception is exceptionally interesting. He carried letters also for the Queen upbraiding her for her conduct. "When she perceived the King's displeasure she was marvellously abashed, declaring she only desired Albany because she was ill treated and had as simple a living as any poor gentlewoman." Indeed she would have had to pawn her jewels but for Albany's command to the comptroller. She denied strenuously that there was anything to her dishonour in her relations with the Duke, and summoned Clarencieux in whose presence the Queen expressed her gratitude to Albany, who in turn vowed he would never act otherwise toward her. All the conversation was in French so that Albany might understand. Clarencieux had another private interview with him in his own chamber in Holyrood during which Albany protested he must adhere to the Lords to whom he had sworn on the Evangelists at his last departure to return. He said he would risk life and goods for the Lords who appointed him and would not fail for the King his master, his wife or anything in France. As for the question of the divorce, when he was last in Rome, Margaret asked him to sue for it since Angus was illtreating her and he (Albany) obtained a Bull which he sent to her but did not show Clarencieux, and he swore characteristically by the Sacrament.
Sacrament "might he break his neck if he minded to marry her himself" and he marvelled that King Henry and Wolsey a man of the Church should say in full Council before his secretary Gaultier that Albany kept Margaret as his wife or concubine.

He added he had enough with one wife already. Apparently the Duke had some secret message only to be communicated to the King himself but we are left only to conjecture.

Clarendon informed Wolsey that Albany had written to Francis with a copy of Henry's letter - a pursuivant - the English Herald apparently was also acting as a spy and assured Wolsey he would find means to learn the contents from the simple fellow.

Margaret also sent letters to Henry protesting her innocence but she went too far. She declared that a divorce from Angus had never been contemplated by Albany or herself. This inaccuracy naturally detracted from the credibility of her previous assertions.

Albany's letter to Francis clearly shows that he regarded Henry's messages as an ultimatum for he wrote to his master asking help, War was practically declared by the seizure of Scottish merchants at Berwick. "We will do our best to defend ourselves he said s'il vous plait nous aider" and signed himself "votre tres humble et tres obeissant sujet et serviteur Jehan".

Francis' answer was not long in coming, but strange to say it could not have been favourable. His ambassador was the Sieur de Barres and on March 18th he returned with a message from Albany - a protestation against the complaints, which seem to have been made to the King of his administration. He assured/
assured Francis that he only served Francis and "this Kingdom and his own honour and duty". It must have been the Cardinal of York who had slandered him for he declared he never did anything to displease the King and beseeches Francis to help the young King.

It is curious that this estrangement should have taken place just when Francis must have known that England had already chosen her side. Perhaps it was an eleventh hour attempt to appease Wolsey by disapproving of Albany's measures.

It is more probable that it was a more personal matter. The affair of Bourbon was approaching and in January-February his case came before the Parliament of Paris. The succession to Auvergne through the female line was involved among the many claims which Louise of Savoy and Francis made to Bourbon's fiefs, and probably Albany was suspected of supporting the Constable. However that may be it did not make any appreciable difference in Albany's policy towards England. Preparations for war went on on both sides for the Truce which Henry had refused to renew expired on February 2nd. Berwick took in a larger garrison, the Bishop of Carlisle was deputed to assist Dacre in his arrangements while the Humes surrendered their castles to the English.

Dacre rejoiced over their surrender of Coldingham of which he meant to leave not one stone standing. On the 3th March Ughtred the Captain of Berwick reported a great assembly held by Albany, Arran, Maxwell and Beaton who was now Archbishop of St Andrews and in high favour with the Duke, while for safety the King was to be conveyed to Stirling.

Angus/
/which he meant to leave not one stone standing. On the 6th of March, Ugh tred, the Captain of Berwick, reported a great assembly held by Albany, Arran, Maxwell, and Beaton, who was no Archbishop of St. Andrews, and in high favour with the Duke, while for safety the King was to be conveyed to Stirling.

August by this time had made some arrangement with Albany, much to his uncle's disgust, but he and his brother William Douglas were banished to France, conveyed by Albany's two ships of war, and 5 merchant vessels, along with Fleming and the Secretary, May. In March, the Champagne official arms passed through England with a message for Albany but in spite of all Dacre's assiduity he could not discover what the message was. The desultory warfare meanwhile, still went on but Dacre was confident that it would not last long for there were "only 18 barrels of gunpowder in all Scotland. But during May hostilities with France broke out and French ship was captured by the English. Francis then gave open assistance to the Duke and sent three French ships to Leith "to the great comfort of Albany," who would have left if they had not come. The Border raids continued to increase in number and size. Dacre invaded with 2000 men and killed Lance Ker and many Scots.
Towards the end of May Clarendon went to France, to Lyons, with the formal declaration of war. Henry made out a good case for himself. (1) By the Treaty of London between the Emperor, England and France, it was agreed that the first to make war was to be attacked by the other two and Francis was the aggressor. (2) Francis had sent Albany to Scotland contrary to his promise. (3) Albany was dishonouring the King of England by being his sister's paramour and that Angus was really a prisoner in France, under the pretence of being an ambassador. (4) The tribute for Calais was unpaid and Francis was supporting de la Pole. Francis replied (1) that the Emperor was the aggressor. (2) It was not contained in the Treaty that Albany should be kept from going (3) Francis only promised he should not go with his consent and (4) this consent had never been given. While Albany was "trop homme de bien" to be concerned in the affairs of the Queen and Angus. As for de la Pole, it could not be proved he had been in France since the beginning of the reign - Albany was thus really made the primary cause for England's war with France.

In Scotland the war continued. On the 13th of June there was a rumour that Albany was setting out from Edinburgh but owing to the heavy rains he could not move
move his ordnance for thirty days. The French ships were attacking English vessels "but the commons of Scotland would fain have the Duke gone." During the last days of June, however, Albany made a final attempt at peace for, as he said in a letter to one of the Counsellors of France "ceux de ce pays" were weary of wars for others and Albany himself had threatened return unless he got immediate French help. His overtures however, were rejected. Vaure's only conditions were Albany's withdrawal for four years. Albany was also making advances to the Nuns, for his resources must have been low. However help was coming. In August Francis sent M. de Chayon to inform the Estates that he was sending ships though not so many as he would have liked but Francis' resources at this time were strained to the utmost. The Duke therefore prepared his great army giving out he was to invade on the 2nd of September. Margaret who maintained a correspondence with Vaure, often somewhat traitorous, was at this time suggesting terms of peace, possibly in the English interest. She said since she would assure Henry that her son was in safe keeping he could esteem the Duke but as a prince subject to the King.

But as Albany well knew, the English Border was extremely well garrisoned at this present juncture. The
The Earl of Shrewsbury, was in command of the English forces, and he was instructed from Westminster that he was to give battle whenever Albany left Roslin Moor. If he delayed Shrewsbury was to invade at once. But Albany made a surprise movement. After a show of attack on the east marches, he quickly turned to the west and Shrewsbury wrote in desperation to Henry that since Carlisle was practically defenceless and he could not hope to get there in time with the main army, he proposed invading Scotland and cutting off Albany's return to Edinburgh. The events of the next few days are something of a mystery. Lesly gives a story that Carlisle offered money to save the town but neither the Scots nor the English would cross the border. A Council of war was summoned and it was agreed that to invade would not be for the benefit of Scotland. Albany was only desirous of turning the Arms of England from France against Scotland, and that during a minority the Government should act only on the defensive. The nobles went to the Governor's tent asking his reasons for invasion. With perfect justice he pointed out that they should have asked that in Parliament before they came into the field. He (Albany) was only the General whom they set over the Army. As for causus belli they were many, and he
and he tried to stir them to revenge Glodden but in vain. They showed that even though they were successful now, the main army under Shrewsbury was approaching and they were too few to risk another disaster. Leslie suggests that the queen was the instigator of the deception. She had doubtless been won over by Dacre and she was working for a peace as we have seen. Drummond of Hawthornden implies the same, but for whatever cause, Albany issued safe conduct on 10th September to Dacre and 100 persons to meet with him at Solam Chapel the next morning, as Dacre had desired. The expedition was practically over. Dacre on the morrow obtained a truce of one month skilfully without committing King Henry, and the Duke's army was disbanded. It more probably deserted. The hint of the queen's duplicity is borne out by another hint of her presence at the conference and Wolsey in a letter to Albany definitely mentions the truce for one month arranged by the Queen of Scots.

Dacre reported his diplomatic victory to Wolsey with pardonable pride, showing now entirely unprepared the Scottish army was. He placed the Scottish army as high as 80,000, with 45 pieces of artillery, and 1000 hagbuts while the English only numbered 16,000. At least, he
he remarks, a month's truce will give opportunity for preparation and meanwhile the queen will send an embassy to London for peace while she sows dissension between Wolsey therefore could afford to write in arrogant strain to Albany, declaring that Henry would much rather try his righteous quarrel by battle. "Although he (Albany) says he left France without the knowledge or consent of Francis, yet perchance that was not the least cause of the rupture between France and England. Wolsey could also assure Henry that Albany would never get his Army together again and the abstinence made by Cacre was not binding to the King. Henry, since the Scots were peacefully disposed could with safety invade France in person. Cacre did his best to keep up the fiction and extended the abstinence with apparent reluctance "as he was blamed for the last". By 24th September Margaret was asking for the comprehension of France in any truce and Albany refused to send an ambassador to England for peace except on this condition: "but Henry will make them repent in the beginning of February." On 27th September, Albany sent Jean de Barbon to England expressing surprise at the renewal of border warfare. He justified his actions thus: he had only assembled the army at the request of Margaret for
for the defence of the realm and had made peace at her sole desire. His object in coming against the will of the King of France was solely for the good of the kingdom and he asked that the truce be continued till midsummer to allow the comprehension of Scotland's allies within four months. To this Wolsey replied that comprehension was only usual after a full peace. This was only a truce and Henry would only prolong it till the 31st of January and would not mention Francis in the abstinence. Dacre congratulated himself that all danger was past and he dismissed his garrisons though the Captain of Berwick still had vague alarms. Under show of reluctantly granting peace for another month, Dacre assured Henry he would find out if the Scots Council were in league with the Duke for the comprehension of France and secretly advised the King that in the present state of defence it would be advisable to agree to an abstinence until 1st March. But long before that the harassed governor had left Scotland. On the 23rd of October, he left Edinburgh for Stirling and there he appointed a Council of Regency consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow (now virtually of St Andrews) Muntly, Argyll, Arran, and Gonzolles, the French Captain of Dunbar. On the 27th he sailed from Dumbarton, having
having arranged for a meeting of Parliament and in Council tried to secure that justice would be done in his absence. He promised to return by August 15th or forfeit his authority and his regents swore to do nothing contrary to the Duke in his absence.

Jean de Barbon apparently was in England again in November for Albany received a letter from him in return sent Clarencieux to offer extension till February and to aggravate the question of the comprehensions November of France, showing the commercial advantages of a league with England, and how France had always sown dissension between them and urging them not to be "abused again by Francis' using Albany as a claimant to the throne."

From Vic in Auvergne, Albany wrote in January a letter of protest by George Hay. He pointed out that since his request for prorogation till midsummer had been refused, Wolsey had sent Clarencieux with offers of peace 1 or 16 years and the marriage of James and Princess Mary on condition of Albany not returning to Scotland, and no aid being given to France. Albany claimed that any negotiations for peace must be done through him. Hay apparently passed on to Scotland and the Lords decided that the charges against Albany/
Albany proceeded not of verity since he had fulfilled all that was agreed upon at Solam Chapel. But they stated that they were disposed to peace and willing to leave the French Alliance provided they knew the form of the Treaty with England.

In February, Wolsey was even contemplating a cessation of continental hostilities to devote all the English power to the conquest of Scotland. Albany perhaps heard of this. Anyhow he was urged by the Pope to make peace between England and Scotland. He proposed to the French Legate to send a messenger to Wolsey but Sari thought it best to send by Flanders first. Albany had his spies in England too for one of them, a woman, was captured. By March Albany had made his peace with the Humes and Buccleuch and the English forces were concentrating on the Border. Surrey was appointed chief in command and he had a good system of espionage among the priests and nuns on each side of the Border (notably the prioress of Coldstream). The Scottish commons were growing restive under the expense of maintaining Frenchmen but the governors were growing more confident in the expectation of Albany's arrival in May with 15,000 men. Surrey therefore wanted "Almayns" for Albany it was said was bringing pikes - a kind of
of warfare with which the English were unaccustomed.

A French ambassador, M. de Langiac was certainly in Scotland during March, April and May, for he evidently wrote in alarm to Francis, explaining the difficulty of keeping the people loyal, when he cannot fulfil the promises of help and money he had made. Francis wrote to reassure him. Albany was to sail before 24th June and already there were 500 foot ready. Help was most readily sent after the harvest. The Chancellor apparently was being retained by means of a pension of 6000 livres. Francis at the same time wrote a letter of similar purport to the estates urging them not to listen to the English deceptive promises but to wait in expectation of the great force Francis was sending. He only regretted that the French were not already there to repel the English advances on the Border.

Surrey's ravages however, continued and on 5th June an abstinence was taken between Beaton and Uacres till 29th September provided that if at his return "your misgovernor" was not pleased with it war should begin after 20 days.

To strengthen the Lords' allegiance, two servants of Albany's with about "300 persons" (probably the 500 foot) arrived at Leith with a reward of 500 crowns for eac
each of the Lord Regents, Wolsey hoped to do much by an invasion, offering amnesty to all who would desert Albany, but Dacre deprecated any such movement. The French were by no means so unpopular as was imagined. The Scots grudged their losses but they had deputed him governor, given him revenues during the King's minority, and they would not desert him. An invasion in June would do little damage; the Scots were most impoverished by an invasion just at harvest time. The Scots sent 6 ships on 25th June to Albany to urge his return, their loyalty being assured by French pensions. The Queen, it was said, had received 1000 crowns. The need for his return was growing more acute daily. The English raiders burned Kelso, while Albany's 500 lay idle in Edinburgh and when the Earl of Moray demanded ordnance from the Castle of Dunbar, it was refused because he had not the Duke's warrant.

Albany's day "the 15th August" was fast approaching: as it drew nearer and there was no sign of his coming, the English warden and Surrey began to propound a scheme to win over the Lords and "erect" the King to full formal control of the government, thus dispensing with Albany's regency. The English fears were also roused by rumours that when Albany did come he would act in concert with Richard de la Pole who would simultaneously attack/
attack England, probably landing in Wales. An appeal against

Margaret for her assistance and accomplice of "one of
the vilest caitiffs in the world" was not without its
effect. Information that even if Albany did arrive there

Throughout August an English fleet kept close watch
in the Channel to intercept Albany, but no suspicious
vessel was sighted and Wolsey heard with satisfaction
that if Albany did not come by the end of August, the
Lords would disown his authority. The Queen was doing
her best to win the Lords to her defence but they refused
without assurance of English support, and she had
evidently taught the King to hate the French. She urged
Henry to give the Lords occasion to desert Albany. If
they refused she had a good excuse for war. Such was
the policy of the patriotic queen.

Accordingly on the 28th August, 1533, Surrey wrote
a letter to Margaret which he intended her to show to
the Lords. In this he showed the folly of loyalty to
a man who beheaded the Chamberlain, banished Angus, and
had broken his promise of return and who obviously did
not love the Scots since he put Frenchmen in all the
Castles

and positions of trust. The treasure of
Scotland was spent with no hope of aid from France.

The letter apparently had the effect of gaining
an assurance that if Albany did not return by the end of
the month
end of the month, the Lords would make peace with England. Meanwhile the raids continued on the Borders with greater intensity than ever and Wolsey could say with satisfaction that even if Albany did arrive there was left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle or succour for man in Toviotsdale and the March, while the inhabitants in desperation begged their bread in England and would not be repelled though their ears were cut off and their faces branded. "Such is the punishment of Almighty God to those that be disturbers of good peace, rest and quiet in Christendom."

Albany did not come by 31st August, and the young King would probably have been erected but for the arrival of Gaultier, Albany's secretary, 4th September. "James, a boy of 12, is reported to have said that "the realm should not hold the Duke and himself, "Surrey was convinced that only a beginning was needed and the Lords would follow. Albany was however given a short respite and Gonzales and the Chancellor tried in vain to extend it. The Lords were determined if Albany did not come, to take forth the King and give the rule to Argyll, Huntly, Lennox and Arran, and make peace with England. Francis wrote to advise patience, Albany was on his way and the Duke himself wrote to say he was coming and asking despite in case of contrary winds. He said he was
was bringing such a force that the Scots would not be called upon to fight. The Lords, however, still refused extension, unless with the King's consent, and a deputation was sent to Stirling to obtain it. After much reluctance, for the boy insisted that previous kings had governed well at the age of 12, the King agreed to wait till the end of the month. Many ships meanwhile from France came with news of the governor's coming and brought stores of flour and wine. The chari of the Queen and the English at their desertion by the Lords, knew no bounds. "The Queen" says the Prior of Coldstream, "grant all day bitterly". Her nomination for the King's keepers were neglected and Cassillis, Fleming, Bishop of Galloway, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth and Lord Erskine, were appointed. The traitorous Abbot of Kelso described the scene in the Towmbucht to Wolsey and suggested that French gold had helped the decision: "our daft onnatural lords and messavised consale seducit by France deferred the King's "coming out" till ten days after Michaelmas, to give the Governor time to be in Scotland, and it was rumoured that the Duke was offering a month's wage beforehand to induce men to join his expedition. The commons of Scotland do not seem to have relished the prospect of a fresh number of Frenchmen coming, "to playe at carts and dyis, and ilkane
"ilkane uther nyght three or four of thaim stikt and goorit." Surrey's spies were all to be ready to inform him of Albany's coming within 24 hours. The air was full of rumours of de la Pole's coming. Albany in a letter read in the Tolbooth stated that he only waited till he (Albany) knocked at the door to come with an army to invade England. This was told to Thriekelde, Dacre's servant, by the Laird of Wedderburn, who had not altogether stopped dealings with England. Excitement was raised to fever pitch; the Duke had left Ricardy, 10,000 men were shipped. It was in vain that the English refused credence to such news. Albany's secretary and the French ambassadors said that Angus had not come with the Duke so that George Douglas and the Laird of Wedderburn were beginning once more to ask help from England. "Wedderburn boasted that the King, when asked what he would do with Frenchmen, said "Deliver them to Davy Home's keeping."

Margaret made desperate efforts to win over the Chancellor, Bishop of Aberdeen and Argyll, and suggested that Henry should approach them. To this policy Henry assented while Surrey was to hasten the erection of the King; this once done, he, at Margaret's request, would desist and turn his army against the disobedient. At the same time David Hume and Douglas offered to come to
/to England if the Duke arrived. But in spite of the Queen the feeling amongst the nobles was really on the Duke's side and the Queen again entertained ideas of fleeing to England for she had done much to incur the Governor's displeasure. The English army was ready for invasion on the 21st September, and alas for the Queen's hopes, it was Argyll who took command against it while Beaton made a Proclamation in Edinburgh for all to be ready with 60 days provisions against the English. Surrey could only conclude that the Lords had deceived the Queen to gain time for Albany who had sent a message that he would meet them on Michaelmas Day. Surrey therefore would delay no longer but on 23rd September crossed the Border and marched against Jedburgh. It was invasion on an extensive scale but the townspeople unthatched their houses and burned it in the streets. In spite of their efforts those who were not slain had to flee to the Abbey, the considerable alarm had been occasioned by a stampede among acre's horses for which the Scots must have been responsible.

On the very day of this exploit, Surrey reported the arrival of Albany at Dumbarton with 8000 men, 100 men at arms, and 600 horses, 200 of them caparisoned. The Lords rode out to meet him with great rejoicings. It was probably this arrival as well as lack of victuals
victuals and beer, that induced the English generals to with raw. Surrey was assured that Albany would invite almost immediately for the country could not afford to keep mercenaries in idleness. Wolsey still ignorant of this fresh turn of events, was at this very time, when Albany was in Scotland, pointing out how impossible it was that Albany should come or bring help when Francis was so fully occupied with Bourbon, the Emperor, and the English.

With Albany's arrival, all Margaret's plans collapsed. None of the Lords would now take her part and the French King had sent 12 Archers of his Bodyguard to guard the King. She saw nothing for it but to come to England for her dues had never yet been paid her and her whole income amounted to less than £1000 Scots, while the Duke since her opposition had withdrawn her pension. If she remained in Scotland she would be forced to give in but "I will not be his pensioner" she said, "while my brother can help me."

Within a few days of his arrival, Albany convened a Council at Glasgow, and began his preparations for war. The Lieges were ordered to convene at Glasgow, Stirling Lanark, and Lauder, under their own chiefs until Albany decided the plan of campaign. Margaret could discover
discover little of his intentions but what little she did she communicated to Surrey. Both Borders were to be attacked within 15 days but the main Army was to be on the east - 12 ships were at Dumbarton with victuals and wine and four of them were to go to the west Borders with great cannon. Margaret now computed the French at about 6000 who were all to be in the van, for Albany distrusted the Scots - and with good reason as we saw in his last campaign. Albany was also expecting 3000 Germans with the first fair wind, while an army under Richard de la Pole was to invade England. Though Albany had not yet visited the Queen he had sent her many 'fair words' and Surrey hastened to strengthen her wavering allegiance. Bourbon he said was alienated from Francis and half of France supported him. Albany could not stay long under such circumstances unless he made himself King, 'for the Frenchmen can empoison one and yet he shall not die, of a year after. Yet neither Henry, Wolsey nor Surrey desired to have Margaret in England "300 400 a year would please her in Scotland, but 1000 to 2000 marks would not satisfy her here." Albany was suspected by the English of a desire to carry off James to France for a marriage with the French King's daughter in order to make the French popular. Meanwhile the Governor was arranging for the
The burghs were not to provide fighting men, on condition they gave carriage horses and wagons, and to secure good credit the rate of exchange was fixed. The invasion. The burghs were not to provide fighting men, on condition they gave carriage horses and wagons, and to secure good credit the rate of exchange was fixed. ecus de soleil was to pass for 20/-.

Airdmay were ordered to bring oxen for transport by 12th October or compound 50/-, while a proclamation was made that the heirs of all slain in the war should be free from feudal dues, and the uniform of the host was settled. All lieges were to wear "Saint Androis corce of quhite cullor on their personns". Arran was put in charge of Teviot, March, Lothian, Stirling and Linlithgow. Huntly the north, Lennoxx the west, and Maxwell the Border.

By proclamation in "din'burgh the burgesses were warned only to charge a fair price for their horses and carts which they were to bring to Leith where the bailies would provide lodging for them. In the Acts of the Lords we see all the arrangements for comissariat. The price of food for the Army was fixed, four bailies of Edinburgh offered to provide the Army with 12 measures of bread, ale, flesh, fish, butter, at an honest price, and if they were not paid by Albany within a few days they were at liberty to dispose of the meat as best they could. But they were, it seems, punctually paid. On the 9th October, there is a payment of 2400 crowns of
Another bailie undertook the transport of the provisions at a price. The maltmakers of Leith were to supply the beer. Another proclamation forbade the provision dealers and the ships of France to sell anything except those commissioned to do so. The Albany evidently wanted the goods the French had brought sold first. The Governor also ordered that wherever the army went no corn was to be ridden down — a custom more common in France than in Scotland. On the 15th October, prayers were commanded for the prosperity of the Governor and the Army. The streets of Edinburgh and Leith must have thronged with eager and excited soldiers for there are complaints that "so many Frenchmen are buying at the Market that while some are paying the others escape without payment and Albany was asked to appoint stewards to be responsible for every ten men. The Scots still seemed shy of accepting French money and several orders are passed fixing the value and commanding the lieges not to refuse it, and complained that the soldiers billeted on them burned their furniture for fuel. Brawls were frequent and the Governor agreed to a petition that the Provost and Bailies with 24 to 30 persons should patrol the streets with halberds. "Olsey and Surrey were kept informed of Albany's movements by
by the Prioress of Coldstream, who had been in Dumbarton, Glasgow and Stirling, where Albany had visited the King. All men of 16 to 60 were to be ready by the 20th October with 30 days provisions each district having its rendezvous under the leader appointed by Albany.

Surrey's preparations also were proceeding apace but he was confident the heavy rains would delay Albany's transport. "If the Scots are resisted now, he said, in an oft quoted letter to Wolsey, "no man living will see them invade again." Albany is said to be very wilful. He takes no man's counsel and is so passionate in manner as to take his bonnet suddenly off his head and to throw it in the fire and no man dare take it out but let it be burnt. Dacre says he burned over a dozen bonnets when last he was in Scotland. "If he be such a man with God's Grace we shall speed the better with him."

There is a significant phrase in the letter which may throw a little light on the problem of Albany and Bourbon. "Albany insists on this invasion because his wife's inheritance is in the French King's dominions." Now Auvergne must have been held by Bourbon and was among the lands which Francis and his mother were claiming. Perhaps Surrey means Auvergne is in Francis' royal domain and
and Albany was "insisting on the invasion to gain Francis' favour to retain them." Authorities are extremely vague on the point.

Surrey hearing of the arrangements assembled on Roslin Moor, evidently thought the occasion worthy of an increased fighting force. The men of Nottingham, Derby, Stafford and Shropshire were called to assist him. Dacre was growing nervous of another attack on Carlisle which was still weak. Ships were bringing powder and guns to Lord Maxwell and it seemed most probable that the West Border was to be the scene of the invasion. In spite of a far reaching system of espionage, the English army could learn little of the actual plan of campaign and were kept in uncertainty almost till the day of attack. Dacre boasted of his spies but it is probable that Albany had his secret service in Dacre's camp itself. The English plan of counter attack was to send 15 ships of war against Leith while Albany was engaged with Dacre though Surrey would much have preferred the invasion to take place on the East where the Castles of Firth, and Ford, were well garrisoned. Throughout the whole campaign Wolsey firmly believed that the danger was exaggerated and the great expense unnecessary for he said the Scotch army would never cross the Border. Margaret's unceasing complaints of lack of money had
had been answered, to some extent, but Albany still giving her fair words, she was outwardly on friendly terms with him, and in fact wrote a letter at his dictation asking for peace and the comprehension of France, but she assured Surrey she would do what she could if only Henry would help her. The Duke had found means to please the King; he had complete freedom to ride where he pleased from Stirling, and he received gowns of cloth of silver and gold from the Governor, who swore he would spend his life in his service. He was bent evidently, on turning the popular feeling in his favour and Dacre tells how when certain French soldiers in Dumbarton slew a burgess of Glasgow and two women, the Duke delivered them to the magistrates for justice. When their leader had left the town the best of the soldiers rescued their comrades but Albany heard of it and returned to Dumbarton, killed two of the malefactors wounded 8 or 10 of them, and put 8 in the Castle prison. His whole policy seems to have been to keep the peace between French and Scots, who, though good friends apart, never agreed well together in Scotland."

The English were becoming apprehensive. Dacre's march was certainly weak and it was rumoured that the Duke had 33 ships at Dumbarton. Speculation was rife/
rife as to which way the Duke was sending his ordnance - East or West. Albany made several proclamations against Scots communicating with the English but one edde Storrey whom he took for one of his guides was a spy of Surrey's, who retained him in his employ to watch the movements of Davy nume of Wedderburn, his master, who was occasioning some doubt that he had really joined Albany.

Albany had won ovr all the lords by an appeal to their national pride when he bade them remember their kin and fathers slain at Flodden by "an English Earl and his son." The lords had knelt and offered to do a ything he commanded them. Margaret too continued to send her information to Surrey but Albany's persuasions obviously having"great effect upon her resolution." Still she said she would rather trust Henry if he would only help her "for the Governor can say one thing and think another and all bodies get his fair words just now while preparations for war are going on. After that "I hear say he will be right sharp and I dread I shall have my part."

Albany suspected that information was leaking out and made offers of a reward of £100 to anyone who could show him any Scot who had informed Surrey of his ordnance and must have increased his watchfulness for neither
Neither Dacre nor Bulmer could learn anything. Albany again persuaded Margaret to write for peace. In the midst of war preparations Surrey could not account for this unless the Duke had heard of Francis' dilemma with Paris endangered, himself practically shut up in Lyons the English in the heart of France, and the Emperor in Languedoc cutting off the French army in Milan. A comprehension of France at this crisis would have been extremely fortunate. The request called forth a scathing reply from Surrey in a letter to the Chancellor of Scotland, and next, Argyll, Arran and Lennox, studiously omitting to recognise Albany. "The King my master does not a little marvel at the presumptuous folly of the said Duke to think so light a personage as he should comprehend France." Surrey had power to treat whenever the Scots should open their eyes to the "abuse of the Duke and Frenchmen." with a touch of malice he added that the Cardinals most likely to be elected Pope (for Adrian had died in September,) did not favour Albany.

The English gained a spy who said he had drawn up a document between the French and Albany binding him to invade before the end of October and it was generally thought that it was the last border for which the army was intended and as a proof of the Governor's confidence in
confidences to Lord Home in that George Home was entrusted the keeping of the border. By the 22nd the news of Wedderburn's alliance with the Duke was confirmed by the 23rd the great army assembled at Roslin Moor was on the march. The ordnance went by a different route but Albany and Arran went to Lauderdale, Ogilvie feared it was Berwick they were aiming at. When the Scots Council met on the 24th all the sederunt were Kirkmen, ordering all late arrivals to follow the Duke, and every stranger was to be reported by his landlord to the Justice Clerk.

Possibly some collusive attack with de la Pole had been planned for Margaret reported that one Adam Jondas had gone to someone in England with letters under the great seal of the King of France but Surrey could not believe that any traitor could cross the border without his knowledge. The English general was eager after all these months of waiting to come to grips with the enemy. At last came the information for which Surrey was waiting. At a Council of war it had been decided, if the water of Tweed was low, to attack Wark or Norham, otherwise they would march against Berwick. Surrey immediately wrote to Wacre to concentrate on the east border. He had some fears for Wark which had a foundation only 20 feet underground and was thus easy for mining. By the time
time Albany reached Melrose and Dryburgh, 23rd October, Surrey's preparations were completed and there were 6000 men in Berwick. Wolsey all the time complaining of the expense for what would turn out to be a mere Border raid. Even on the 30th Surrey still thought Berwick was the real object of attack. Albany passed from Eccles to Home Castle. On the 29th he was in a marvellous great fume because the axletrees of five or six of his great guns broke, though the spy thought it was rage at Surrey's letter to the Queen of Scots and the Lords. The Duke heard of the scarcity of bread among the English and resolved to draw out the time till the English had to disband. Meanwhile the Laird of Wedderburn led small raids against his late allies, as Buccleuch and Mark Her, who must have been playing traitor, informed Christopher Wacre at Branxton. The English became convinced that no Scot actually knew what Albany's plans were and it was only when the ordnance was drawn within a mile of Wark across the Tweed that they became certain that it was there the campaign would begin. "He intends to shoot at Wark over the Tweed." The bombardment began on Saturday the 31st and continued over Sunday and M-
and Monday and at 3 p.m. on Monday since the tide was too high to ford, Albany sent 2000 Frenchmen to the assault in boats. These were successful in landing and stormed the "base court" but were kept back for 1½ hours by Sir W. Lisle, the Captain of the castle and 100 men. At length after much hard fighting, they gained the inner ward but were not supported or reinforced by the Scots over the river, and were eventually driven out of both inner and outer wards with loss of life. Lisle however sent a post to Surrey to tell him he could not hold out till daybreak. Surrey therefore struck his camp and marched to his assistance. Upon his approach, Albany retreated two miles to Eccles, for all his show he had not done much damage. On the 4th of November, Surrey heard he had retreated and a spy confirmed the news that on Tuesday at midnight he left the Abbey of Eccles. The weather was very bad, snow and sleet rendered transport difficult, but the Lords of the March complained that the Duke had wasted their own land and had not fulfilled his promise of giving battle to Surrey. The Duke answered angrily "I will give him no battle for I have no convenient company so to do." and went to his horse. Whereupon the Lords declared "by God's blood we will never serve you more/
more nor never will wear your badges more" tore them from their breasts and flung them on the ground saying "would to God we were all sworn English." "His estimation in Scotland" said the spy, "is gone for ever"

The French suffered badly. 22 killed and 160 wounded, while the besieged, only 100 men, repulsed a force of 1000 French and 500 Scots. Albany's failure is remarkable, but probably he experienced the same difficulty with the Scots as before. The remembrance of Flodden was too recent to risk another disaster. Francis I. himself was ill pleased with the conduct of the expedition. He even suspected Albany of being in league with Bourbon and so unwilling to damage Bourbon's allies. Such suspicion so far as we can judge was unfounded. Perhaps as Surrey thought, Albany was waiting for the English army to disband for he thought he must recover his name by some means.

On his return to Edinburgh, Albany proclaimed a General Council which Wolsey thought would be to ask leave to return to France. All were discontented with him according to English reports and the men of Teviot even took 300 horses from him as recompense for their injuries. But the Scottish records are silent. The French ships still patrolled the coast, menacing English shipping but on the 10th November Margaret sent John
John Cantley to ask for abstinence for three or four months. Surrey was certain that the overture came from Albany and that John Cantley, though the queen's servant, was in Albany's employ. Let Margaret herself, said she had not seen the Governor since the on-honest journey! "He thinks no shame of it. making excuse Arran and Lennox would not pass to England." She even asked Surrey to protect her from Albany's displeasure and warned him against Albany's spies in his camp. During the parliament it was agreed that the king's guard should be changed. - A decision which roused the queen's indignation, and she urged a month's abstinence to please the Duke, who would thus go to France and leave her in authority. Albany even wanted his expenses paid out of her son's lands. She therefore urged peace for the Lords would not displease the Duke at the command of England. "For there was never such a kyll lord's in the world." But the queen's desire for peace faded when by a decree of the Governor, and the Lords, Borthwick, Moray, Erskine, Cassilis and Fleming, were put in charge of the king each for three months. She resolved to resist separation from her son at all costs, for Fleming it is well known would like the King dead for Albany has his sister now for paramour. He had already, according to Margaret, been responsible
responsible for the murder of Lord Drummond's three daughters. It was in vain Margaret protested her loyalty and the "displeasure she had been under in England for over three years on the Governor's account" both to Albany and the Lords. In spite of the failure of the invasion, Albany seems to have carried the Lords with him. The Treaty of Nounes was confirmed and a French marriage was proposed for James. Wolsey, under such circumstances, would not hear of an atrocity which would look like a confession of weakness. Peace with James and the Lords would only be on condition of the expulsion of Albany. Meanwhile, at sea, the struggle continued. A French ambassador returning took one or two trading vessels near Bridlington, while on land plenty of raids went on as usual. On the 28th November, Surrey, received by John Cantley an offer of peace from Albany who said that if the comprehension of France was objected to he would offer such reasons as would satisfy him. Albany was now much more regarded since the news of the ill success of the English invasion of France had come while steps were taken to further the French marriage by deputing David Beaton ambassador for the purpose.

Margaret's letters prove that in spite of her professions to Surrey it was at Albany's instigation
she sued for peace and she had only been turned to anger by the change of her son's guards and his removal from her. She reproached him bitterly for his false words that agreed so ill with his deeds. Both sides were equally desirous of peace but neither wished to reveal too great eagerness.

Albany's pursuivant on 11th December was at Berwick, but Surrey had already obtained his recall and Carrick had to be detained some little time before an answer was forthcoming. He offered to take truce till midsummer or four or five months. Albany would then go to France even if truce was prolonged till King's majority but the allies must be comprehended. Albany was thus prepared to give up his regency for the sake of France. If these terms were accepted Albany would promise to go as soon as there was a fair wind. Albany was certainly preparing to in December and Magnus and Wace seemed quite pleased with his terms and there was a rumour both in France and England that he had gone. On the 9th December Albany went with the Lords to Stirling to put the King in charge of his new guardians. The King and Queen after much hesitation agreed, and Margaret was reassured that the King would not pass to France with the Governor. Before the Council at Stirling Margaret promised to be a "good Scotchwoman" but she straightway reported all
all to Surrey. After the Queen left the Council Chamber Albany asked leave to go to France without speaking of returning for he had already his ships prepared but this the Lords steadily refused to sanction. If he went they said they would disown his authority but if he stayed they promised to give him all the profits of vacant benefices and the temporal lords would spend their goods in his service. He however still insisted on leaving but ultimately was persuaded to remain till February. He received the disposal of certain benefices which he gave to Arran and Argyll who by this means were strengthened in their allegiance which had been showing signs of wavering. Margaret could hardly expect that her demands should be satisfied and her conjunct fee paid while her brother was at war with Scotland and she herself kept up a treasonable correspondence. She pointed out with self-conscious virtue that she had just refused a French pension of 5000 crowns while all she got from England was 200 marks.

By the 27th December, the French Ambassadors had gone with all the Frenchmen except fifty and Albany still kept his ships ready at Dumbarton. He had even asked half of the ecclesiastical income of Scotland to maintain the war. By the 2nd or 3rd of January some change had come to Margaret's policy. She says that since she was
was now admitted to her son's presence, that Henry should not deny her requests for peace even at the cost of French comprehension for the Scots will accept no truce except on that condition. Albany's secretary, Barbon, went to Vacre with the offer of peace till midsummer but Vacre declared he had no power to treat unless for all the minority of James and the comprehension of France was referred to special ambassadors and "olsey sent blank safe conduct for these ambassadors." On the 18th of January, the Council agreed to the arrangement and gave to the governor, Chancellor, Bishop of Aberdeen, with such others as the Governor thinksexpedient, "haill power thereto siclyk as the three estates war all present at the same time David Beaton definitely got his commission to pass to France. He was to thank the most Christian King for sending Albany with his honourable succours and to give permission to Albany to depart for urgent causes. Albany had evidently persuaded them that his reasons were valid enough, but he was to return probably in deference to Lords demands. Last but not least Beaton was to negotiate the marriage of James, always directed by Albany. Albany certainly was meditating immediate departure for he obtained on 8th January, a Latin commission in the name of the Estates commending his wisdom for past negotiation with the rope and France and giving him full royal power
power to negotiate all matters with the Pope and Cardinals on the question of Scots privileges, and, with the most Christian king all matters concerning the marriage of James and his daughter. From about 21st January Albany was in Glasgow and Dumbarton and not even Barbon knew why. From there Albany wrote to Louise of France in which he thanked her for a letter of the 28th December. He had, he said, been on the point of departure when he received her request to stay. He was obviously now staying against his will for he impressed upon her that the country was now in a good condition and he could leave it without danger and it would be much better for him to go to France personally and consult with Francis who had not given him any inkling of his great affairs. There certainly was some suspicion against Albany for he vowed since he was twelve years old he had served the House of France faithfully and begged leave to return to his wife who was very ill. Albany certainly was expected at Auvergne and Gonzolles had even been appointed French ambassad or in Scotland during the "Governor's absence."

But money had arrived from France along with instructions to stay and the negotiations for peace went on. Wolsey had either captured or corrupted a messenger of Albany's who showed him the Duke's advice to
advice to Francis in case the English again invaded. By the 30th of January, Albany had returned to Edinburgh and a few days later sent Barbon with fresh instructions to Dacre. It was arranged that if the terms were agreed upon Barbon should pass to France for Francis' acceptance, even if Francis refused the terms of comprehension Albany would accept. In the meantime Albany secured as he was always careful to do, an abstinence during the time the Envoy was in France. If the English consented Albany offered to pass through England to France to consult with the Pope. Barbon, it seems, went to London on his mission, but seems to have been somewhat remiss in communicating with Albany. Annoyed with Dacre at giving in so readily, Wolsey received Albany's letter only under protest, but agreed that if Albany had or could obtain a commission to treat for peace as Francis' ambassador he would be honourably received. But Wolsey does not like to think that Albany is insinuating it is Wolsey who is offering terms. Albany's correspondence with his late opponent Dacre becomes more and more friendly. He even sent him two hogsheads of wine the ambassadors for peace on the Borders were not considered of sufficient importance to treat, being only Albany's apothecary and a pursuivant, and Wolsey wrote a very cold letter to Albany enclosing certain instructions
of his own, of which Wolsey had the cipher to the King of France as Madame. "By these the deceits of Albany he says, are apparent. Was it Barbon who had revealed these? we are but left to guess what they were. Barbon indeed seems to have incurred Albany's anger. He upbraided him for going to France without securing either a truce or an abstinence for both France and England, or, at least, letters in his favour from Wolsey to Madame. He should not have gone merely at Wolsey's desire. Albany therefore ordered him to return as soon as possible. Albany wrote also in the same strain to Wolsey that Barbon had exceeded his instructions in going to France without securing an abstinence for France and Scotland. If these were conceded, ambassadors would be sent for peace as soon as Barbon returned. Dacre became convinced that Albany would neither come himself or send ambassadors but would leave Scotland altogether. Indeed Albany must have been very anxious about his own affairs in France at this time, and he began to prepare the Borders once more. Accordingly, the Scottish Council ordered their Borderers to be on the defence but Albany offered to stop all incursions if Dacre would do the same. To this Dacre consented. Barbon however was still in Paris and the King, Henry and Wolsey surely suspected that all Albany's proceedings were merely to "put off time
They were confident that if Albany had been away the lords would long ere this have sent for peace. All this Dacre told Albany and finally refused to entertain the idea of comprehension with France. Albany replied with an appeal to Henry's honour which surely could not ask the Scots to make peace without their allies. Everything seemed to depend on the answer Barbon would bring from France. Envoys continued to be sent to the border and Dacre advised abstinence till St. Andrew's Day as it would both save the King money and make Francis displeased with Albany.

Margaret now felt herself neglected; she liked to pose as the peacemaker, and Albany kept her in ignorance of his proceedings. She said she had not spoken to him since Surrey left and would not do so as long as he remained in Scotland. Yet, a few days later with peculiar inconsistency she wrote asking Wolsey to labour for peace for Albany was desirous of it and she hoped Wolsey understood his good mind. With skilful diplomacy Albany continued the negotiations and at one point he even made it appear that Wolsey accepted his terms and began plans for the French marriage and a Scot to negotiate the joint truce. Dacre however broke the abstinence which had been arranged, till the coming of Barbon, but Dacre quibbled and hedged. "He only forbade..."
forbade wardens raids till he heard from the King."

Mutual recriminations followed: each accusing the other of dissimulation, Albany suspecting the English of detaining Barbón while it grew more certain daily that Albany was only gaining time for he could do nothing without hearing from his master. Albany declared that though he had done his best for peace he was quite prepared to defend the realm yet he must have quite realised that his boast was hardly capable of fulfilment, for all the French mercenaries had been sent away, some of them shipwrecked and starving. He therefore offered a cessation for 40 days after 1st May to wait for Barbons coming and again all incursions were to be stopped till he had Wolsey's answer. If he were gaining time, and there can really be no doubt that he was waiting for orders from Francis he was indeed an expert at the game. Wolsey even suspected him of forging, to keep up his own reputation with the Scots, and Henry resolutely refused to fall in with Dacre's suggestion of an abstinence till St Andrews' day and ordered the warden to harass the Borders as much as possible. Accordingly raids begin once more, Dacre's brother even harrying as far as Langholm while on the other hand the Scots burned Wooler and the village of Ford. Meanwhile a curious document enclosed in a letter of Margaret's occasioned some dis/
/disquiet in the diplomacy of the time. It seemed to be an agreement between Margaret and Albany in which she promised (1) to suffer nothing contrary to the Duke's authority during James' minority. (2) Nor to consent to truce without inclusion of Scotland's allies. (3) to further the marriage between James and the French princess while the Duke promised her an honourable reception in France if she had to quit the country if Angus came; and to maintain her against all except her son.

Upon receiving this Dacre wrote to enquire how if she had not spoken to Albany since arrival in Scotland the instrument came in her letter with no directions. Dacre can only surmise it was done without her will. They therefore refused her request for a safe conduct for a ship to take Gavin Dunbar to Rome. It was probably a scheme to take the Duke in safety to France as long, said Dacre, as the Duke wears two faces under one head no peace will ensue unless he make peace for all the minority. While St. Ardo was in France, Dacre proved that Albany wrote many times to his agent there without letting the estates know and these letters by some means became known to Wolsey who even quoted some of their expressions. Albany seems certainly to have been acting in the interest but in this case, certainly, the interests of Scotland suffered little harm.
finally on 3rd May Albany thought it time to announce he had news from Barbon that Francis was inclined to peace, but he had since been reinforced by 12,600 Swiss and was prepared to continue war against England.

In France, meanwhile, the renegade Angus was planning a escape to England and warned Henry not to make peace, for if Albany was forced to war he would have to leave in six months. He was certainly out of favour with Francis for the King had given him three thousand foot, 100 lances, and 1000 "adventurers" and they had not been employed and gave no service to France. In spite of Margaret's protests Wolsey became sure that the Convention between Margaret and Albany had received her sanction and Dacre discovered he had given her the wardship of Huntly to satisfy her Tudor avarice.

Apparently the news from Barbon also contained a commission for Albany to depart. A parliament was held in May at which Albany was refused an aid for the Border defence. The Lords had said they could defend it themselves and the Kirkmen complained they had already given £40,000 Scots to the Duke's support. Upon this Albany in anger asked leave to goto Francis, promising to return by August. To this the Lords
Lords assented, but gave a reluctant promise to make no peace with England till he should return. The Spy thought they were anxious to be rid of them but he refused to embark till he had 30,000 marks for his passage. The Kirkmen offered him 1000 marks but Scotland must have been heavily in debt to him and to France, but "once he were gon he would never be repaid". He was no longer feared, obeyed or loved, though he had certainly won the Queen over and even on 26th May ordered the Treasurer and Comptroller to pay her 9200 Scots until his return when she should "be answered of her own conjunct fee." Having obtained the necessary permission Albany went on with his preparations. The Chancellor's nephew David Beaton received a commission to go with him on an embassy similar to his previous one while the English hopes of "erection" of the King once more raised their heads, and the chief Scots Lords were sounded. The Chancellor received a letter from Wace impressing upon him the precarious position of Francis and hoping the Duke would lose his duchy for his double dealing. Albany probably left at this juncture to secure his own possessions in France. His wife was dying and he had no claim to Auvergne for there were no children of the marriage. Indeed she finally left her lands to her
/her niece, Catherine de Medicis, but Albany hastened
home to look to his own interests. He left Scotland on
the brink of another invasion but the Lords had definite-
ly refused to grant him money for defence and he pro-
bably felt that much of the English animosity was on his
behalf only. He accordingly left Scotland in as good a
situation as he could. Gonzolles was appointed
treasurer, though the Lords thought him unfitted for the
office and he never seems to have used it. The Queen and
the Lords were given the custody of the King at Stirling
and they had promised not to make peace with England
without obtaining Francis' and Albany's consent.
Accordingly the Duke took leave of the Council in Edin-
burgh, visited the King in Stirling, giving him wise
words of advice, according to the chroniclers, and on
the 31st of May sailed from Dumbarton never to return to
Scotland. Immediately the intrigues began with renewed
vigour, for though the Lords had promised to wait for
his return till the last day of August yet it was
apparent many were estranged from him. Many who had
promised to go with him to France refused when it came
to the point. Meanwhile the English raids on the desec-
crated Borders continued, in order to compel the Scots
to renounce Albany's allegiance and the French alliance.
Alliance. Albany was in Noyon on 27th June and it is probable that a secret envoy was sent to England by madame la regente for it is certain that there was some Anglo-French negotiation before Pavia. If so, Albany sent a message also for only so can a mutilated letter from Noyon be explained. The French outlook seemed very gloomy. Bourbon and the Imperial Army were advancing into Provence. Albany, according to Wolsey, was out of favour at the French court, suspected of favouring the Bourbon faction. Angus had escaped from France and had come to England at the invitation of Wolsey. Henry was inclined for peace since he only carried on the war till Albany was expelled.

Now or never was the time for the erection of the King and the English interest. Margaret once more won over by lavish promises was employed in the task of breaking the Lords from Albany's allegiance, but she steadily refused to have anything to do with the English policy if Angus was sent to Scotland. It was in vain that Henry pointed out to her the benefits of an alliance with him. The English efforts were directed to gain the Chancellor's favour but he had the same capacity for judicious delay as Albany had. He pretended desire for conferences on the Border and goodwill for the
for the King's erection but did not commit himself. The lords were, many of them, bound to Albany by grants of crown lands which would in the event of the King's "coming to his own," be revoked. Fear also of the governor's displeasure in case of his return also deterred many, but on 30th July a profession of obedience was made to the King by the lords, signed by Margaret, Arran, Beaton, Bishop of Galloway, Gavin postulate of Glasgow, Alexander of Scone (Albany's brother) Hamilton, of Kincavel, Mark Ker, John Cantley, Scot of Dalweary Bennox, and many others, and on August 1st in council the Fords met in the presence of the King and revoked all oaths and bonds made to the Duke of Albany and annulled his authority and at the next parliament the formal erection was to take place, all officials meanwhile vacating their offices and the Council ordered a letter to be written to the King of France by the Marchmont Herald. James formally announced his assumption of the government to Henry VIII. in accordance with his uncle's advice, but the English ascendance was not assured. Margaret and Arran opposed Angus' entry and for some time there was a suspicion that Angus had had Francis' "permission of escape" and that he was really a French agent to take Albany's place. The Chancellor was now definitely the leader of the French party but he had to
to bow to the inevitable, and on August 20th the Scottish parliament definitely decreed that Albany had tynt his "authoritie" and that the king was hence forth to act in his own name. Arran was in receipt of a pension from France and had the Order of France. Margaret therefore advised Henry to buy him over by pensions and benefices and peace was arranged on Sept. 4th for three months till December 1st. All feared the coming of Albany except the French in Balbar whence Gonzolles wrote to assure James that he was misled for Albany had nothing but the welfare of Scotland in heart. There was rumour, indeed, of negotiations between Gonzolles and Angus. The latter gave out that the Frenchman had offered to surrender Dunbar if Angus would secure safe passage for the garrison to France, but Wolsey's suspicions of Angus were soon proved to have no foundation, and Margaret was told that unless she could definitely prove that Angus was an agent of Albany he would be sent to Scotland.

Some ambassador, possibly the Marchmont Herald, had been sent to Francis, and the King's reply seems to indicate him from any suspicion he made have had of him. On 15th September, he wrote that he was fully satisfied with Albany's conduct under the circumstances. "He could not go on without money from Francis and this Francis
Francis could not give owing to his mother's illness and the wars in Italy, and he offered to stand by the Treaty of Rouen. This message was delivered through the agency of Gonzolles but it made no difference to the final decision, for Gonzolles wrote to Angus describing some of the events in the turbulent Parliament of August. The Chancellor had enraged the Lords by reminding the Lords in the Tolbooth of their promises to Albany. Arran however pointed out the benefits of an English alliance, and the Lords agreed overawed by the presence of 4000 soldiers. Albany, said Gonzolles, was to be proclaimed bastard. Argyll Lennox and Moray were forbidden to leave Edinburgh while Fleming had fled, Beaton himself was imprisoned while the Marchmont herald had been sent to "amuse Francis with words," and accusations of Albany's appropriating all the money of which account they would have to make peace with England. We have seen however that in reply to this Francis had expressed himself satisfied with the Duke's conduct. Gonzolles was sure that the Estates will demand from Albany surrender of Dunbar but he advised him to refuse since the Scots have broken their promise to France. Beaton was urging Albany to make definite arrangements either for coming or staying. One of Albany's lacqueys had nearly been hanged for bringing
bringing letters from a Danish ambassador to Albany. But Gonzalles sent some Scottish merchants to rescue him. But there was no move on the part of Albany. In spite of the queen's protest Angus received permission from Wolsey to go to Scotland, though he promised to do his best to be reconciled to Margaret. The queen and Arran in retaliation liberated Beaton and swung to the French party, but by November Beaton had bowed to necessity, the Queen had reluctantly agreed to permit Angus to enter Scotland, on sufferance only, thanks mainly to the efforts of Magnus and Madcliff, and the Parliament of 14th November, 1524 confirmed the articles of August. Parliament, declaring Albany's regency at an end since he had not returned by the 1st of September, entrusting to the Queen the guidance of her son, and Beaton, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Arran and Argyll forming a secret council under presidency of the Queen for important state affairs, coinage, justice, etc. - ambassadors (Dunkeld and Cassilis) were to be sent to England for peace till James' majority or for seven, five or three years and to treat for the marriage between the King and Princess Mary. All Lords holding the Crown lands from Albany on long tenures of 19 years were to be informed that their "takkis were of no avail."
This information was conveyed to the most Christian King by the Marchmont Herald whose message was couched in no mild terms. (1.) It was pointed out that Albany himself had advised preventive measures if he did not return by 1st September "and we have been deceived and deluded as is well known" every sort of misfortune had fallen upon the country in the absence of the Governor. The Estates had therefore removed Albany and given the power to James and his mother. (2) As soon as the King of England heard that "we were in full power" he sent ambassadors for peace—a measure which Albany had also attempted but failed to procure. The Scots accepted and sent an embassy. (3) The Scots, however, it was said would not neglect the alliance with France but they were determined on a peace with England and they complained that Albany had taken away most of the artillery of Scotland and put the rest in Dunbar Castle with a French garrison. Therefore as Gonzalies had foreseen, they asked Francis to order Albany, who was his subject, to surrender the fortress and the guns, as soon and as quietly as possible. They explained how since the war with England, Flanders and Spain had become hostile to Scotland on account of the French Alliance and their trade was affected, for sometimes the Scots could not
not even trade with France. "They had indeed suffered much from the French alliance."

A similar letter was sent to Albany stating that they had really followed his own advice since he had not returned by his appointed day. They expressed the hope however that the Duke would continue his interest in Scotland's welfare as he had done now for many years in both Scotland and France.

So ended Albany's Regency in Scotland and his official relations with England. But almost immediately he began through the medium of David Beaton and Jean de Barbon and John Cantley negotiations with the Queen which were ultimately to lead to her divorce though not as was suspected, to her marriage with Albany, now a widower. Dunbar was not given up but remained under the French garrison till it was surrendered at James V's request long after he had attained his majority.

His policy with regard to England showed a firmness coupled with diplomacy which rivalled that of Wolsey but he was largely dependent on his French soldiery for support for the Scots Lords had practically each their price. He had used his resources as best he could and there is no doubt that he did have some Scottish national feeling even although he spoke French and called
called Francis his master. He was not altogether a passive pawn in Francis' hands in the game of politics; personal ambition may have had something to do with it but on more than one occasion he had rebelled against Francis' detaining him in France while Scotland was sold to England and it is doubtful whether when he went off in 1521 he had Francis' consent or not. But he was dependent upon Francis for money and munitions and from personal considerations had to bow to necessity. He was a good friend to Scotland both at home and abroad but he tried to serve two masters, Francis and James, sometimes their interests coincided, sometimes not, and when they did not, Albany had not the power to stand alone. But for him during these long years of the regency, with a child king, and a disunited nobility and Church, Scotland would have become merely a province of England.
The relations of Scotland with Denmark had always been very friendly since the marriage of James III. with Margaret of Denmark, daughter of Christian I. and James IV. had sent help more than once to his uncle. The Kings of Denmark had established themselves in Norway but Sweden was not overthrown till the Blood Bath of Stockholm, 1520. At the time of Flodden the King of Denmark was Christian II. a clever and enlightened humanist but cruel and cunning almost to the point of madness. His estrangement from his nobles and his government by Sigbrit coupled with his cruelty, ultimately brought his exile and finally his imprisonment for 27 years. He is a romantic figure yet typically a Renaissance monarch.

When Scotland was left destitute after Flodden the Scots naturally turned to their old allies and sent Andrew Brownhill to Christian, who had just ascended the throne, to ask help, reminding him how James IV. had helped Denmark at need. France had promised help and the Scots Estates hoped for an alliance between t
Antoine D'Arles, who had so often been employed in Scotland had come with Albany's assurance of help in November and he was now sent to Denmark along with the Scot's envoy to arrange a coalition. Christian apparently agreed on condition of the restitution of certain ships and goods and the Norge Herald was sent back with his answer to Scotland while Bastie carried the conditions to Albany. Albany apparently delayed settlement of the alliance until his arrival in Scotland for it was not till June that the Norge Herald was sent back. Albany explained the reason for the Scots accepting the comprehension was that it was urged by France, Christien and the Papal Ambassador and he prayed Christien to renew the old treaty between France, Denmark and Scotland. While Albany also enclosed letters containing the "answer to the commission you gave me in France". This commission may have been about Christien's marriage but it also probably had to do with a strange scheme in which Albany was one of the central figures. Richard de la Pole known as the "white Rose" was now the sole representative of the claims of the Yorkists. He was the 5th son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who
who had married Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. Of his elder brothers, John had been killed at Stoke; Edward executed in 1513, having been surrendered by Philip in 1506 when the fact. Humphrey and William were churchmen. He therefore represented in his own person the claims of his family and was a constant menace to the English king. Sometimes open and sometimes indirect support was given to him and at least he was a convenient figurehead for the centre of any movement against England. Some negotiation may have taken place between Denmark, Albany and de la Pole, for in the spring and summer of 1514 it was reported that Albany would be supported by a force of Danes and that de la Pole would go with him Christien himself married by proxy in 1514, Isabella of Burgundy, grand daughter of Maximilian, and the marriage was solemnized at Copenhagen, in August 1515. Christien would then have many envoys going to Flanders and it is possible that Albany's several journeys to look for vessels in the Netherlands may have helped to advance the scheme.

De la Pole did not go with Albany: that would have meant for Francis too open a violation of the Anglo French Treaty but his movements were closely watched by
by English spies. Two men especially, Claus Baeker and Hans Vagel were apparently his servants and secret agents yet through a spy, Peter Alamire, they communicated all their information to England, having either been corrupted, or believing him a friend. The English espionage at this time was extremely well organised and successful. Through these people it was known in May that de la Pole was intending to leave Lorraine where he was maintained usually at France's expense. "A man from Denmark" told Alamire that Christien had many ships ready to send to Scotland. But the time was not yet ripe for any serious effort. De la Pole continued to be watched but the negotiation must have continued for in August Ughtred reported that Albany had made a secret journey from Leith to a ship in the Forth which almost certainly came from Denmark. Albany indeed kept Christien well posted in the affairs of Scotland informing him of all his arrangements regarding Margaret's dowry but even at the time when he was negotiating with Wolsey as to his departure from Scotland asking what help Christien could send him by June 1517, though evidently it was at Denmark's intercession that Henry prorogued the peace.

The web of intrigue became more and more ravelled in January/
January 1516 Peter Alamine discovered that Claus Baeker, de la Pole's servant was certainly in the employ of the King of Denmark and there was some intrigue going on, for the white Rose to take shipping from that country. "Everything depended on Francis' return from Italy."

Another of Pole's servants, Hans Vagel, a musician, returning from Brussels found letters to be delivered to his master and asked Alamine to go with him. The English spy was in high favour with La Pole's household servants, and they were soon won to the English service. Vagel, being a musician, was asked to go to England to play. Some movement was certainly contemplated; it was rumoured that artillery making at Mechlin was really for Albany while de la Pole was to go to Gueldres or Scotland with 4000 German mercenaries. The Englishmen feared he would attack Tournai.

In February, Spinelly the English Ambassador to the Netherlands reported that three Scots ships had been wrecked on the coast of Holland and in the following month the ambassador went to see Richard de la Pole at Metz. Meanwhile Claus Baeker had been in Denmark and Scotland on Pole's business.

In May and June 1516 in France, Albany's returnwa
was expected. Francis as he returned to Lyons from Italy sent for de la role to Metz and arranged with him that he would make peace with the emperor and assist role with men and money to secure the English throne and sometime later Ravestein told a messenger from The White Rose that Francis was preparing a fleet for him to go to Scotland; but these negotiations came to nothing with the change in Francis' foreign policy, when Albany was refused support and the negotiation leading to the universal peace were in operation.

Meanwhile in Scandinavia Christian got his opportunity to interfere in Sweden. Sten Sture the Regent had a bitter family feud with the Archbishop of Upsala, Gustavus Trolle who appealed to Christian. He in return sent an army to help him. This was defeated by the national party and the nobles of Sweden decreed the deposition of the Archbishop and the demolition of his castle. Christian prepared to relieve his ally and sent to Scotland asking for assistance against Swedish rebels. He demanded 1000 Scots to be transported to the harbour of Hafen. The Scottish Estates in the absence of Albany replied on October 9th that they would have to wait till Albany's return before they promised any assistance. They also
also promised to ask Albany, at Christien's request to pardon Alex Hay and Magnus Mowet for the murder of Alexander Bannerman. The Danish King was too much occupied with home affairs for the next few years to trouble much with so distant an intrigue which Francis himself was allowing to fall into abeyance.

On 24th March 1517, Worcester reported to Wolsey that a certain Sir Richard Konder who had been in the service of de la Pole wished to enter the English service on condition of receiving pardon. This informer stated that Francis was sending 22 pieces of artillery, 20,000 pikes, 1500 hackbuts and 8000 halberds to Albany, who had 50 men at arms, his old companions, and that a body of Swiss was to be sent to him though it does not seem quite certain if de la Pole was to go or not.

In August, 1517, Alamire reported that a servant of the White Rose had been in England with letters to the nobility and that it was quite clear that the King of Denmark had an understanding with him for he saw sealed letters from Denmark. Christien was offering de la Pole 20,000 men and Scots in great number. There were also secret communications with Guelder and it was almost certain that the Duke of Albany was going soon taking Pole with him.
Christien's affairs seemed to be becoming more serious towards the end of 1517. He not only wrote to the Scots Estates asking help but also to Albany and Francis urging them to assist him against Sweden. There were also private and personal letters to Albany from the Danish Chancellor. These letters were opened by the English ambassador in Malines but "Master Davy" the King of Heralds of Denmark, assured them that though France might make war against England, no help would be had from Denmark.

During the early months of 1518, Francis had several secret interviews with de la Pole but always by night and there were said to be many French spies in England working for his cause.

In May, Sir Richard Jeningham had got the gist of the scheme to carry out which M. de Purssel (Chief Councillor of Rouen) and David Cochrane (Danish King at Arms) left for Scotland to go thence to Denmark. Pol was to take ship from Denmark with the Duke of Ulmske Christien's uncle, at the head of a force of lansquenets to land in England. Albany meanwhile was to sail from Brittany to Scotland there to stir up war against the Henry while Bourbon and the Duke of Vendome were to
to besiege Tournay. Everything was to be done within two or three months. Possibly the Scots' Ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, had revealed much to the English and the herald told it to one whom he thought was "good French."

Already Pole had left the Court for Metz whence he was to go to Denmark but the English spies knew so much that they could even intercept letters from Pole's priests to his shipmasters. In due course 'Davy Cockron the Danish King at Arms arrived in Scotland presented his letters (which were of course by this time known to the English) and also one from Albany in France. The Scots Estates sent him on to Denmark with their consent to the triple alliance between France, Denmark and Scotland, and they asked help against the encroachments of the English.

Christien receiving no answer to his petition for help had written again in April asking help before Whitsuntide (25th May) but the letter only reached Scotland on 3rd July, addressed to Albany. To save the herald a journey, the Estates opened it. Having heard of Christien's victorious expedition against Sweden they did not send aid but offered to do so if he found it necessary. But Christien had not been so/
so successful as they imagined; he had sailed off with the hostages the Swedes had sent, as preliminary to peace negotiations, but he determined to subdue the rebels by all the means in his power. With the assistance of the Pope he made it appear a crusade against heretics and he applied once again to his old allies. He wrote to Albany in France and the Duke sent his servant James Stewart to Scotland with the message. Albany was sure they were well disposed but found it difficult to collect forces in the absence of the Governor. The Estates indeed, when they received Christian's demand for 2000 foot against the Swedes before the following Easter, for four months to serve at Scotch expense, declined, on the ground that the situation in Scotland was too pressing for a regular force to go but they had promised pardon to all accused of Treason if they would assist the King of Denmark. These troops were collected and sent in May under James Stewart of Ardgowan and Arran, and James wrote to Alexander Kinghorn the Danish ambassador excusing their action but that they could not send forces till they saw what the summer would bring forth. Again on 22nd June James assured Christien that the state of the country forbade a
a regular force being sent; and indeed they had again summoned the governor from France. The malefactors however had already been given permission to go. Some had already gone to Copenhagen and the rest followed with the Danish Ambassador, but these preparations were cut short by a dispute over trade. Thomas Norry, Henry Harlaw and David Uchiltree, three tradesmen of Edinburgh fell in with the Swedes at Trailshound and though they were rescued by the Danes their goods were not restored to them, and the detachment was delayed until reparation was made.

Christien was evidently putting forward a claim to the crown of Scotland on behalf of Albany in case anything happened to the young King, for Henry wrote to Margaret of Savoy thanking her for the means she had taken to dissuade him from it. Charles V. related by marriage with Christien was on intimate terms with him at this time and when the Dane finally overthrew Sten Sture in 1520, he was decorated with the "Golden Fleece." In the army which overcame the brave Swedes there were 2000 French and 2000 Scots. The danger apparently in 1520 was very real for a war scare was communicated even to Wolsey. In the north of England there was a report in August and September
In September that Albany and de la Pole had landed and were at Dunbar. Great numbers had joined them and one or other of them was to be king. This was of course entirely a fiction but it was certainly rumoured at Rome that when Albany did go "the white rose" would accompany him.

But Albany's departure was delayed again and again until November 1521, and from June to September of that year Christian was visiting the Netherlands and his brother-in-law Charles V., for he was now, as he thought supreme over Scandinavia. The Swedes were beaten to submission by the Massacre of Stockholm and Charles granted him in addition suzerainty over Lubeck and the Hansa and invested him with Holstein - a gift which was in the end to prove his undoing. Probably Christian had some communication with Albany for the intrigue received a much greater impetus though still Albany sailed without de la Pole. But Christian when he went back found himself faced with a discontented nobility led by his own uncle, Frederic, Duke of Holstein, and supported by the free German Hanseatic towns who resented his suzerainty. Albany in Scotland was experiencing also great difficulty and in April, 1522 wrote to one of the Councillors of the Crown of
of France stating that he must go if he did not receive help and asking Francis for definite orders. He urged his friend to remind Francis to send to the King of Denmark, to the Duke of Holstein, and to the free cities of the Hansa though they were at war with Christien. De la Pole was to try to arrange their quarrels, for Holstein would give military assistance and the towns would give money with which a force of Swiss might be raised. If the Duke of Suffolk was at the court of Holstein, he was to use his utmost endeavours for peace. Suffolk might also act as envoy from Christien to the cities who if they were promised the 200,000 angels which the English owed them, Albany doubted not, would help the enterprise. Albany also advanced a proposal for marriage between de la Pole and Dorothy the daughter of Frederick of Holstein and the cousin of Christien. While the expedition was being arranged in the north probably under the personal supervision of Christien and Suffolk, Francis was to make a pretence of attacking Calais to distract the English till the invading force was safely over.

Accordingly Francis sent assistance to Scotland and a messenger Theodric von Rand to Denmark and in his instructions Francis described the scheme, how
how the King of England had defied him, how he accordingly was making war on Calais, and had sent for de la Pole to give him people to go to England. The best starting place, however, said Francis, for such an expedition, would be the ports of Holstein, and Frederick was bound by the Treaty of Amboise, 19th May 1518 to give 10,000 foot, and 400 horse, and free use of his ports. If war was declared between France and England, Francis therefore asked that these terms should be fulfilled and he would send Suffolk with money. When Suffolk came to Holstein or to his rights Francis hoped the marriage with Frederick's daughter would take place, while he also hinted at negotiations with the Hanseatic League. In August Theodorius was sent back with Frederick's answer.

Suffolk probably did not know himself go to Scandinavia, but a Hansa merchant from the Steelyard reported all to the English. The French captains apparently were staking all on the White Rose and the spy saw several ships going to Scotland including the Great St Michael. Vendôme told someone that Richard de la Pole now at Lyons was to go with a large force helped by Denmark to land in the Duke of Buckingham's County while Francis gave him 50,000 crowns, and all
all the nobles of France were to contribute. But this scheme so near completion was rendered impossible by the political situation in Scotland and Denmark. In October Albany had to return to obtain more support and in Denmark in December 1522 the nobles declared against the tyranny and misrule of Christien, renounced allegiance and offered the crown to Frederick of Holstein. Christien after futile negotiations had to leave Copenhagen and sailed to the Netherlands to seek the assistance of Charles V., his brother-in-law, with whom Franco Scottish allies were at war. But this unexpected submission of Christian did not occur till April. In the intervening months Albany once more in France was reviving the scheme. He said that if Francis would give him 10,000 men and 500 men at arms with Richard de la Pole to accompany him, he would expel Henry from England. Francis agreed to consider it in his council. Wolsey heard also that the King of Denmark would go in person and Francis was preparing to blockade Calais and the Low Countries. Preparations proceeded apace in January 1523. Francis promised to give Pole 12,000 foot, and 8000 Germans: 4000 men also from the Netherlands. But the watchful English spies knew almost every move, and by torture and otherwise
otherwise compelled Pole's messengers whom they captured to reveal the truth. One of these messengers had even been to England to discover what nobles would support the White Rose.

To Christian's desperate appeal for help by Alex. Kinghorn to the King of Scots, the Chancellor could only reply that "with all the good will in the world in the present situation of their affairs with a war against England and the Governor in France, they could not send any assistance until the English War at least was settled."

So Christian had to face his rebels alone and these now strengthened by forces from Germany paid by the wealthy cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, resolved once and for all to be rid of the tyrant who was now more than ever ruled by his "witch" Sigbrit. In spite of the straits of one of the confederates preparations for the scheme went on. In January it was known to the English that from Brittany Albany and the White Rose would descend on Ireland. "A Lord of Ireland has arranged to supply the army at whatever spot they land. Francis was to supply the money. The French Archers had refused to brave the sea and 1500 Lombards were to be sent to give them courage."
Still another rumour, however, stated that the fleet would land in three places in England. Reports as to the number and destination of the expedition were unauthenticated but one thing was certain that the French ships were preparing in Brittany.

On 4th March, Wingfield wrote that Albany and de la Pole had been in Paris within a fortnight taking leave of Francis and from another source we hear that Albany had received 150,000 crowns. It was about this time that Albany sent his messenger for peace to England via Flanders. He was detained at Wingfield's instigation and protested when questioned that he knew of no preparations and that Albany was in Auvergne with his wife. Francis indeed always promised more than he could fulfil but Albany had no hope of aid and therefore sent for peace. Wingfield had a correct suspicion that this supposed embassy was only to gain time and Albany's instructions upon investigations were found to contain "great leasings".

By 27th March, Wingfield heard that Albany and de la Pole had definitely departed by sea to Scotland with 400 spears and 9000 foot. But this again was false.

These wild rumours continued and for them there must have been some foundation; and a party was sent/
sent from Jersey secretly to ascertain the truth at the New Haven. They found 24 ships prepared for Scotland with ordnance but a French spy was bought over to the English service and promised to report whenever Albany and Pole left.

Nine ships from Scotland came in April to convoy the adventurers and Sir Anthony Poyntz received orders to intercept any suspicious vessels.

By April, Christien was a fugitive from his country, and by June Frederick was besieging the capital itself. Christien came to Flanders seeking help from the Emperor, the Pope, England or France. His position was destitute but no help was forthcoming. For 8 years he lived in misery at Lie in the Netherlands, his wife's native country. It was not till 1531 that Charles V. consented on condition of his restoring Catholicism, to give him 10,000 men to regain his Kingdom, an attempt which was certainly disastrous and ended in Christien's imprisonment for the rest of his life. Christien himself had suffered the fate he had contemplated for Henry VIII. He therefore could give no aid to the conspiracy — indeed he was even soliciting Henry's protection now for himself.

In September 1523 Albany arrived once more in/
in Scotland, but de la Pole did not accompany him. Albany said he had left him at sea with 30 sail to invade England. The attack apparently was to be simultaneous with Albany's invasion of the border. Pole was said to have as many as 6 or 7 thousand men with him and Albany boasted that the first place of attack would be Wales. Though Surrey did not place much belief in this statement, yet he advised Wolsey to warn Sir Rice ap Thomas. But no farther mention is made of de la Pole's attack and no records have survived. If he was at sea with a fleet he must have returned to France without accomplishing or attempting his mission and Albany himself soon left Scotland for ever though before he left he was reported to have sent a herald to Denmark. When he returned to France there was talk of another expedition coupled with rumours of a force to restore Christien but these came to nothing. Albany himself was removed from the regency. De la Pole, the bosom friend of Bayard, fell at Pavia and in spite of Christien, Frederick was recognised as King of Denmark. In October 1524 the Scots Estates sent a letter to Frederick "King of Denmark" complaining of a trade dispute and seized vessels belonging to Edward Crawford. Francis apparently recognised him also/
Also although in 1528-29, January, Frederick, while agreeing to send Francis part of his fleet complained that Robert Barton and Albany's late Comptroller David Falconer and others in Scotland were secretly plotting with Christien against Frederick and asked Francis to stop any such dealings in France and to use his influence against them at the court of King James. With the death of the white Rose the revolutionists lost a figurehead and with the return of Albany Francis ceased from any active interference in the affairs of Scotland.

The wholscheme originated probably in the mind of Albany and might have been quite feasible but for the trend of circumstances which rendered the collaboration of Denmark impossible.
Chapter IV. (b)
Albany and Trade.

Both during his regency and during the period of his absence in France, Albany showed consideration for Scottish trade.

The Netherlands and France had always been the emporium for Scottish merchandise and it has often been wondered whether a political alliance with the emperor and the Netherlands would not have been more beneficial to Scotland from an economic point of view than the Franco-Scottish bond. About the beginning of the 17th century, men's thoughts were directed to the new lands recently discovered in the west and the towns of the Netherlands began to be a little anxious as to their position as the markets of the world. hitherto all the luxuries of Europe had come from the East but with the approach of the Turks the caravan routes were gradually being cut off and the Netherlands which had been the terminus of these trade routes began to feel a change in their economic situation. Probably this explains why the towns of Flanders showed such competitive anxiety to obtain the monopoly of Scottish trade. Albany, the opportunist, naturally made what he could out of the situation.
situation both for Scotland and himself. The Scottish staple was looked upon as a prize in itself and for years before Albany came to Scotland the struggle had been going on. In order to realize the value of the prize in itself and for years before Albany came to Scotland the struggle had been going on.

About Scottish trade at this time we learn most from the ledger of Andrew Maliburton, who probably resided at Middelburg, 1492-1503, and in 1501 it was agreed that the conservator of Scottish privileges should get £200 a year provided he dwelt in that town. However it is evident that Scottish merchants did not trade solely with Middelburg but also with Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp. The articles of trade in which Maliburton dealt were books, gold and silver plate, jewellery, costly materials for dress, and embroidery; wines, carpets and hangings, sometimes even salt was sent. The Scottish exchange dealt mostly in salmon, hides and very simple manufactures - the famous Scottish pearls forming not a small part of their commerce.

There was therefore, no absolute monopoly for Middelburg for the town twice sent Augustine de Caminade, the town pensionary, to Scotland, to try to gain the staple. The second time in 1517, Caminade took with him a piece of jewellery worth
worth £ 15: 15. (rlemish) as an offering to James V.,
but the staple was not settled and the gift was brought
back.

Other towns seemed to realise the value of the
privilege for in 1508 we were successful in
obtaining the monopoly, James IV. having been
gratified by a present of several horses. Still in
1508, 4th April, Seaton the Treasurer could write to
Antwerp, another competitor, that, the matter was not
finally settled. James indeed probably got guns
there for his wars. In 1513, the unicorn herald
went to Flanders in the interests of Scottish traders.
He carried letters to Middelburg asking a statement of
the privileges they were prepared to give. Such a
statement was certainly drawn up but no record of the
privileges remains. One of the articles is mentioned
in a letter of 15th October, 1515, expressing grati-
tude of the magistrates. They promised to give the
Regent or the Scots government £50 a year as long as
the staple remained with them. This was probably the
date of Caminade's first visit. They evidently
realised that some persuasion was necessary with the
Governor for on 2nd June, 1516 they wrote to the
Archbishop of St Andrews soliciting his influence
influence through the medium of octavianus Albany's messenger, who had lately been in middelburg. When Albany returned to france in 1517, the records of middelburg mention Jacob and Jan rieterszoon Gesschop as going with the manservant and three horses to france to treat with Albany on the question of the residence of scots in the city. This visit is reported to have extended to 51 days.

On 22nd March, 1518, Edinburgh wrote to the towns of the netherlands offering to settle her staple at the city which would give her the greatest privileges. Middelburg offered herself and despatched philippe wulerott's on 10th April to convey to the governor an offer of 5000 to 6000 guilders - later increased to 8000 guilders, in the event of the scots settling their staple in middelburg for 12 to 20 years. Wulerott's himself was to receive a commission.

A month later reiter nemig was given a similar mission and was empowered to promise such sums of money or privileges as might be required. The regent's price it would seem was high - no less than 10,000 golden phillipus guilders."

On 5th July, 1518, the council of middelburg agreed to Albany's demands through rieter nemig, both
both for 10,000 guilders and the privileges the Scots had had previously at Bruges - provided they were not too exorbitant.

But again in a letter of 16th August, 1518, we find more than a suspicion that there has been some double dealing. Middelburg wrote to Patrick Ranter complaining that in spite of the kind messages which Rieter brought back from the Duke nothing had been done about the staple. The Duke promised at the first embassy that everything would be satisfactorily concluded when sufficient power was given to the ambassador of the city. In spite of this they had got nothing - except a quarrel with the neighbouring city of Yper which maintained it had obtained the staple for ten years. This they said they could hardly believe as Middelburg was so much better suited for the Scots trade; nevertheless they demanded the truth and desired Patrick Ranter's assistance, offering him 300 crowns if he could bring the affair to a successful conclusion. All the citizens of Middelburg would stand security for his payment.

It was some months before any reply was forthcoming. Then on 1st December, 1518, Patrick wrote to say that he had been ill in Paris and had not had
/had an opportunity of furthering their cause. Another
city had been urging the Governor to retain, not
obtain, the staple. Veere, he discovered, certainly
was inferior to Middelburg but the Scots had been
accustomed to go there for years, but he promised
however to do his best for them.

It is clear that the "disinterested" Governor was
trying to make as much as he could for himself by the
sale of the staple. Gualterotts again in January,
1519 was commissioned by Middelburg to offer 10,000
guilders to Albany, though they did remonstrate over
the failure of their previous efforts. Even then
there was no settlement and on 4th May, 1520,
Gualterotts was instructed to offer another 2000
guilders as an inducement to Albany.

From the records of Edinburgh of 1520, it would appear
that Albany was making some advance for it is
stated "that My Lord Governour by his writing thocht
it necessair there should be a stapell sic lyke as
other natiouns hes and desires the said community of
merchants to declar quilk of thir three towns,
Camfeire, Middelburg or Byrges ar maist convenient!"
The merchants decided that Middelburg was the most
convenient "swa that other burrowis of the realm
repair thair to siclyk as the inhabitans of this town"
This would seem to imply that the staple had been in abeyance for some time which probably explains why the Flemish towns were so anxious to obtain the Scotch trade which could not have been so valuable as they expected. Dy/Middelburg's case seemed to be more promising, the five towns, Edinburgh, Dundee; Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling agreed to settle the staple in Bruges, Middelburg, Antwerp or Veere. Albany was still sustaining their hopes. In March 1522 George Ney, Albany's secretary received a passport from Charles of Vendome, Lieutenant General of Picardy to pass to Middelburg on his master's business.

The Conservator Alexander Mure who was also employed by the Duke, recognised Middelburg's habit of making valuable recompense for services since he did his best to obtain their point and eventually received a loan of £80. In the same way James Cotter a canon of Glasgow was not slow to point out the expenses of a "needy Scot" and the contract was concluded on 5th December 1522. The Government of Middelburg insisted on two conditions (1) the proclamation of the staple in Scotland and (2) That 11,900 guelders were only to be paid when the first Scots ships had put into the/
Accordingly on the 26th of January, 1523 it was definitely stated in the Scots Council that when the three estates decided that the staple should be in Flanders, and the burghs agreed and gave their seals, the lord governor had directed “James Cottes, Canon of Glas ow and Alexander Mure, Conservator of the privileges of the Nation to treat with Veve and Middelburg. They had settled it in the latter town but the inhabitants demanded a more definite commission. The Lords therefore ordered a commission under the great seal to be sent and a proclamation made to that effect.

On the 18th of June the Lords gave Cottes and Mure power to receive the money from Middelburg and confirmed the contract made by advice of my Lord governor and the Commissioners of the burghwis. The Scots again insisted on sufficient security against the malice of Veve, which apparently had seized a ship belonging to a David Falconer. Everything apparently had to wait upon the governor’s sanction as one of the ambassadors he announced the decision of the Scots council; Writing probably to a citizen of Middelburg, he hinted that a little reward for himself would not be out of place and urged his corres-
/correspondent to show to rieter Rinnen and other good friends "my great pyne, expense and labour!"

Two or three ships did put in at Middelburg though we cannot help suspecting that it was only done to obtain the guelders. Robert Barton, indeed, in a supplication, brought before the council on 13th September, 1523, the complaints of two burgesses of Edinburgh who sent a ship "The Thomas" to Middelburg in March to begin the trade. Instead of being received as a friend it was seized in the harbour of Middelburg. The Lords therefore considered the promise made to the governor broken, and ordained that if any Flanders ship, or ships from the Archduke's territory came to Scotland it was to be seized in the same way until restitution was made. In October we find records of complaints that the Scots traders had never settled in Middelburg; in fact most were in verre. More the conservator was able to allay their suspicions by producing the ratification of the agreement but upon examination this was found to be old, in fact made by Albany while regent and a rumour was in circulation that James was to repudiate all the acts done during the regency.

In 1525 the "slippery Scot" is again hedging.
James stated that before the fulfilment of the contract it would be necessary to have peace and the conditions would be further considered. Middelburg appealed to the emperor Charles V, who approved the contract to remain in force 14 years, and to help pay the 11,000 guelders he allowed them to raise the tax on flour, velvet, beer, wine, etc. In February, 1526, the emperor's ratification was finally proclaimed and a commission appointed to enforce observance of the staple. That this was no idle threat was proved by the seizure of two Scots vessels going to Fere. The Scots however seem to have determined on the repudiation of the contract. More obtained safe conduct for two deputies in April to go to treat with the Scots, one of them Cornelius Barthelzoon and rieter hemign, one of the representatives sent nine years before to Albany. In Edinburgh there was trouble over producing the contract and one of them returned to Middelburg for proof. The Middelburg deputies insisted they were robbed and imprisoned and ultimately Parliament annulled the contract "in consideration of the great damage and scaith which would result." Their reasons were that Albany had negotiated the first contract on his own
own responsibility and secondly that the contract subjected the King and Scots to the Emperor's jurisdiction. The Scottish ships were forfeited if they did not go to Middelburg and Parliament pointed out the injustice of this in a case of shipwreck. The King, it was true, was entitled to one third of all such forfeited vessels but this meant suing his own subjects in a foreign court. The trade of Scotland therefore reverted to Campveve.

The Middelburgers, incensed at the treatment of their envoys appealed to Charles V, and on 18th April, 1527, Cornelius Barthelszoon and Erasmus Corneliszoon set out for Spain to offer Charles money if he would compel the Scots to come to Middelburg. Charles instructed Margaret the Governor of the Netherlands with James V.

Again on 10th March 1528 Margaret wrote to James stating that he had granted a contract and accepted a "gratuity" by letters patent. The Middelburg envoys in Scotland had been forced to give up the letters patents therefore he should either continue the contract or give up the money. It was found as a result of this that on 27th April, 1531, the money was restored to Middelburg by Act of Parliament. On this
this decision, correspondence was renewed and on 30th April, the Scots asked Middelburg's protection for all ships under their jurisdiction and James V. assured them again on 4th May of his goodwill. Again on 7th March, 1533, the convention of Royal Burghs agreed to pay £450 to Middelburg for money she had expended but Middelburg probably never got back her illspent "gratuities." Now it was Albany who had received these gratuities and there is just a suggestion that when Charles began to demand repayment on behalf of the Middelburgers, Albany, to escape from an uncomfortable situation proposed to take the burden of Margaret's divorce expenses upon himself. Albany's interest in trade was not confined simply to the Netherlands. He probably indeed from motives of policy had to support the merchants who often traded under the protection of some noble Scots family. In May 1518 he secured for them trading privileges in France. Already, as we have seen in 1513 Rorman had obtained certain immunities but by the Treaty of Amboise, Francis arranged that the Scots should be free of the dues which foreign merchandise was subject at Dieppe, but within a few months there was a dispute over the seizure at Bordeaux of a ship belonging to
to George Wallace and Albany had to use his influence to obtain a peaceable solution of the difficulty. Albany, though so much an instrument of French policy could yet oppose any unjust action against his Scottish subjects. He, like Henry VII, used his official position to secure individual protection for the Scottish trader perhaps again in return for a gratuity. Thus, just when he was on the point of departure for the last time he wrote as a safe conduct for Edward Crawford trading to Cadiz and he insisted that ships as long as they had Scots goods on board should be regarded as Scots and be exempt from seizure by the French although Francis was at war with Spain, and the Empire. He asked, therefore, protection for Crawford coming and going no matter from what port his goods were taken.

Albany, indeed, was a good friend to Scottish trade and protected Scottish enterprise in almost every country in Europe; Maximilian, Christian of Denmark, Charles V., Anne of Veveu, could none of them seize a Scottish vessel with impunity or without eliciting a letter of remonstrance or threat of reprisal from the Governor. Albany, as much as any Tudor, used his foreign policy to further his trade
trade, and although in some respects his dealings as in the case of Middelburg were not above suspicion yet we have no proof that the money he received was not spent in the interests of Scotland as he understood them.

The Bishop arrived in Scotland, sent a messenger to order him to stay where he was in Rittenhouse until the question of "purging benefices at home was decided." Albany held fast to the privileges of the Scottish king, to pass acts to all benefactors over 700 ducats in the exclusion of any other patron and was tested in council that though he had no personal animus against Gavin Douglas yet his action in receiving nomination to Dunkeld by Henry VIII. was directly against the law of Scotland. Until he realized the significance of the Scottish privileges Albany delayed the formal offer of attendance to the Pope, and evidently thought that the Scottish benefices might be a fruitful source of
Chapter IV. (c)

Albany and the Church and rapacity.

We have already seen that at Albany's first arrival the struggle for the Scottish benefices was at its height and with it was involved the question of the papal right to nominate incumbents. The Estates had steadily refused to accept Cibo, the pope's nephew and though Albany and Forman had hitherto been allied, Albany having discovered his trafficking with England withdrew his support and when the Bishop arrived in Scotland, sent a messenger to order him to stay where he was in Rittenweem until the question of "purchasing benefices at Rome was decided." Albany held fast to the privileges of the Scottish kings to nominate to all benefices over 200 ducats to the exclusion of any other patron and protested in council that though he had no personal animus against Gavin Douglas yet his action in receiving nomination to Dunkeld by Henry VIII. was directly against the law of Scotland. Until Leo realised the significance of the Scottish privileges Albany delayed the formal offer of obedience to the Pope, and the Pope evidently thought at first that the Scottish benefices might be a fruitful source of
similar process Gavin Douglas was prohibited from Dunkeld. Albany's motives must have been primarily pecuniary. The proclamation of September 17th proclaimed that Margaret Angus and Hume were intriguing for an invasion by England. Forman had been discovered trafficking with the enemy and Gavin Douglas was certainly on the rebels' side, therefore the governor detained the revenues of those sees in his own hands. Albany could not at this point afford to lose the friendship of the Hepburns and when ultimately Forman bought himself back to the Duke's favour Hepburn was allowed to retain all the rents he had taken and obtained an exemption from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. In May 1516, the Archbishop was allowed to take his place in council at the price of surrendering the bishopric of Moray, Kilwyning and the Abbey of Dryburgh, which was given to Albany's servant James Ogilvy, and in return Albany tried to obtain for him a Cardinal's hat, yet at the same time the governor insisted that though they had given in to the Papal wishes in this respect, admitting his candidate, yet they would insist on all the privileges of the Kings of Scotland being maintained on all other occasions.
Albany's policy indeed is comparable to that of Francis I. in his Concordat of Boullogne. Francis then, repealed the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges which had vindicated the right of the French ecclesiastics to free election, and he secured the right of nomination to all bishoprics and benefices, subject to the Papal confirmation. Francis thus obtained an enormous power of patronage which he used to reward the services of his great nobles or satisfy their rapacity. In this way in France the higher churchmen were all men of noble family and the Church lands became practically alienated into their hands while the Papal veto and the pernicious privilege of exemption from jurisdiction induced them to look toward Rome. Between them the king and the pope despoiled the Gallician Church. Almost exactly similar conditions prevailed in Scotland but Albany reduced the Papal influence much more even though the Bull of 1509 was not so decisive as the Concordat. Albany made it his business to resist Papal attempts to withdraw the privileges previous Popes had granted and he successfully opposed the appointment of foreign ecclesiastics to Scottish benefices. He emphasised the national point of view.
view and resisted on occasion the privilege of exemption. When he asked for the legacy to be given to Forman, he was practically erecting a superior ecclesiastical court and precluding appeals going to Rome even although he said the honour was momenti parum nisi gloriam afferat", and even withheld the Scottish offer of obedience till he was sure the rope would not violate his promises.

Albany's policy though national was not disinterested; he rewarded his own friends and relations lavishly with benefices at his disposal. Then James Hepburn received the bishopric of Moray and got exemption from St. Andrews, and the Earl of Huntly's family was rewarded with Aberdeen. In that very month he admitted Forman he wrote to Rome, to Cardinal St Mark insisting on his nomination of the Bishop of Lismore to Ulenluce and protesting against the nomination of Alex. Cunningham as the procurator of St Mark since he was already judged to have incurred the penalty of violating the King's privileges. Roman ecclesiastics were also claiming the priory of Whithorn, but Albany appointed his brother, Alexander Stewart, already created on 13th November, 1518, Abbot of Inchaffray. Albany was aware of the dangers of
of resignation in favorem by which an arrangement between a
scot's ecclesiastic and the rope and another
kirkman it was found that, on the incumbent's death,
there really was no vacancy at all and the Crown was
defrauded of its eight months' revenue. Something
like this may have happened in the case of whithorn
but Albany was fully prepared to vindicate his rights
even the Cardinal Ernetius "the protector of the
scots" was layingclaim to Arbroath though it had
already been granted to the natural son of James IV.
the protege of Albany. The Bishop of Dunkeld, after
long andexpensive intrigues at Rome, for no one dared
to present his bulls to the Duke, was finally, on the
reconciliation of Angus with Albany admitted to his
benefice on 25th May, 1516., and the Duke had once
more shown that he could wield his ecclesiastical
privileges to ensure the subjection of his political
opponents.

By May, 1516, Albany haddistributed his benefices
wisely from the political point of view but the
questionsat issue with the incapacy were not yet settled
Throughout the whole of his regency the same troubles
crop up again and again.

The famous whithorn case shows most plainly
plainly Albany's attitude and the dispute was most virulent when Albany was in France 1517-21, and even at the time of the marriage of Madeleine and Lorenzo he maintained the Scottish rights in face of both flattering and determined opposition on the part of Leo. Immediately he arrived in France apparently he sent a messenger to the Pope on the subject of the resignation of Arbroath by the Earl of Moray to James Beaton. The Pope insisted on his right to nominate but as the marriage approached he began to compliment the Duke upon his moderation and piety as a ruler of a savage people and he promised to grant at his request whatever he might consistently with the common weal.

In March 1518 he wrote to Francis that he was willing to confirm the Scottish privileges though some he thought were worth investigation; but this he would overlook if Albany came to Rome and offered obedience in Scotland's name. But this Albany was determined to postpone though he had the royal letters to do so, until he could be certain that the Papal confirmation would mean something more than mere words. And in the case of whithorn Albany proved that Leo's respect for Scottish privileges did not go very deep. On 8th December, 1518, he wrote to Leo once more on the
the subject, reminding him how he had yielded to the Papacy in the matter of St Andrews, in order that the Pope might provide for his nephew with Bourges. He stressed not the particular bull of 1508 but rather the custom that had prevailed of a months' allowance for royal nomination. Parliament he said, moreover, insisted upon the privilege and it was only natural that those who formed the first estate and were ex officio members of the Council should look to the king for promotion; especially so in the case of whithorn where a powerful and loyal prior was necessary to guard against the Irish, the English and the pirates of the coast. He concluded with a hint that unless the question was satisfactorily concluded Scotland would not render her obedience. The Pope apparently looked upon Albany's protestations with ill concealed cynicism. In November, 1518, he appointed Alexander to Scone, thus hoping to remove his claims to whithorn and make way for Cardinal Crotana. Accordingly, Leo wrote on 9th December to Albany, telling him of his brother's promotion. He had even given him an Italian monastery and the Pope somewhat sarcastically hoped that this would make him a little more tractable and induce him to restore the fruits of the priory.
priory. until Albany made this restitution, he ordered Cardinal Musebius to detain the Bull of Scone. Albany immediately wrote to demand the surrender of these Bulls and determined to continue his brother's nomination to Whithorn, for, said he, the priory of Whithorn must be resident and must be acceptable to the king. Albany declared that Alexander had been forbidden by the Parliament to resign the Priory, even if he would, and especially to Cardinal Crotona. But once the Bull of Scone had been released he hoped some arrangement might be made for his resignation.

But immediately he knew of the provision for Scone he must have either written to the Council or obtained their authority for on the 12th December, he nominated Gavin Dunbar, the King's preceptor, to Whithorn whenever it should be vacated by Alexander Stewart, or by the resignation of the Cardinal Crotona. He was plainly determined that no Italian Churchman should farm the revenues of Scotland. The letter, curiously enough, is dated from Edinburgh Castle. Was there a carefully organised plan of resistance to papal aggression between the Governor and the Council?

Albany insisted on the incumbents of the great benefices being Scots just the same as he had opposed the/
the investiture of Cibo, and his attitude becomes more threatening "The place will not receive any Prior or Commendator without Royal Letters" and he demanded that the various fulminations and censures against his brother should be immediately removed. The Bulls of Scone, however, were still kept back by Cardinal Eusebius acting under the Pope's orders. Albany wrote in January 1519 that Crotona was still scheming against Alexander and the Duke's claims become more and more aggressive. The papal confirmation, said he, was purely formal. The actual nomination lay entirely with the King and what was more Alexander had been canonically elected, therefore he had a double qualification. Until the Bulls of Scone were released he would not be permitted to resign the Priory. Dunbar himself wrote that he was determined to abide by whatever the Governor determined. Popular feeling in Scotland was undoubtedly on Albany's side. The question dragged on. Albany declared that the Scots Parliament had resolutely refused to allow any pension to be paid to Crotona and by February, 1520 the Cardinal had adopted a much more pacific policy. He was willing he said to resign in favour of Albany's brother but the expenses of his Cardinalate were such
such that he could not do so without compensation. He proposed for himself a pension of 500 ducats and the fruits already due to him while Albany should procure for him from the French King the reversion of the first vacant benefice in Milan to the value of 1000 ducats. To this Albany replied coldly, thanking him with just a touch of sarcasm for his generosity. But, said he, the fruits of the priory barely sufficed for hospitality and his brother would not take upon himself to add to the burdens of succeeding priors, for Alexander had no intention of retaining it. Any pensionary would have to bear half the burdens and expenses, for a fixed sum was unfair to the incumbent. But in any case, Albany declared he saw no need for compensation since benefices were always assigned by Royal letters and not otherwise. The Cardinal's claim was quite unwarranted, yet, to please the Pope and the Cardinal, Albany declared his readiness, in face of an Edict of the estates, to see what pension might reasonably be expected - probably about 200 florins but still only on condition of the promulgation of the bull of Scone. By March, 1520, these were still unpublished, and Albany wrote insisting that the cases of Whithorn and Scone were not the same and that
that his brother had already resigned the priory and it was Gavin Dunbar with whom Crotona was now dealing. Some short time after this, the bulls must have been released. In April or May, Albany, dissatisfied with Francis' behaviour towards him went to Rome, and there having gained his point and asserted the national right of Scotsmen to Scots benefices, he formally offered the obedience of Scotland and paid homage to the Pope on the 18th of June, 1520. The Bishop of Worcester, the English ambassador, noted with surprise that his credentials for doing so were dated May, 1517, before he left Scotland. We have seen what good use the Duke had made of the interval.

It was then and then only that Leo issued his Bulls on 19th June, 1520, taking James and Scotland under his protection, and accepting John, Duke of Albany, as Governor of Scotland, the King and the realm "propter integritatem, mores probitatem consilii maturitatem ac in rebus agendis experientiam." Rebels against the Duke were to be accounted rebels against the Pope and the Holy See, and the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishop of Aberdeen, and two French bishops, were appointed to promulgate these bulls and assist Albany in his duties.
In Scotland itself there had been no question but that Alexander was the prior of Whithorn; he had long appeared in the council proposing motions and witnessing documents under that title. He had now in pursuance of Albany's policy, resigned, but only in favour of a Scotsman. The affair comes to an end with a letter of Grotona to Albany, 12th August, 1520. He said he regretted the trouble he had given Albany but was grateful that it had been arranged as much to his own satisfaction as that of Dunbar, though he had not meant to be content with anything less than a pension of 1000 ducats. He was now, he said, induced to acquiesce in a pension of 250 ducats as had once before been proposed and he looked to Albany to procure for him by French influences benefices in Lombardy. The actual arrangement between Dunbar and Grotona is, strangely enough, placed by Brewer under 12th December, 1518, but this seems improbable though there may have been a tentative proposal about that time. In this document Dunbar agreed to pay 250 ducats yearly while the Cardinal retained the right of reentry on delay of payment one month, or on the decease or resignation of Dunbar. The first payment was to be made on the day of the Cardinal's resignation and the Archbishop of
of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Aberdeen, Albany, and Paniter were to stand security. Yet when Gavin Dunbar was translated to Glasgow a few years later, James letter of recommendation of John Maxwell in November, 1524, met with no opposition. The Italian Cardinals had probably learned their lesson. Albany had certainly shown in this case a great zeal for the Scottish national Church but he did not proceed to extreme measures. He accepted a compromise, and granted a small pension instead of maintaining his first unbending demands. Probably he was aware of the grave issues approaching for Luther was about to make the defiance which shook the Papal throne.

Albany seldom if ever appointed anyone to an important benefice purely from the point of view of their actual spiritual qualifications. He did not seem to consider much the religious welfare of the people, but merely distributed the benefices as rewards for good services, a convenient method of paying salaries when the Scottish Treasury was almost empty. Thus Patrick Paniter, once the secretary of James IV who had fallen out of favour with the defection of the Douglases, was restored along with them in May, 1516. Perhaps to secure Albany's favour he surrendered the Abbacy of
of Cambuskenneth, on October, 1516, in return for a small pension, but in any case he served Albany well and was installed as Principal Secretary as a reward for his services. Albany wrote to Leo in 18th May, 1517, asking leave to convert certain lands near Montrose belonging to another foundation to the use of the Hospital House of St Mary's, of which Raniter was master. Raniter and his heirs were to get a perpetual pension for the benefit they had done to the place by restoring and rebuilding it.

Patrick Raniter was also concerned in the case of Torphichen, a preceptory of the order of St John of Jerusalem. Alexander Stewart, Albany's brother, was also a claimant, but the Pope supported George Dundas who obtained the patronage of the Grand Master of Rhodes. He obtained a judgment against Raniter and was accepted by the Scottish Council in the presence of the Papal envoys but with a reservation that only the Pope could decide between him and Alexander; when he then attacked Alexander, Albany, in January, 1517, sent a protest, as Dundas' bulls had been obtained by an application to a foreign power and he was even prepared to recognise an English prior of that order as his superior. Albany accordingly demanded that the whole case should be tried
tried over again.

Albany, as much as any of the nobles was working for his family aggrandisement and his own household did not lack rich benefices to reward them. Gualtier Malines, Albany's faithful secretary received after a struggle, the monastery of Glenluce and even lower servants received small pensions from the revenues of some monastery.

Albany's policy with regard to the benefices is very closely allied with his policy with the nobles. He could very easily fill vacancies with his own friends and it was not too difficult to deprive a refractory churchman if his family was out of favour.

Albany carried this so far that the monasteries on the border were practically fortresses against the English. After 1523, as we have seen, he put a Maxwell in Whithorn, a relative probably of the Warden. Andrew Bishop of Caithness, who had been commendator of Kelso had deserted the post of danger at the time of Flodden. A strong abbot was necessary and the King and Council could not have done better than choose one of a powerful border family, the Kers. Though Andrew Stewart objected to his installation, yet apparently he maintained his position, and on the death of the Bishop of Caithness/
Faithness, Albany wrote his formal letter of recommendation. 17th August, 1517. for the Red Chancellor.

When Forman died in 1521, Albany made an attempt to recover those advantages which the necessity of his position at his first arrival in Scotland had forced him to yield. He proceeded at once to nominate his supporter James Beaton and sent his servant Octavian Olavius to Rome to hasten the publication of the Bulls and on the defection of Gavin Douglas and his flight to England, he wrote warning the Pope against a rebel and traitor's claim to St Andrews and demanded that he should be summoned to Rome, and there deprived, while he made sure in any case, that Dunkeld should obtain not a farthing of the revenues of his bishopric.

Almost his last public act in Scotland was to secure the revocation of the exemption which John Hepburn had won from St Andrews. He admitted that he had sanctioned the grant when he came to Scotland, was not then experienced in the government of the country, but he now desired it to be rescinded both for the sake of his own conscience and the benefit of his Chancellor, Archbishop Beaton. He saw, indeed, what a great asset, a united national church was always, provided there was an amenable archbishop at the head of affairs, and exemption
exemption always gave the Pope an opportunity for interference. It was probably on this account therefore that he assisted Beaton to quash the attempts of the Archbishop of Glasgow to obtain the same privileges as Beaton himself had once fought for.

With a complacent Church, Albany used its resources often for supplying his army with grain and provisions and transport. Commissariat for any border expedition even on as large a scale as that against Wark was rendered much easier by the support of churchmen of loyal families placed in the great Abbeys near the Border. In January, 1524, a fairly large series of documents shows us how matters were carried on. Albany gave the Abbey of Dryburgh to Lennox on condition of his undertaking the offices of warden, and Lieutenant of Lothian, offices which under La Bastie and the Earl of Arran, had been a severe strain on the Exchequer, but now Lennox would be more than sufficiently recompensed without injuring anyone except the poor parishioners who would not perhaps care whether baron or priest took their dues. Lennox appointed to the Abbacy James Stewart, an old servant of Albany's, a secular who intended to take orders. Had any one of Lennox' children been old enough, the whole of the spoil would have/
in Scotland, but de la Pole did not accompany him.
Albany said he had left him at sea with 30 sail to
invade England. The attack apparently was to be
simultaneous with Albany's invasion of the Border. Pole
was said to have as many as 6 or 7 thousand men with
him and Albany boasted that the first place of attack
would be Wales. Though Surrey did not place much
belief in this statement, yet he advised Wolsey to warn
Sir Rice ap Thomas. But no farther mention is made of
de la Pole's attack and no records have survived. If
he was at sea with a fleet he must have returned to
France without accomplishing or attempting his mission
and Albany himself soon left Scotland for ever though
before he left he was reported to have sent a herald to
Denmark. When he returned to France there was talk of
another expedition coupled with rumours of a force to
restore Christian but these came to nothing. Albany
himself was removed from the Regency. De la Pole, the
bosom friend of Bayard, fell at Pavia and in spite of
Christian, Frederick was recognised as King of Denmark.
In October 1524 the Scots Estates sent a letter to
Frederick "King of Denmark" complaining of a trade
dispute and seized vessels belonging to Edward
Crawford. Francis apparently recognised him also/
French supporters, and though the Papacy apparently had a splendid opportunity for profiting from a long minority, yet at the end of it, the papal claims had not gained anything, and the Scottish respect for the Pope had been greatly diminished. Once more Albany had proved that a national church was of more avail than a distant potentate even although he were the vicar of Christ. Albany certainly exploited the church for the benefit of his own government if not of Scotland.
Chapter V.

Albany's Domestic Policy.

a. The Nobles.

As we have often pointed out, the internal affairs of Scotland were closely governed by the fluctuation of foreign politics. In spite of the passing of centuries Scotland still remained strictly feudal and the family or clan system prevailed not only in the Highlands but also in the Lowlands, while by "perpetual bands" various families entered into alliance and their united powers were equal to if not exceeding the Royal Authority. In England the question of the Crown and the Barons had been settled by a long Civil War in which the Barons was decimated and upon its ruins rose the autocratic power of the Tudors, who had maintained their position by a reliance on the rising Middle Class. But in Scotland there was practically no middle class, for the burghs did not come to a realization of their power till the troubles of the Reformation. There was no strong king in Scotland to overawe the overmighty subject. James IV. indeed had he lived might have accomplished something but his "rash impetuousness" plunged his country into greater anarchy than ever. Scotland's development as a nation was retarded by the
the constant minorities she had to suffer and after each minority the power of the Crown was perceptibly diminished, for those in power bought off the others with lavish grants of the Crown lands which being were under their governance. And when the King was expected to "live of his own" the injustice becomes apparent. The regular acts of revocation that a King made on his majority were necessary evils though more often than not they roused more ill feeling than ever between party and party, and Crown and Nobility. Albany, as we shall see, was forced into following the same policy of alienation of the Crown lands with the result that the Royal Exchequer was in very straitened circumstances.

The Crown was also weakened by the fact that while there never was a strong main line, the marriages in the female line resulted in many contingent claims. Albany himself was a possible claimant as we have seen and though in the Council records occasionally he did sign himself "Johan r" e.g. 18th Jan., 1524, he does not seem to have made any actual attempt to put his claim into execution. Albany held the prior claim and while in power tried to strengthen as much as possible his own particular family group. Alexander, his brother became one of the wealthiest Churchmen and Rattrick Hamilton of
of Kincavel up till his death at "Cleasne the Causeway" held many important posts.

The next claimant was the Earl of Arran whose mother the Lady Mary was the daughter of James II. and thus Arran and Albany were cousins. Arran sometimes thought he would gain more by leaguing with Albany, his kinsman, against the Douglases whom he hated and sometimes felt the more precarious Albany's position and Albany's claim was based on his father's somewhat dubious divorce from his first wife. As Gavin Douglas once pointed out, had the elder Albany not been a traitor and fled to France, the real claimant was Alexander of Incheffray. Albany apparently realised this for his father's divorce was confirmed by Act of Parliament and with his own consent, Alexander declared illegitimate.

With the Hamiltons were allied the Beatons by marriage and by 'man rent'. It was really the old bond of feudal superior and vassal and though as the Beatons' power as Churchmen increased, they were not influenced by the Hamiltons to such an extent yet in nearly every crisis the Beatons were to be found upon the side of the Earl of Arran. These as we have elsewhere pointed out, looked to France for support as a rule, not so often as a steady act of policy as out of hatred to the Douglas clan, who
who enjoyed vast revenues which they distributed lavishly to the people be whom the Douglas name, even although they were so often traitors to their country, was always popular for "they were bonny fechters." (cf. Ancrum Moor)

The Humes on the Borders and in the Merse were supreme, owning many castles and strongholds, and owned as feudal suzerain by many of the Border clans, the Aers, and often the Scotts of Buccleuch, and usually the Hepburns of the Lothians, though Alex, Lord Hume, alienated the latter by his support of Rorman's candidature to St Andrews, and thus according to Buchanan, brought about his own downfall, since John Hepburn gained Albany's ear at his first arrival in Scotland. On the West Border the Maxwells and the Kennedys were practically independent chiefs, while in the Highlands and Islands the Scottish Kings had confessed their incapacity to deal with the situation by appointing Argyll lieutenant in the west with full royal powers. The system worked fairly well from the Royal point of view but it was at the expense of the aggrandisement of the Campbell clan who used their official position to destroy their feudal foes. In the same way, Alexander Gordon, Earl of Huntly, was created Lieutenant of the North, with absolute power, as far south as Brechin.
when the Governor came to Scotland he had to try to satisfy all these conflicting family interests. It was indeed practically impossible as he soon realized for the Douglases and Hamiltons could never remain in the same camp unless in the extremity when both were "against the Government." And the Governor at first was unfamiliar with the "touchiness" of the Scottish nobles' dignity. The Duke was a humourist, an amusing raconteur, witty and popular with his French master for those very qualities, but he could not jest with impunity in Scotland. It is said and there may be some truth in the story, that an unfortunate remark lost him the support of the Humes, who had been the chief instruments in urging his return. Hume was of very short stature and needless to say, his sense of his own dignity did not like to be reminded of it. Albany fell for ever from his grace when he said "minuit praesentia faram."

A more valid reason for Hume's defection was that Albany was claiming the Earldom of March which since the forfeiture of Alexander of Albany had been held by the Humes. Whatever was the cause, whether Albany's insults, Hepburn's insinuations - for Hume's conduct at Flodden had not been above suspicion - or the English warden's offers, within six weeks of Albany's arrival Hume was
was almost certainly on the opposing side. Albany at first possibly not understanding the social system of Scotland, resolved on stern measures. He was determined to have justice in the land and let the unruly see what might be expected by the execution of Peter Moffat "a great reiver and robber". He however gave his opponents a chance to make their peace. Angus and Drummond were permitted to attend the Council but he struck at them through Gavin Douglas whose letters to the bishop of Worcester, the English Papal Envoy, were read in Council, and he himself was put in the Sea Tower of St Andrews. He then removed Drummond, Angus' grandfather from the office of Keeper of Stirling Castle on the pretext that once he had struck the Lyon Herald who brought a message from Albany. Angus and the queen saw that their period of peace had gone, indeed they had already been detected in a plan to carry the Princes to England. Albany got ready a force of 7000 to insist on the surrender of the Royal children to the guardians appointed for them. The queen made a show of resistance but Angus fled to the County of Angus, his uncle to Douglasdale, and Home when as Provost of Edinburgh was ordered to arrest George Douglas refused and allowed Douglas to escape while he himself fled to Newark.
Albany still acted perfectly legally. He formally ordered Angus to appear to assist in the blockade of Stirling, but he definitely proclaimed himself a rebel by attempting with Hume to carry off the Prince's scheme which was frustrated by Lennox, Cassillis, Borthwick, and Ruthven. The Queen as we have related elsewhere, surrendered on 4th August, deserted practically by all her supporters and secured now with the King in his hands, Albany proceeded with the pacification of the country. Hume was now supported in his rebellion by Dacre, and assured him he would not give in either to Albany's threats or his promises. Accordingly it was arranged in the Scottish Council that "since it was treasonably imagined by Alexander Hume and others that our sovereign lord should be taken by craft from Stirling that Hume should be summoned before the Council on 9th August to account for his actions. Hume however refused the Governor's messenger admittance and turned him away with insults. William Hume (the chamberlain's brother) rode after him, took his letters from him by force, "and said wicked, evil and malicious things of my Lord Governor" vowing to "write letters with a larger pen and ink of blude". Having thus proclaimed their defiance of
of the Governor, the Humes proceeded to provision Rast Castle: "to annoy the Duke and flee to England if compelled". He was now joined in his treachery by the Earl of Bothwell, his wife's uncle, and was prepared as warden to open the way for an English invasion of the country. Angus was in Teviotdale but Dacre thought little of his capacity and devoted most attention to the Lord Hume. The Governor aware of the danger of a traitorous warden, deprived him of his office and on 10th August, Dandy Ker of Cessford swore before the Council along with his brothers Thomas Ker, Abbot of Kelso, and George, to help the Governor in keeping quiet the Middle Marches. Hume's lodging in Edinburgh was despoiled by the French soldiery and the Duke's household while for alleged assistance of the rebels, Patrick Page, the Secretary was imprisoned in Inchgarvie - the rock fortress in the north which James IV. had begun and upon which Albany spent much of the public money. 

Albany went further and on 11th August ordered the convocation of the lieges from the ages of 16 to 60 on this side of the Forth to meet him at the Borough Muir on the 15th August, to march into the Hume country. It was in vain that Dacre with well feigned alarm for the safety of Berwick, deprecated the movement "for there is
is no man in all Scotland so able as Hume to rule misguided folks."

Margaret from Dacre's point of view, was now a broken reed for she had acquiesced in Albany's government and Albany in return had agreed to help her and her husband as long as they obeyed him. With the majority of the nobles on his side, Albany proceeded against the Chamberlain who on Dacre's advice at Albany's approach set fire to the Castle of Home and fled across the Border. By the 2nd of August the Duke was back in Edinburgh arranging the supplies for the garrison which he had left in Home Castle - which included David Ker, the new warden, the Laird of Bar, and the Master of Hailes, all under the command of Lord Fleming. Fast Castle which Hume had entrusted to his brother, surrendered to the Duke, and a proclamation was made that since Alexander Hume had committed treason none of the lieges was to commune with him and an offer of pardon was made to any of the Chamberlain's supporters who would desert him within four days. Apparently many took advantage of this offer for on 26th August, David Hume of Wedderburn, and Alexander Hume of Polwart appeared before the Council and promised to give no help to Lord Hume and to obey anyone whom the Governor should send within their
But on the very day they made the promise recovered Hume Castle, expelled Albany's garrison, kept prisoner the Captain and the next day razed it to the ground, and dammed up the well, thus accomplishing what he had meant to do when he first set fire to it. A day or two later Hume's brother captured Blacater Castle and Albany resolved on sterner measures. He warded in Dunfermline Hume of Wedderburn, Sandy Hume of Rolwart, and the Abbot of Kelso, whose connection with the Humes rendered him suspect. So bitter was the feeling of the Humes against the Duke that it was said they would destroy him before the week was out. Yet though Dacre was really the source of most of this distrust, Albany still tried to maintain friendly relations with England and continued negotiations for redress of border troubles but Dacre was now upon another tack, intriguing with the queen, who was weary of her poverty, and "lack of her conjunct fee".

In this scheme the Chamberlain had his part allotted to him and the stronghold to which Margaret was to flee was the Castle of Blacater, but lately recaptured by the Humes. The intrigue was completely successful and on the 23rd September, Margaret crossed the border accom-
accompanied by Home and Angus. The Escape could hardly have been possible had there been a loyal warden on the East Marches. On this news Albany once more prepared to lead an army into the rebel district but at the same time assured Dacre that he intended nothing hostile to England. Albany's expedition was apparently carried out with vigour but it was dangerous for any government to have so many rebels working against him in a virtually enemy country. He therefore approached Hume with tempting offers if he would dismiss his forces and make peace. In the letter, at the instance of Albany's relative, Patrick Hamilton, Lord Fleming and his son, the Abbot of Holyrood, who were all firmly attached to the French influence, a pardon was enclosed. Whether the Duke meant to effect a compromise or whether he merely adopted this method to entrap Hume we cannot tell but Hume did take advantage of his pardon and met the Duke at Gunglass. No sooner was he there, however, than he suspected treachery and sent to warn his brother in the Merse. His suspicions were not unwarranted for he was placed in a low vaulted house and the door was fastened with a great chain. In the morning he was threatened with banishment and forfeiture if he stayed two nights in England and there was nothing for it but to
but to give in and subscribe the document offered to him. He was then conveyed to Edinburgh and entrusted to the Earl of Arran's charge, and Albany's scheme seemed to have succeeded. The rising which had been planned was utterly abortive from lack of a leader and the men went home. Albany promised that if Hume sent for his brothers George and William, as securities, he would be released and accordingly they arrived on the 11th of October. But Arran, who had married Hume's sister and who was by this time jealous of the Regent's authority, warned them of a plot against them and the Humes with their gaoler fled to the border "on foot and in their doublets" and within a few days were joined by Angus. Albany's scheme had failed. He resorted again therefore to forcible measures. On the 16th October there was passed in Council a decree "that since James Earl of Arran contrary to proclamation, has associated with Alexander, Lord Hume, it be proclaimed at the Market Cross of Lanark, Linlithgow, Rutherglen and the towns in the west that no subject is to resort to him on pain of "tynsale of life, lands, and goods" which will escheat to the King's loyal lieges." A Summons of Treason was pronounced against him and it was decreed that no one should obey him in his sheriffdom of Clydesdale.
The whole realm was ordered out and divided into four quarters, each to remain for one month in turn under their respective Sheriffs, wherever the Governor might place them. Especially were the men of Clydesdale - the Hamilton country - summoned to meet the Governor within three days on pain of treason and escheat. Those who remained loyal were to receive the forfeited goods of the rebels, a policy in which the Governor persisted throughout his regency. Albany then marched against the Castle of Hamilton and from the Treasurer's accounts we see he was absent from 30th October to 5th November.

Lesly tells the romantic story of how the Duke's vengeance upon Arran was appeased by the intercession of the aged Countess of Hamilton, Albany's own aunt, who besought him with tears to pardon her son. Albany, who had something of the chivalry of his French master, being of "politic and of sweet behaviour" forgave Arran, who, was thus reconciled to the Duke and returned to Edinburgh on the 12th November, brought by his friend Archbishop Beaton. It is a curious fact that in the Governor's presence few or none of the barons showed a factious spirit, perhaps out of awe for his quick temper, concerning which, Dacre tells us, that when the Duke was angry, he used to snatch his bonnet from his head and
/and fling it into the fire; perhaps again owing to his persuasive tongue which could flatter and cajole, promising all things lavishly. Lesly tells us that some turbulent nobles quarreled in the streets of Edinburgh and a fight ensued. The Duke immediately rushed out from his palace and put the Earls in ward; then having enquired into the affair and finding James Hay of the House of Moray the originator of the trouble he banished him to France and then by his eloquence induced the other Earls to make friends. It was a hot-tempered kind of justice but it served the occasion, and banishment to France the Duke found, was a convenient method of extradition without any severe injury to anyone. Home and Angus however still remained a menace to the Governor's power. They even captured the Lyon Herald against all the rules of chivalry and held him to ransom until Hume's mother imprisoned in Dunbar was released. Albany himself shortly after, probably weary of his struggles with the barons, sought peace for a little time, spending Christmas with his friend La.

He was determined however, if not to gain Angus and home to his side, at least to withdraw them from England though whether he honestly meant to make peace with them or whether there was a deep-seated plan of vengeance, it is
is difficult to make out. He was at this time making liberal offers to the Queen butacre on his side was making equally good proposals to Arran and his nephew Lennox, whom he asked Henry to address as cousins and kinsmen. These courtesies were not in vain for towards the end of February Arran broke his pledges, left his hostages Sir James Hamilton and the Laird of Lauder in Edinburgh, and joined by Lennox and Glencairn, occupied Glasgow and fortified Dumbarton of which Lennox had been keeper. The Governor, however, once more raised a force, brought guns from Dunbar and Falkirk, and marched into the west. By the intercession of Rorman, however, hostilities were not long protracted; the Castle of Glasgow surrendered and all the insurgents pardoned — but for one French gunner who had deserted. This gives us a hint as to Albany's views. The Scots he seems to have accepted as naturally fickle and traitorous but he relied upon his French soldiery. Treachery amongst them would ruin his position. Albany's policy now veered to an almost exaggerated clemency. By offers of pardon, Angus and Hume were won over and their friends Drummond and Gavin Douglas, and Patrick Panater released. The Queen announced her intention of going to London and possibly a spark of patriotic feeling prohibited these nobles from
remonstrances they crossed the Border and on 7th April 1516 in council they were granted remission for all crimes done before 6th April and the lieges were warned not to molest them. This was attested by the Lord Governor's own signature and they forthwith took their accustomed place on the Council and their offices were restored to them; the Chamberlain once more busied himself with Border questions against the very men with whom he himself had been negotiating for the past months. Lennox, Drummond and Hume were amongst those who signed the defiance of July, refusing to dismiss Albany at Henry's pleasure.

For some little time then there was peace in the land and while the negotiations for Margaret's return and the surrender of her jewels still went on, the Governor passed his time travelling through the country, visiting St Andrews where the accounts show he gave "ten lycht French crowns to play at dice with my Lord Leggate."

Hence he went to Perth and back once more to Falkland returning to Edinburgh about the beginning of May. His official residence was Holyrood which was still building and he himself personally superintended the operations in August he visited the King at Stirling, with an "Englissman" (clercencieux?) But/
But on the 14th of this month of August, Dacre reported a "great breach between the lords and Albany" and that Lennox had been imprisoned. Lesly says that Albany was determined to get the chief strongholds into his possession and since Dumbarton was his chief port for communication with France he could not afford to have a man of doubtful loyalty in that position of trust. He imprisoned Lennox until he should give up Dumbarton Castle and the Earl to gain his freedom surrendered it to Alan Stewart "the Captain of Milan." A certain Captain Jonet mentioned in the accounts may also have held the post for a time.

Dacre did not make any active interference, for Albany was negotiating with Wolsey at this time concerning his mythical visit to England, but he secretly abetted the Earl of Glencairn and the Master of Kilmaurs who were still apparently fugitives in England. The Angus and Hume party, according to Dacre, still held together, although they were outwardly submissive. Albany whose espionage although not as far reaching as Dacre's was yet fairly efficient, must have become aware of some fresh delinquencies on the part of Hume and resolved to strike silently and swiftly. On 22nd September, 1516, "The Governor showed he was informed that the Chamberlain had/
had committed attempts against the king and governor since his last pardon," and the lords advised that until the charge was proved the governor should secure Hume's person. The Chamberlain, accompanied by his brother William and Sir of Ferniehurst against the will of his friends, attended the parliament summoned on 24th Sept. by the Council's advice they were cast into separate prisons and within a few days brought to trial. The charges were vague - according to Buchan, James Earl of Moray, the natural son of James IV. accused Hume of the murder of his father, after Flodden. But probably the real charge as Leslie suggests was reception of traitors and various forays and robberies in conjunction with the English. The Council itself claimed to have knowledge of some secret heinous crime. The traitors were found guilty and condemned to death. Upon the 8th of October Hume was "heidit" and his brother suffered the same fate the next day. Sir of Ferniehurst was either acquitted by the tribunal or escaped by bribing a Frenchman of his guard, though there were some who believed it was he who betrayed Hume to the Governor. The Scots Lords as they passed the bloody heads upon the tolbooth of Edinburgh must have experienced a strange uneasiness at the Governor who dared to strike down the foremost in the land.
land. Albany's motives must have been strangely complex. He had tried friendship, he had tried pardon and clemency with this man, and still he set him at nought. The execution was meant to be an example to all the nobles - of what they might expect if they rebelled during Albany's forthcoming stay in France, but he forgot the family system of Scotland; and the death of hume meant a blood feud between the Borderers and Albany, - a feud which La Bastie was to expiate with his life. But for the moment Albany's position was strengthened.

The rest of the humes were fugitives. George in England, John, the Abbot of Jedburgh, was banished beyond the Tay, while David the Prior of Coldingham, was to fall under the malice of the Hepburns within two years' time.

Sept. John Hepburn had accomplished his revenge, and the Governor, authorised by the Council, set out with a force for the Borders to hunt down all traitors. He returned to Edinburgh on November 3rd and set the seal upon his official position in the Parliament which met in that month. Since the Duke of Ross was dead Albany was declared the second person in the realm. The Douglases meanwhile held their peace, terrorised by the death of their ally. The Scots Lords were unused to such extreme measures and Angus gave no cause for Albany's
Albany's displeasure, his name appearing regularly in the sederunts of the Council. The English deceived by Albany's offers, made no resistance to the destruction of their allies, although Macre continued to assist George Hume who was supported at the King's expense. The Hume lands were all forfeited and redistributed amongst the other nobles. Alan Stewart got Upsellington, the King's servants were invested with fiefs on condition of serving the custodian of Dunbar but it was the latter, de la Bastie, who on 30th March, got the lion's share, including the castle of Hume itself. He was appointed warden in Hume's place and a little later the office of Chamberlain was bestowed upon Lord Fleming, a firm supporter of the French party. Yet Albany was probably aware of the bitter feeling which had been aroused by his action for the Treasurer's accounts show that in December he had the glass of his chamber window replaced and iron stanchions put in. Albany was now bent upon departing and he kept up the deceit with England. Sickness during March 1517 increased his desire to revisit France and his preparations show he intended to leave the country in as good order as possible.

In the Council on 14th March, Argyll received letters of "Lieutenandry" for three years or during the
the Governor's pleasure, and remission was promised to
the chiefs for all former misdeeds provided they gave
pledges of goodwill. Sir Donald of the Isles, his
brother and his clan, were excepted from the general
amnesty and Argyll received orders to hunt him down and
expel him from the Isles but the sons of Sir John of
Isle were to receive back one hundred marks of land held
from the Crown. The wild Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, in
return for remission, promised to aid Argyll with "all
his power."

On the 22nd March, Albany summoned all the Lords
of the West to Edinburgh "at the collar of the Gokkillies'
taking when the French ambassador comes," this must mean
that Albany received the order of St Michael from the
French king and desired to show to the Ambassador a
nobility at unity with himself. Armed with a permission
to return which this ambassador brought, he resolved to
depart forthwith, leaving a "coalition government" to rule in his absence. The King's keepers were appointed
to be Erskine, Marischal, Borthwick and Muthven, and the
actual guard given to the Captain of Milan and his French
Archers. "On various pretexts "to make the embassy of
France more honourable" and "to train the scots in French
chivalry" Albany took with him as pledges the sons of the
the greater nobles. — The Master of Lennox, the master of Kilmaurs, Lord Gordon and many more, several of whom it would seem made a long stay in France. Gavin Douglas and Patrick Hamilton were also sent to France to "assist in the embassy". On the 25th of May Albany chose his Government — the Archbishop of St Andrews, Beaton, the Chancellor; Angus, Mainty, Arran, Argyll and the Frenchman, de la Bastie, who was virtually Albany's viceregent. When all had sworn to do justice in the realm during his absence, Albany departed, and the day before he sailed he sent an admonition to the Regents not to remit any of the dues of the Crown nor to pardon those whom it was the Duke's pleasure to put to the horn. On the 8th of June, the Governor departed and Scotland was to see him no more for some years. His policy towards the nobles had been a strange compound of extreme severity and undue clemency, and the position when he left was obviously a compromise, which could not last very long. The Arran party had its representative, so did the Douglases, and the French party was small but in the highest positions of trust, with de la Bastie as virtual governor, and the captain of Milan, the guardian of the King, while the fortresses were all in French hands. De la Bastie proved an energetic and competent warden and even Margaret's return made no appreciable/
t doubtable difference. But that fateful entry in the treasurer's accounts "the 17th day of September" "obit De Bastie" marks the tragic end of a governor's attempt to rule by a deputy. David Hume of Wedderburn had wiped out with the warden's blood the feud with the governor but the lords sought out his murderers with assiduity. Alan Stewart "the Captain of Milan" took Bastie's place as leader of the French and Arran was appointed to the office of warden while arrangements were made for leading an army into the Merse. George Douglas was warded first in Dalkeith and then in Blackness for suspected complicity in the murder and Mark her suffered the same fate. The Douglases thus rapidly fell from favour and the council were stirred to still greater zeal by a stern protest from Francis through the medium of Alan Stewart, at the treatment of his subject. Indeed it was reported that he had reproached Albany for sacrificing the life of a Frenchman since "he looked for nothing else at the hands of Scots. One of their own nation should have been appointed for as a people they delight in falls and tragical ends of their rulers." Arran received Albany's sanction to take Bastie's place and to lead an army into the Hume country. Angus meantime was ordered to retire beyond the Forth and
George Douglas from Inchgarvie wrote complaining against the order to send him to France. The council however ordained that though he was to be banished yet a letter of recommendation to the governor should be given to him.

On the 19th February David Hume and his three brothers and the Cockburns were forfeited and condemned for the murder of La Bastie and even the Bishop of St. Dunkeld who had returned from France with Gonzoles the new keeper of Dunbar could not refuse his consent to the methods adopted. Remission was offered to all men except those concerned in the murder of de La Bastie and even George Hume the Chamberlain's brother was included in this general amnesty. All the castles of the Humes fell but the murderers fled to England to the protection of the English warden. Lesly says they received some sort of pardon at this time but this is unlikely though it is doubtful at what time they did come into the governor's peace. Without the strong hand of the Duke anarchy began to raise its head. A street fight in Edinburgh occurred in June between Róthes and Lord Lyndsay but they were arrested and imprisoned one in Dunbar and the other in Dumbarton. By July Gonzoles had obtained his
his letters of nationalisation from the council and did all he could to assist the French party. The Laird of Wedderburn continued his career of blood and the old feud of the Hamiltons and Douglases broke out once more in the council for all fear of the governor's speedy return was removed by the terms of the Treaty of London prohibiting him from going, though the Scots refused to accept this. Angus, on 26th February, made a formal claim to his wife's goods, but yielded to the council's demand for his presence at their deliberations. But secure in the English alliance he urged Henry to write to Albany to demand the return of George Douglas who had already been nearly two years in exile.

Then followed in the same month the dispute of the Provostship of Edinburgh, while the king was in Alkeith and though Angus held Edinburgh, yet the Lord Keeper's of the King shut the gates of the Castle against him. The two parties were now definitely divided; Angus in the east and Arran in the west but the final struggle came in April, 1520, at the Parliament in Edinburgh summoned to attempt a settlement of a quarrel between Angus and Ker of Ferniehurst over some border jurisdiction. In the party fight known as Cleanse the Causeway the Hamiltons had the worst of the contest and the Douglases with
/with the support of the Humes forced Arran himself
to flee through the Nor Loch while Beaton took sanctuary
in a Dominican Church where his life was saved only by
the intercession of Gavin Douglas, in spite of his
"clattering conscience". The heads of the Humes were
taken down from the Tolbooth and honourably buried —
an act of direct defiance to Albany's authority. Well
indeed might Dunbar mourn the time "when the governour
passed to France" for there was now no security for life
or limb. It is perhaps more than a coincidence and
rather an index of the troubled state of affairs that
the records of the Council are lacking from the end of
1519 till November, 1522, while the same hiatus occurs
in the Treasurer's Accounts.

Aubigny and Deplams sent from France towards the
end of 1520 could do little in face of such open
enmity, and through them an appeal was made to the queen.
She, induced no doubt by much fine gold, was inclining
to the party of Albany and left Edinburgh secretly by
night to confer with the Arran party. Though Angus did
hold the capital he had by no means the support of all
the nobility, and he maintained his position by a policy
of terrorisation, and by lavish gifts attached the
Edinburgh mob to his side. So matters dragged on/
on. "The whole country" as Buchanan tells us "was a scene of confusion, rapine and slaughter" and all began to burn their eyes towards the governor as refuge from the storms of party strife. In November their appeals were answered. The Duke arrived at Cahirloch Nov. 19th according to Lesly, October 30th according to Buchanan and as he himself announced to Henry on the 8th of November.

Accompanied by the barons of the west he rode to Edinburgh and proceeded immediately with the business of driving out his opponents and it only needed his presence to stir his supporters to action. The officials of Edinburgh about whose election so much contention had arisen were instantly dismissed. Though this looks like an invasion of burghal privileges, yet Angus had obtained the election of his supporters with just as little scruple and it was essential to have the capital secure against political opponents. On the 6th of December, the governor proclaimed the parliament for the 26th, and on the 9th Angus, the Prior of Goldingham (a name) Wedderburn, Somerville, and William Cockburn were specially summoned at the Market Cross to come and give account of their actions during the governor's absence. Needless to say, none of them appeared.
/from the moment of the Duke's arrival they became fugitives from his vengeance and sentences of forfeiture were passed against them. Angus fled into the fastness of his own country and Gavin whom the Governor had caused to be summoned to Rome, was sent to England to invoke the intercession of the English King and as we have seen it was a long list of complaints he took with him. On 12th December Albany protested to Henry VIII. against the reception of such a notorious rebel, but the Duke perhaps had learned his lesson from the murder of La Bastie that extreme measures in Scotland brought swift retribution. He kept himself according to Dacre like a fox in his hole and appointed Arran his lieutenant and general at £200 a month. He probably thought of a general amnesty at this beginning of his second Regency. Dacre even reported that he was offering pardon and restoration to George Hume, brother of the Chamberlain, who had not actually been present at the murder of Bastie of Branxholme the borderer, Walter Scott, was also about this time given remission for himself and his, for the crime of assisting for the crime of assisting George Hume and David Hume of Jedderburn and the act was passed under the great seal, 18th February, 1521. Margaret was now hand in glove with the Governor. She even received t
the disposal of the benefits of Dunkeld which was forfeited by the treason of the worthy Bishop. It was with the deepest chagrin that the latter heard that by 21st January, Angus had gone over to the Duke who promised to reverse the process of forfeiture on condition of Angus and George Douglas exiling themselves in France at the Governor's pleasure. This programme was actually carried out and on the 11th of March, the Douglases sailed in Albany's ships of war and were received in France apparently with the honours of ambassadors but virtually as Albany's prisoners of state. France was a convenient penitentiary for undesirable "over-mighty" subjects. The English who were just then announcing by Clarenceux their defiance of the Governor's authority were a little alarmed at this high-handed procedure. Their party in Scotland was thus left without a leader and though the Humes were still at large,acre feared that if the Duke now invaded their country with a united army at his back, they would be utterly destroyed. In a Parliament which met sometime in July it is possible that some offer of restitution was proposed on behalf of George Hume for in August David Beaton was sent to "Hume with the Duke's message" and he was ultimately restored to his estates which were however severely
with such moderate measures and show of clemency Albany might reasonably expect a corresponding loyalty among the nobles and assembled his forces at Roslin Moor to march against the English and the invasion was fixed for the second of September, yet the intrigues of Dacre again prevailed. The Scots nobles would not cross the border. Even Arran constituted himself spokesman and in the name of the other Lords refused to embroil Scotland in a war for the sake of France. Alexander Gordon, Earl of Huntly, added his argument against the expedition and Albany's promises of pensions and exemptions from feudal dues were of no avail. They would not risk another Flodden. Was it merely a factious spirit, or was it regard for Scotland? One can hardly tell, but there is something to be said for Albany's argument that if they disapproved of the invasion, they should have not sanctioned it in Council. Perhaps in Council the Governor's presence might overawe their objections and fear of losing lands and pensions might induce consent, yet when banded together for battle numbers gave confidence and Albany's schemes fell to the ground when the crisis came. The Governor's personality certainly imposed itself upon the nobles more
more than we realise. By fear or by pensions he kept his Council obedient to him but at this crisis either the secret opposition found expression or the French pensions were not sufficient to compete with Dacre's offers. Under such circumstances Albany who himself had been entertaining Dacre, the hope of Peace, had no alternative but to consent to a truce, and the Scots never again had such an opportunity against England. Albany himself disgusted at the changeable Scots left for France probably to procure more of the money which apparently was the only means of keeping them obedient to his behests. On the 27th October he sailed from Dumbarton, promising to return before August 15th, 1523, having appointed Beaton, Huntly, Argyll, Arran and Gonzoles Regents in the interval. Before he went he asked that certain pressing cases should be dealt with first by the Session notably one against young Patrick Earl of Bothwell, and his tutor, the Prior of St Andrews. This child had on the death of his father fallen into the Governor's wardship and his mother had been ordered to surrender him. Albany evidently entrusted the child to La Bastie—perhaps the wardship was part of his salary as warden, but on his death, the widow had sent the child to France and the Countess petitioned the Council to write to the Governor to send him back until
until he was at least seven years old.

We now meet him again in Scotland, and his wardship has evidently been given to Hepburn his own relative. It was thus that Albany kept the nobles attached to him and though it is only an accident which brings actions like this into the records yet the system must have been fairly widespread.

Arran was virtually Regent in Albany's absence and he carried on the work of pacifying the Border, ordering Ker of Cessford, the Warden, to arrange farther days of truce, and taking hostages from the chiefs as pledges of good rule. The quarrels of Glencairn and Eglinton were also settled in Council by the surrender of hostages for, said, Arran, "it is not the way to pacify the country by going to the utmost rigour of the law!"

Subsequently the Master of Glencairn who was to be his father's hostage asked that rather he be warded in Edinburgh Castle he might be sent to the Governor at his will. The Lords had evidently discovered that the penitentiary of France was by no means so unpleasant as they had imagined. There is no doubt that the Humes had made their peace with the Governor; possibly they had received pardon at the time of the restoration of George Hume, so the head of the clan but probably the Governor did not desire to/
to draw too much attention to the fact that he was actually pardoning the murderers of his Warden. Like Arran he must have seen that the "utmost rigour of the law" only roused more feuds than ever and he had definitely decided upon clemency, pensions, and bribes of wardships and the disposal of benefices.

In May 1523 then, the Council of Regency made arrangements for the defence of the Border pending the arrival of the Governor, and for the Merse they deputed Lord Hume and the Laird of Wedderburn. Thrice might well say that now Davy Wedderburn was the best friend of the Governor. Buccleuch and Ferniehurst, were appointed along with Alexander of Cessford, for Teviotdale, and the Governor's policy seems to have been successful at least in abolishing open anarchy. But yet that fatal Scottish jealousy was showing itself in the growing distrust and detestation of Albany's soldiery. No sooner had the Scots been rescued from internal strife than they seemed to unite in hatred of the peacemakers. There were even rumours in England that Gonzoles and his krenchmen had been compelled by the public opprobrium to retire within the fortifications of Dunbar but matters did not go that far. Gonzoles was the giver of pensions sent by the governor and the greedy lords in June did not refuse the
/the thousand French crowns of the regent's which each
was offered. But the 15th day of August passed and the
allegiance of the lords began once more to waver. Dacre
was ever ready with lavish promises and the ravages on
the Border increased. Margaret was now in her brother's
pay and with conscious virtue announced how many French
pensions she had refused. Davy Hume and the Abbot
of Kelso, had never entirely given up their connection
with the English, and were expecting, if the Governor
discovered their duplicity, to flee to England along with
George Douglas, who had evidently returned from France.
According to Margaret even the Chancellor and the Earl
of Argyll were coquetting with the English offers of
peace if they would erect the King and dispense with
Albany's authority. On 17th September Surrey received
letters from Lord Hume, Davy Hume and Douglas, offering
to come to England whenever Albany arrived. The Lords
of the Council forgot their pledges and professed them-
selves "agreeable to the King's erection". And the
date was even fixed. But with the news of the Governor's
approach fear of his wrath soon subdued them to subjecti
The regents themselves, who, as holders of Crown lands, did
not particularly desire the King's erection, probably
had only been gaining time pretending to listen to the
the English offers. On the day that the news of the Governor's sailing arrived, the Chancellor made proclamation in Edinburgh for all to be ready to bear arms. Surrey, who was ravaging the Borders, burning and plundering in every direction, reflected that the queen had been deceived. The Lords had only been gaining time.

On the 22nd of September, Albany landed at Dumbarton and his first Council in Glasgow on first October showed that if there was any motion for derogating from his power no one of the Lords had the courage to oppose him. There was a large sederunt, Beaton, Arran, Argyll, Moray, Lennox, Crawford, Glencairn, Eglinton, Lords Fleming, Livingstone, Evandale, and the Abbots of Paisley, Oyne Dundrennan, Culross, Glenluce and Jedburgh, and preparations for war were urged on with all possible haste. Arran had the rule of Teviot and the Merse, Lothian, Stirling and Linlithgow. Huntly had the north, Lennox the west, Argyll the highlands, and Maxwell the west border. And once more the Governor promised that the heirs of anyone slain in war against the English should "broik their takks and maling," for five years free. Everything seemed to point to success this time against the English. National feeling was roused at the destruction of Jedburgh but once more Albany failed at/
at work owing to the indifference and obstinacy of the Scots Lords. His French soldiers were brave but they were an expensive luxury and the Scots, though they would not fight their own battles, objected to paying others to fight them for them. Albany yet did his best to unite them. Davy Hume of Wedderburn in spite of his protestations to the English joined the Duke's forces about the 22nd of October, when he set out for the Border and this hard fighting raider subsequently did much damage in forays across the Tweed. Albany's march was slow for the roads were bad, the great guns cumbersome, and he delayed three days in Melrose. The Lords did not dare absent themselves. Arran, Argyll, Lennox and the Earl Marischal, Maxwell, Ruthven, Lisle, were the Duke's constant companions, and Dacre must have learned with chagrin that after all his intrigues the homes and the Kers were to be placed in the van; yet Buccleuch and Mark Ker maintained communications with Sir Christopher Dacre and kept him posted in the news of the camp. Yet so grave was the Duke's distrust that not even from these could Dacre learn the ultimate objective of the expedition until the Scots were actually encamped before Mark.

Buchanan, who was actually in the army, tells us that the Governor had already led half his forces across
across Melrose wooden bridge, to pass into England "when the Scots, pretending the same excuses as in the former expedition to Solway, refused to advance into England and those who had already crossed repassing the river returned by the same way." It was little wonder then that Albany could only send his French mercenaries to the attack. It was brave but hopeless. A handful of men could not storm a fortress and though there may have been some Scotch volunteers under David Ker, the Warden, yet as a body the Scots remained merely spectators. The French, according to Surry, had 23 killed and 160 wounded, but Michel placed the number of dead as high as 300. Well indeed might the Duke reply when a gentleman of the March complained he had long been on the Border wasting the country, yet had never given Surry battle "I will give him no battle for I have no convenient company so to do". It was illogical, but quite in keeping with the Scots Lords' bearing, to turn in indignation upon the Governor and tear their crosses from their doublets vowing they would never serve him more. What exactly was the contention of the nobles we cannot tell. Perhaps there was always the fear that Scotland might become merely a Scotch province but none of them showed any disinclination to take French bribes. They did often claim that during a minority all wars should be purely
purely defensive and that to take the offensive was to play into Francis' hands. Whatever were their reasons or whether they had any reasons at all beyond actual "sulkiness" at the favour shown to the French, one thing was clear, that in the field they failed the Governor and drove home with insult the French mercenaries whom he had brought. Yet back once more in Edinburgh they durst not displease the Governor. We might well agree with Margaret "there was never so fykyll lordis in the world." Albany evidently suspected Margaret of tampering with their loyalty and resolved to see that the King at least should be surrounded by his own friends, he therefore appointed Cassilis, Fleming, Borthwick and the Earl of Moray, King's Keepers though this naturally roused Margaret's suspicions of designs upon her son. She feared the Governor might spirit him away to France.

Yet however the Lords might disapprove of Albany's war policy, they certainly recognised that he gave peace at home and when in December he proposed returning to France, they refused to sanction his departure; the Kirkmen offering him the profits of benefices, and the temporal lords, their persons and their goods if he would stay. Yet the hatred of the French reveals
reveals itself once more in the demand for the delivery of the Castles which he had garrisoned with his mercenaries. Albany nevertheless was determined to go but he resolved to deal with those Lords who had defied him. On the 18th January, he had a letter written in Council to Lord Hume, and David Hume of Wedderburn. It must have been the vanguard under their leadership at Wark which played false at Melrose and necessitated the sacrifice of the French. He invoked his cousin and Laird of Wedderburn to remember the "grace he did them". "How glad I was when you began to do good yet I have written five or six times to you to come heir but ye have paid no heed." He therefore urged them during his absence to gude themselves well on pain of his great displeasure. A similar letter of the same date was sent to George Douglas. Albany reminded him how he had released Archibald and Hugh Douglas from ward on condition of George coming after Yule to give securities. In spite of this promise, he did not come though he had many opportunities. He therefore charged Douglas to come to him before he left for France and to submit an explanation.

The replies to these letters were soon forthcoming. David Hume promised to be true since Albany had/
had pardoned him, but George, Lord Hume, was not so submissive. He demanded from Albany the restoration of the Hume lands which were still lacking from his patrimony, otherwise Albany "must not be displeased" for he was now so poverty stricken by the ravages of the English and the Scots that he must find some remedy.

George Douglas in turn represented that he would willingly have come to the Governor but for the fact that his enemies the Hamiltons were waiting to slay him and since the Governor was now in the west country where they were most powerful he dared not come. But since Angus gid furt of Scotland no man can say the Douglases failed in anything. And he urged Albany to "stand guid prince to his friends and him and haist Angus to Scotland." But there a threat in the last sentence "If ye do not yet will have fewer servants."? Albany, however, delayed his departure for a few months while messengers passed between him and the English warden; and George Douglas, in spite of protestation, was intriguing with the enemy in expectation of Angus' escape from the continent, while Angus in turn recommended his brother, the Earl of Huntly meanwhile, had died and Albany made no mistake in appointing to his post of Lieutenant of the North, his old protege, the Earl of Moray, and to gain over Margaret to/
Margaret to his party, in accordance with his policy
he gave her the wardship of the young Earl of Huntly,
These wardships with which he bribed the nobility might
really have gone to increase the extraordinary revenue
of the Crown which thus became impoverished.

On the 31st of May, Albany sailed once more for
France, leaving Gonzoles as his representative in
Scotland — as Treasurer—and though the quarrels of the
Lords continued, aggravated by the intervention of the
English King, yet Albany never had any more personal
dealings with the Scottish nobles.

His general attitude was one of complete distrust.
They had so often played him false. He had learned the
curse of the family system in Scotland; to cut off the
heads of rebel chiefs was only to bring the revenge of
the whole feudal clan upon one's own head or that of
one's faithful friends, and one could not exterminate a
whole name. Clemency he tried with a better effect
but to keep the country quiet he impoverished himself
and the Crown revenues. Yet nevertheless his presence
like that of a strong king always ensured respect and his
justice, if swift and impulsive, was yet effective for the
times he lived in.

The Exchequer Rolls give us information as to Albany's disposal of the patrimony of the King which he ought to have been a great source of income. The Crown Lands, since the beginning of the century had been steadily decreasing in extent. Even Margaret received Stirlingshire and Linlithgow and portions of the Earldom of March and Ettrick forest. Mintyre, which was also a Crown province had been ceded to Argyle, as a reward for his diligence in the west. Of the lands which remained the Earldom of Moray was administered by James Beaton, for which no doubt the Archbishop got a substantial profit. Strathearn when Albany arrived in Scotland was in the hands of Lord Drummond, and though he was deprived for a time yet on his restoration it was returned to him and Albany bribed his wavering loyalty with half of the revenues of the lordship as his fee as keeper of Stirling. The Crown up till Albany's arrival possessed the Earldom of Moray, but it was the first act of Albany's authority to alienate this in July 1515 to the youth whom he brought with him from France and for whom he had already obtained the reversion of the Abbey of Arbroath - James the illegitimate son of James IV.
Huntly, and later Mordy, in the North exercised the office of Chamberlain of Ross and Ardmanach and in the absence of the Governor the lack of any audit would seem to show that the revenues were detained. The Crown lands were further diminished by Albany's claims to the old Barladom of March and the Lordship of Mar and Garioch with other lands which his father had held and which coincided with some of the districts which Margaret claimed as her conjunct fee. This probably explains why Albany commissioned Robert Barton once or twice to make her payment for her dues which could not be collected. Albany then farmed out the Crown lands to satisfy the demands of his supporters and when the time came for them to cast off his authority, Margaret pointed out to Wolsey that the Lords refused to move in case the Governor should come back and deprive them of these valuable prizes. Beaton with Life, Argyle with Ayntyre, Lennox with Bute, Cassillis with Galloway, could not afford lightly to reject the donor. It is said that Albany in 1523 proposed to recoup himself for £300,000 which he had expended by the sale of the Crown lands to themselves. The feudal incidents relative to these lands were more often than not remitted for service in
/in war or given as a peace offering to some greedy noble. If Albany used his benefices as a kind of extraordinary revenue perhaps he was in need of money to carry on the business of government and in the matter of bargaining for the fruits of the Church there was no one to complain but the parishioners. Gavin Douglas computed that he made over £25,000 from the sale of benefices. The pensions which Albany was called upon to pay exceeded by far the profits of the exchequer, and Margaret complained that by casting off Albany Scotland was losing £50,000 income. Arran himself had a yearly payment of 900 crowns and Margaret herself of the 5000 crowns gratuities she was offered. If these were included in the expenses of government it was little wonder that (according to Gavin Douglas) Albany's officials declared the crown was already £12,000 (Scots) in their debt.

Albany's comptroller was Robert Barton, the famous buccaneer, a practical and business-like official but one rather apt to presume upon his official position to secure privileges for his own merchant vessels - a fault for which he had a long and indecisive struggle with the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh. Albany evidently could not very readily pay his officials in ready money
money, for Barton on one occasion presented "a respite" from the Governor for 19 years from 22nd October, 1522. But whether this respite was from custom or from the penalties of the law we are left to guess. From his accounts we find he made remittances to the Governor while in France. The Treasurer was John Campbell whom Gavin Douglas denounced as a "bastard briber without 5/- of his own" but he fulfilled his duties well though he seemed to experience difficulty in finding means of meeting the expenditure. Albany paid his French captains by charges upon his revenues and on 18th November, 1522 the Treasurer protested that since M. Gonzolles had got a commission to compone for all casualties that shall happen, that what charges, falta or expense be made upon any common matters of the realm he sail not be holden to answer for. When Albany finally departed in 1524, Gonzolles was with reluctance created Treasurer by the Lords though he does not seem to have exercised the office. The Frenchmen certainly were a source of expense to Scotland. La Bastie, according to Douglas was paid at the rate of 25 Scots a day and Arran received the same remuneration but ready money was scarce and the white knight was presented with the escheat of part of the forfeited Hune lands and in 12th June, 1517, he asked the
the Lords what he should do with the escheat of lands of the murderers of Alexander Bannerman, which the governor had given him. The Lords advised him to present it to those likeliest to pursue the murderers. Such was the Scottish system of payment of officials and police. Albany expended much public money upon the fortifications of the rocky isle of Lochgarvie in the Firth. James IV. had considered the question but nothing definite had been done. After Flodden in December, 1514 the Queen's government had sent workmen thither. Albany however, had had experience of the great fortresses of Northern Italy and he realized the commanding position of the little island as a defence against an attack and on 20th July, 1515 he sent a gentleman, two gunners and two servants to consider how it might be adapted and The expenses show the lime and sand and stone which were used. The fortress served as a state prison in which Patrick Raniter and George Douglas in turn were interned and the burghs were taxed to pay their share of its construction.

Albany's interest in building may reflect very slightly the renaissance love of architecture. He continued all through his regency the building and repair of holyrood which was his principal residence.
What emoluments the Governor received are not recorded in the accounts but his household expenses amounted to no less than £700 a month while the King's cost only £127. Barton sent him money from Scotland and he received over £2250 in personal payments. At his final departure he demanded £40,000 for his expenses which were however refused him. He was certainly an expensive Governor but he could not have retained long the money he received for the pensions he gave and the liabilities he incurred required all his resources.

In these accounts we meet many Frenchmen. Albany's falconers and huntsmen, his bankers and his barber. He had for his amusement at Holyrood a troupe of Italian actors especially called the Lord Governor's, who were paid from the public revenue. He had his trumpeters and his musicians, and the exchequer even paid his losses at cards and dice, while he retained his fondness for the wines of Gascony, which were specially sent for to France. The Governor indeed must have found the old town of Edinburgh, and the rough habits of the nobles very different from the splendid chivalry of the French court: but he spent much of his leisure time among his French associates, visiting La Bastie and later Gonzelies in Dunbar, sometimes occasionally supping with the
the wealthy burgesses of the Oldongate, notably with
the famous Margaret Crichton, a relative of his own, and
really the illegitimate daughter of Margaret James I1's
daughter. There is evidence to show that Albany attended
a banquet at the wedding of this lady with the Earl of
Rothes.

The handsome figure of the Duke must have been
a familiar yet unwonted sight in the streets of Edinburgh
as he rode to the Tolbooth or the Castle with his retinue
of splendidly attired Frenchmen, and it was no wonder
that Margaret's susceptible heart could not resist his
persuasions when this gentle knight stooped to flatter
and beguile her with the winning courtesy in which
French chivalry delighted.
Of Albany's personal appearance we have little substantial evidence. Jean D'Anton tells us he was fair with grey eyes and wore a beard, of stature not tall but strongly built. A curious picture however is in existence in possession of the Marquis of Bute at Cardiff Castle, and it has been proved that one of the three figures portrayed can be none other than Albany. It is painted on an oak panel and represents three figures almost life size; Albany, Margaret Tudor and a third figure concealed partly by Margaret but which proves beyond reasonable doubt must be the Clarenceux Herald. The man (Albany) has "red brown hair, beard and eyebrows, no moustaches, and dark grey blue eyes. He is sumptuously dressed in a coat trimmed with brown fur and green sleeves gorgeously slashed with yellow and crimson. In his left hand he has a purse with gold clasps and bag of cloth of gold, while with his right hand he seems to be receiving a handkerchief in which is a carnation. Another purse hangs at his waist. Margaret in appearance is not unlike her brother and the third figure, dressed in red with black facings can be no other than the English King at Arms, who is pointing to a red butterfly in the background. Before the two principal figures stands a table on which pieces of
of gold, papers, a seal, inkstands and pens are scattered.

The incident portrayed must refer to the visit of Clavencieux in February, 1522, at the time when all the courts of Europe were familiar with the rumour of Margaret's schemes for divorce, in order to marry Albany, with whom it was alleged she was too familiar. In the accounts of Robert Barton the controller rendered on 31st May, 1522, he is allowed £6408 in respect of deliver made to Margaret, Queen of Scotland, by precept of the governor and Lords of Council on account of the failure of the payment of her conjunct infeftment. This is really in the nature of a mortgage which she undertakes to repay when "peace ensues." i.e. when Angus can be prevailed upon to give her her dues. It is this incident which must be symbolically represented in Clavencieux pointing at Albany or the butterfly may be doing so as proof of his suspicions. All the objects in the picture have some meaning. Margaret is wearing a medal representing the story of Daniel, Susanna and the Elders. This may be taken as representing Margaret's denial of any intrigue with Albany while on the other hand the carnation "worn by paramours" may symbolize the idea that after all there may have been some truth in the assertion the
The Butterfly to which Clarenceuz is pointing may as Pinkerton suggests be the "flying or fickle love of a royal coquette."

The interpretation which does not seem unreasonable therefore is that in spite of Margaret's denial the English messenger believed "that some secret understanding not without an amorous tinge" existed between Albany and Margaret, though such an "affaire" was of a very fleeting duration.
(a) Albany's Italian Expedition 1524-5.
(b) Margaret's Divorce. (c) Catherine de Medici.
(d) James V's Marriage.

Albany had not long returned when he was called once more to the battlefield, this time to a campaign even more disastrous, than that of Wark.

Francis was hard pressed in Provence by Bourbon and the Emperor's troops were besieging Marseilles. France however made a valiant effort at recovery and in August - September, 1524, the army was reinforced by 13000 Swiss and 6000 Lansquenets, and of 3000 of these latter we find "La Rose Blanche" in command. Marseilles had already stood a siege of six weeks but on the approach of these relieving forces Bourbon and the Imperial troops were compelled to retire. Francis decided to go on to Italy with his leading nobles, the King of Navarre, Duc d'Alençon, St Piol Longueville, who was in the van with 100 lances, and our friend the Duke of Albany. Not long after this success Francis received an urgent invitation from Pope Clement to send a detachment against Naples. Francis himself was busily occupied with the siege of Pavia, but on receiving assurance of Venetian assistance with men and money, and thinking that the Imperial forces would be delayed by the main French/
The French army at Tavia, he constituted the Duke of Albany his lieutenant general of the expedition. With him were to go the Seigneur Rene de Cere, and 600 men at arms among whom were the Bastoed de la Claiette, and the Seigneur de Enguelly with 300 light horse. Albany himself gave 100 light horse, while he received 10,000 foot and 10 or 12 pieces of artillery. Whatever suspicion Francis had ever entertained of him must have long since vanished.

Albany accordingly departed from the main army in January, 1525, but the commissariat for this army seems somewhat amazing. We read that on 11th June, 1528, payment of stores was made for the army of the Duke of Albany. There were 82 cwts. of almonds at = 10 livres tournois per cwt. and 20,000 eels at the rate of 4 sous an eel. The "Bourgeois de Paris" gives the number of the expedition as 16000 foot and 600 lances. Let us hope they appreciated their almonds and eels.

The Viceroy of Naples and the Marquis of Pesaro, who was watching Francis' movements in Lombardy, heard of Albany's expedition, but supposed he was only going for munitions from the Duke of Ferrara. They therefore left Lodone and crossed the Po to cut off his retreat. At Marseilles, however, 5 miles from Cremona the/
The Spaniards surprised two horsemen of Albany's foraging, so that they perceived his object was Naples. They were not strong enough to repel him and did not risk defeat; shut themselves up in Monticelli, and let the Duke pass. The Viceroy of Naples felt we are told great uneasiness at leaving Naples thus undefended, but Rescara pointed out to him that the only alternative was leaving Milan undefended, and his scruples were overcome. The army was marching with the blessing of the Pope and at Florence as the army passed through, the Duke of Albany received 100,000 ducats from the citizens. At Lucca he obtained the sum of 12,000, for what precise purpose is not known but as we saw in the affair of the staple, his Grace was not slow to regard his own interest.

The march seems to have been a triumphal progress. At Rome, the Duke spoke long with the Pope and remained there some time. The "Bourgeois" tells us the army got no further for on 24th February, the most Christian King was captured on the disastrous field of Pavia "where all was lost save honour".

Albany's position was practically hopeless: with a victorious army barring the way across the mountains, the only escape was by sea and the army had to wait until Madame la Regente sent a fleet under Andrea Dona, Vice
/Vice-Admiral at Marseilles, to sail to Naples and bring off the Duke and his forces. The approximate date is given as May, 1525. If so it must have been in the very early days for on the 10th of May, the Queen Regent's arrangements for government during the captivity of the king were announced in the Hotel de Ville de Paris. She appointed four vice-roys, the Duke of Vendôme in Picardy, the Duke of Guise in Champagne, L'Autre in Guienne, and the Duke of Albany in Normandy. In the affairs of Scotland he had shown his capability for administration and "Madame" was not slow to make use of his experience. Albany already for some time had been a member of Francis Council, 20th May, 1523.

During the negotiations for the Treaty of Madrid a suggestion was made that Francis should be liberated on condition of the chief noblemen of France being delivered as hostages for the fulfilment of his obligations. The proposal was this, either the Dauphin and Prince Henry of Orleans should go, or the Dauphin alone and the chief nobility; among these there appears the name of John, Duke of Albany. The Queen however, as Brantome remarks preferred to surrender her two sons. Albany, apparently, in spite of his authority did not spare his own household, for on the 26th October
October, 1525, a certain gentleman - de la Tour - a Poitevin one of the men at arms of the Duke of Albany was burned in the market place of Paris because while in Scotland he had spread the Lutheran heresy. Albany was a good Catholic apparently in spite of his opposition to the Papal encroachments on Scottish privilege.

Meanwhile in Scotland though Angus had been admitted, the English did not have that influence in Scotch affairs that they expected. The Queen refused strenuously to have any dealings with Angus and allied herself with Arran. Beaton on the other hand joined with Angus and the two factions resumed practically the status before the arrival of Albany. Gonzalos still remained the French ambassador and Francis sent many times to Scotland informing them of his victories and his desire for the unity of the two countries by a marriage alliance between James and one of Francis' daughters, though the Queen still held a hope of a marriage with England.

Angus, Lennox and Beaton, made what appeared to be an attempt to gain control of the King in November and though they had withdrawn from Edinburgh to St Andrews at the order of the King the party continued to hold together. Margaret looked in desperation to/
VeC, to England for help and in December sent the Marchmont Herald to Francis with the formal annulment of Albany's authority.

But when Henry sent neither money nor help Margaret's loyalty to her brother faded once more and she certainly renewed the negotiations with Albany and the French King for a divorce and the old rumour revived that she was intending to marry Albany herself.

In February, Angus and Lennox appeared in the capital at the head of 7 hundred men. The Queen's party in the Castle hesitated to attack and the queen was compelled to ask Magnus the English ambassador to intervene and arbitrate. It was arranged that the King should be removed from the Castle to Holyrood; the benefices which were bought and sold in the interests now of one party, now of another, should be disposed of by a council of 6 or 8 peers, the queen being president, while all benefices under £1000 were to be at her disposal alone. But Angus was admitted to the government though he was never to assume power over Margaret neither as to person or her lands. This arrangement was signed on 21st February, but the extent of Margaret's sincerity was shown by a letter written the next day to Albany and sent by John Cantley, a priest.
priest. She offered, if Albany would assist her against Angus, to take his part against all, except her son, and declaring that since Henry insisted on supporting Angus, she would take the side of France and refuse a peace unless France was comprehended. She even acknowledged Albany as Regent and urged him to further her divorce in Rome. As soon as Albany returned from Ravia he must have done this, sending on Margaret's letter to the Pope with instructions to his own agent Octavian to satisfy her demands. These letters however the following June were intercepted in Milan and fell into the hands of Wolsey. Cantley was even the bearer of letters to Francis asking what help he could give if Margaret would not accede to Henry's wishes as to the marriage of her son. The Queen Regent in the absence of Francis replied that help would be given according to the terms of Rouen and Margaret would receive a pension of 4000 livres yearly and a lordship of 4000 livres rent.

The Government meanwhile was settled in the hands of a secret council consisting of Angus, Arran, Lennox and Argyle, with the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow and the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane, two to govern every three months in rotation with the Queen as President. The news of Pavia reached Scotland.
Scotland in March and the French party was correspondingly weakened. The Queen, however in a desperate appeal to "Madame la Regente" and sent Patrick Hume or Wemyss to represent to her that the country was now more than ever in need of Albany's strong rule and that Pavia was a blow no less to Scotland than to France, and urging Louise to send what help she could and make war if possible on the English possessions in France, at the same time sending 200 gunners and money to the Scots. If the French could not do this then the Scots would be compelled to make peace with the English not including France and the matter was so urgent that an answer was imperative before Parliament met on 6th July. To this Louise replied that though she desired the Scots Alliance to continue and approved their desire for Albany's return yet in the state of France with her King in captivity and her army defeated, Albany's presence in the country being of supreme national importance, was indispensable, though she promised that as soon as the King was at liberty he should go.

A special ambassador, M. de Saignes was sent to answer the petition more fully though the instructions were really previously drawn out in favour of Francis de Bordeaux, who was more familiar with Scottish ways.
through him Louise assured the king and his mother that the franco-scottish alliance would be of infinitely greater benefit to scotland than the english who were merely making great offers to scotland in order to withdraw her from the french and then ruin her. albany since the king was still a prisoner could not proceed to scotland but margaret was adjured to remain faithful to france and her pension of 4000 livres was confirmed. if the worst came to the worst margaret could find refuge in france and for this emergency a residence of 4000 livres under letters patent was allocated when de saignes was also to approach the chancellor with promises of a cardinal's hat and a bishopric or abbey for his nephew in france. albany, said the regents, in the preceding august, had received from francis pensions for the nobles in scotland; these he sent with letters, by david beaton but the regente had not heard whether these letters and money had ever arrived. de saignes was instructed to discover the truth but if the letter had been given and no money accompanying it he was to assure the complainants that francis' thought the money was paid but if no letters and no money had been given and there were no complaints the ambassador was wisely to say nothing about it.
As for making a separate truce with the English, Louise pointed out that since France did not refuse help Scotland would in doing so be violating the treaty of Rouen, and that James by the same treaty was already bound to a French princess and could not marry the English Mary.

This French ambassador however was but coldly received in Edinburgh. The Queen was even making overtures to Angus to try to induce him to consent to a divorce. Margaret indeed seemed to care little for considerations of state when her own private desires were at stake.

Her affections were now settled upon Henry Stewart who was her constant companion both at Holyrood and the Castle, and she even offered Angus 1000 marks to facilitate the proceedings. The Queen indeed since Angus deserted her at Harbottle had never trusted him and for long, at various times, Albany's influence in the question of divorce had been solicited. He had already done much by 1520 as we have seen and had even declared he had the Bulls, but this must have been a piece of bravado. The increase of Charles V's power roused Wolsey's fear for his newly created balance of power and with the prospect of an early English alliance.
The peace between England and France was actually signed on the 30th August, 1525, Wolsey promising to do his best to obtain Francis' release as soon as possible. In these circumstances, therefore, Albany and the French party could hope for nothing, in fact Louise definitely promised to prevent his return, and in October an armistice for three years with England was arranged at Berwick in spite of the efforts of Margaret and Arran who maintained an attitude of uncompromising hostility to England and even tried in January, 1520 to overthrow the English party by force; but the only result was that the King was removed from the immediate presence of the Queen and from now begins practically the regime of the Douglases. In January the truce of three years was confirmed though Margaret was promised by the English ambassador that if Angus continued to claim conjunct fees she had sufficient grounds for divorce. Angus now perceiving that any further usurpation of the Queen's revenues would forfeit his favour with Henry resolved to desist and perhaps even consented according to to a divorce on the ground of a previous marriage or even that at the time of his marriage with Margaret James IV. was still alive. Margaret was now completel
completely under the influence of Henry Stewart and her position was so precarious and the dubiety of her conduct so apparent that even her son remonstrated with her while Arran passed over to the other party. The divorce in Rome dragged on slowly. Albany must have been in constant communication with the queen and Francis must have been in doubt as to whether to countenance it or not. By the Treaty of Madrid in January 1526, he had obtained his freedom at the price of Burgundy, but he lost no time in repudiating the bargain and leagueing with the Pope Venice, Sforza and Florence under the protection of the king of England. The League however could do nothing against the levies of the Emperor and Bourbon. The sacred city itself was pillaged by the Colonnesi and then by the Imperial forces and Clement himself was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. Francis did practically nothing, spending his time in luxury and pleasure, while the Duke of Urbino the commander of the Venetian Army failed to achieve any success. The victory of the Imperial arms roused both Francis and Henry to action and the treaties of April 30th and May 29th confirmed the League of Cognac into a more close and lasting bond, while in August, a definite arrangement was made at Amiens. Princess Mary was betrothed to Francis'
Francis' second son and England promised to provide the money for an Italian campaign, while it was agreed that no Papal Bull derogatory to the King should be admitted into their territories. It was little wonder that Albany could obtain little or no advance in Margaret's proceedings with the hope a prisoner about to capitulate. Albany however was kept well posted in news from England. He wrote often to M. de Turenne, the French ambassador in England in cipher and a letter of Turenne to Albany exists showing the position of affairs.

Turenne stated that Wolsey had complained that the Queen of Scots was contemplating returning to France since her son had requested her to "dismiss Henry Stewart and live more honestly." It was rumoured said Wolsey that she would intercede with Francis for the favour of the Pope to obtain a divorce in order to marry Albany. Turenne had been asked to obtain from Francis that should she arrive in France she should immediately be sent to England.

Almost immediately after Turenne had written this letter Henry sent for him to ask if he had written to Francis on the subject of Margaret's shameful conduct. Turenne assured him that Albany was not a party to the scheme and told him that when Francis was a prisoner in
in the hands of the emperor Albany had laboured hard to secure "Henry's entire friendship". In return, so amicable were now the relations between the two countries Henry suggested an English marriage for Albany's niece Catherine de Medicis and even declared that he esteemed Albany so highly that he would rather have the government of Scotland in his hands than of Margaret's. Turenne replied on behalf of Albany that he did not desire the government except with Henry's goodwill and aid to destroy those who were ruining Scotland though Turenne privately remarked that Henry would just as soon see Scotland ruined than Albany there. Henry accordingly agreed to send an ambassador to Spain to demand the return of Francis' children on the pain of war, while he promised money and arms for the campaign in Italy, which was just beginning. Henry however insisted that a good leader should be appointed in command; the Marquis of Saumur, said he, was not good enough. The best leader would be Lautrec or Albany, and of these he preferred Albany, since Lautrec was so much hated by the Italians, while the Duke was "saige et diligent et gentil compagnon". Conditions had indeed changed when Henry stooped to flatter one whom he had formerly branded as a traitor and assassin. The French King by
/by Robertet the secretary, expressed his surprise at the rumour of the queen's marriage with Albany, and refused to believe it had any foundation in fact. Probably it was suspected that Albany's thoughts were tending towards the Regency and it was probably to dissuade him from it that Francis showered upon him additional honours in France. He was made Governor of Lauregais and Francis wrote to Clement asking him to make Albany's brother Legate in Scotland while it must have been about this time that the first suggestion of the marriage of Caterina with Henry was put forward. Nevertheless Albany's interest in Scotland was maintained by the appeal of Buccleuch to him for assistance in memory of their old friendship while he certainly used his influence with the Pope during the spring of 1527 to obtain for Beaton the security of the privileges of St Andrews, inspite of the opposition of the bishops of Glasgow and Moray.

As it was, Lautrec was put in command while Albany only sent a contingent of 500 men. The campaign was at first brilliantly successful but the Pope came to terms with the Emperor in November although in the following month he escaped and fled to Orvieto. The French marched in triumph upon Naples but the defection of the
the Venetian and the disaster of Aversa August, 1528, and a little later, Ladriano, ruined all hopes of conquest. Still in the early months of 1528 French prospects looked bright and it was at this period that Margaret's divorce for which she had so long importuned became an established fact. The actual decree was pronounced on March 11th 1528 but promulgation was always difficult. Unaware that her case was won on 23rd March Margaret wrote to Albany thanking him for his letter sent by her servant and his, the Abbot of Culross. Albany had spent much money in bribes and fees to the consistorial officials and Cardinals of the Curia. Margaret appealed once more to him to be diligent in her cause and hasten the end of her "tribulations et tourmens" and supply the necessary expenses. She also thanked him on behalf of her son for fine horses and rich presents which he had sent to the King. All Albany's communications apparently were sent through the medium of the captain of Dunbar once so reviled by the Queen and now so flattered and commended.

Finally however, John Duncan, one of Albany's agents in Rome wrote to inform him of the papal decision. The divorce had been proclaimed by Cardinal Ancona in accordance with Albany's and Margaret's desires but/
but so many great persons had been employed that immense rewards would be necessary and Duncan did not have the money at his disposal. Octavien, Albany's primary agent, expected at least 50 ducats, and the whole sum necessary would far exceed 600. Since the Queen cannot pay, Albany was responsible and Duncan more fully hoped that he would be repaid the money he had spent. Albany it seems did pay these expenses though why he should do so much for a woman who had previously been one of his greatest enemies we cannot imagine. Possibly he hoped through her to regain his authority in Scotland though against this we have to put his obvious desire to be rid of the Regency on other occasions. Possibly years had dimmed the recollection of the misfortunes and anxieties he had experienced and the distant prospect of power once more attracted him. May more, we have a document, certainly drawn up by him that proves that his efforts at this time were certainly directed to this end. In September, 1526, had occurred the famous Lennox fight, a brave but ill-organised attempt to free the young King James from the hated sway of the Douglases. The Queen and the Chancellor had been on the losing side and though after some weeks of hiding disguised as a shepherd, according
/according to Lyndsay, Beaton made his peace with the victorious Angus, by June 1527 the hollow reconciliation was practically ended for Angus deprived Beaton of the seals and set his own family in all the highest positions.

It must be to this period that the document belongs 1527. the memoir prepared by Albany as to "what the Chancellor is to say to the King of France on the affairs of Scotland." He was to complain against the tyranny of Angus and the evil habits they were inculcating in the boy king. He was to recount the true story of Lennox' sacrifice through which the Chancellor had been deprived of all his offices. Then, if Francis desired to help his party he was to instruct the French ambassador in England to intercede with Henry for permission for Albany to return. The Duke would give good order, would restore the King to the Queen, and pledge himself to do as Francis ordered, and to return within a fixed time provided Angus received no help from Henry.

Albany even offered to give up Dunbar to anyone, King James, the Queen and Council desired. Otherwise he feared it would fall into the English hands. If however Francis desired, the Duke to depart even without the King of England's consent, Albany expressed himself ready to go with as good a will as against the Turk.
Meanwhile Francis might send John Seigneur of Aubigny, who was a son of the Earl of Lennox to request the release of the other children of Lennox, while at the same time in letters to the Council he might hold out hope of marriage between James and a French princess as well as taking to the Captain of Dunbar his pension and promise of reinforcement. Perhaps the Chancellor came to France while out of favour but there is no record of his doing so and by December, 1527, the Prelate was once more received into the government probably by a liberal distribution of the benefices at his disposal. He had not long been restored when he was instrumental in bringing about the sacrifice of Patrick Hamilton upon the altar of outraged orthodoxy or political rancour. The martyr was the son of Patrick Hamilton of Mincavel and Catherine or Margaret Stewart, Albany's half sister. He was also the nephew of the Earl of Arran and it has been thought that he was sacrificed by the Douglas faction because he was a Hamilton, but if Beaton was negotiating with Albany it would almost seem that the religious question outweighed the political aspect of the martyrdom.

It must be remembered too that Beaton was instrumental in decoying away one of James's guards on pretence of an advantageous business transaction and thus/
thus leaving the king a good opportunity of ridding himself of the Douglas yoke. There is therefore a suggestion that his bond with Albany still held and his alliance with the Douglases for a short time was only to compass their destruction. The King had come into his own, advised in all things by his mother, and Henry Stewart, now Lord Methven, whom she had married on 2nd April, even before the news of the promulgation of her decree had become public. Albany's desire for the overthrow of the Douglas faction was accomplished and he instructed Gonzolles to supply James with artillery in his expeditions against the Douglas strongholds. From this time Albany seems to have given up all thought of returning to Scotland and he devoted much of his influence to furthering Scottish affairs on the Continent.

The European situation was gradually becoming more definite. Clement, actuated no doubt by the desire to re-establish his family in Florence with the Emperor's help and recover the possessions taken from him, by the Duke of Ferrara, made peace with Charles in June, 1529, and to gain Charles' favour revoked his decision in the question of Henry's divorce viz. to let Wolsey and Campeggio judge, and cited the cause to Rome. Both/
Both Francis and Charles were weary of war and by the efforts of Margaret Governess of the Netherlands, and Louise, peace was arranged at Cambrai, August, 1529. Francis was to receive back his sons left as hostages in Charles' hands, he was compelled to break his pledge to Venice, and he gave up all claims in Italy. Charles by a pacific policy obtained the alliance of the Pope and Venice and was crowned Emperor at Bologna February, 1530. Europe was at peace and just in time to repel the advances of the Solyman the Sultan, when all Germany forgot its differences, religious and otherwise in the gallant relief of Vienna, October, 1529. Now it had always been part of Francis' policy to ally with the German princes with the Emperor and even with the Lutherans and the prospect of a united Pope and Emperor did not seem to Francis good as a lasting arrangement.

Henry also was disturbed by the alliance of the Pope with the nephew of the wife he wished to discard.

The Duke of Albany's connection with the Papal family and his reputation as a negotiator induced Francis to send him personally to Rome, where on 28th November, 1529, we find him asking an answer to his memorandum to the Pope, as to the best means of carrying on war against the Turk. But it was in the following year that his
his fame as a diplomat was most increased. Albany's niece, Catherine de Medicis was the daughter of Madeleine and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, who was Clement's brother. Albany held her wardship for she was the heiress of the Auvergne possessions of which he had only a titular; Albany therefore was bent on making as profitable a marriage as possible both for her sake and his. But the Pope, as Catherine's uncle and guardian also had a voice in her disposal. She was at this time only 11 years old but to the diplomats of the 16th century, age was a matter of little consideration.

The Emperor's agents were on the alert to guard against any attempt to withdraw the fickle Clement from the Imperial alliance, and, on 30th August, 1530, the Pope warned his master that the Bishop of Tarbes i.e. Grammont and the Duke of Albany were expected at Rome ostensibly for the purpose of settling the dowry of "Caterina and those lands of hers which the Duke held in France" nevertheless the ambassador suspected there was something more, and they were not long in discovering what this something was. From spies in France learned that Albany had confessed secretly that his aim was to negotiate a marriage for Henry of Orleans second son of the French King. The English ambassadors
ambassadors apparently were not quite sure how to receive him but they feared he was not friendly to Henry and might do the divorce question harm, and they even complained to the Pope of his coming. It was reported that Grammont had written to stop his mission but nevertheless was certain that Francis would send him to seize any opportunity of seeing what a general council would lead to. As for the Pope his love of intrigue made him delight in making the others jealous, and in spite of the league of necessity with the Emperor he was obviously leaning towards France and England. Albany was pressing the French marriage for his niece though there was also a rumour of another possible match in Germany, about which the French councillors were divided in opinion. Even the Pope could hardly imagine that the offer of Henry of Orleans was a serious one and refused to entertain it though the Duke explained it as an attempt to defend Italy by a French alliance.

Albany's projects for his niece's wedding embraced even Scotland. It was natural that one so long and so closely related with that country should desire to continue the connection of his family. He had evidently made a formal offer of her hand since he had a commission
/commission to treat for the Scottish King's marriage. On 9th November the Scottish Council dealt with the matter "anent the article touching the King's marriage with the Duchess of Urbino. And the Lords thought the "instructions sent by my lord Duke of Albania in that behalf richt weil consavit" with these reservations. (1) That the commission sent to our cousin the Duke of Albany to contract our marriage be not used until the time the Duchess of Urbino be transported and brought into the realm of France and the advice of Francis and the warrant of the Scots Council obtained. If the Pope and her friends refused to allow her departure from Italy no arrangement was to be made until the full extent of her dowry was ascertained. The Scots apparently desired no more papal aggressions nor greedy Italian princelings scrambling for Scottish benefices. Nothing more seems to have been done in the matter, indeed, Albany had many years ago by the Treaty of Rouen pledged James to a French princess, but it is curious to think that had her destiny not lain elsewhere, one of the most famous women in history might have sat upon the Scottish throne.

In October it was rumoured that Albany was going to Rome to replace Uranmont, that the French marriage was given up and that Albany was set upon the Scottish
/Scottish marriage, but Grammont hinted that if Parma, Piacenza, were her dower the affair might be successfully arranged, Francis agreeing to give the Pope an equiva-

lent. The Imperial ambassador had his suspicions of such a dower. The French he said were but trying to gain a footing once more in Italy and his suspicions were confirmed when he heard that Albany was to sail to Savona - too near Venice and the Duke of Ferrara for the Imperial interests and he wrote off immediately to his agents to watch the Duke's movements closely. Grammont it was said, was also returning by Ferrara and to Mai it seemed more than mere coincidence. Before he went, however, assured the Imperial ambassadors that their doubts of Albany were unfounded, that he was only coming to Rome on private affairs and Mai might even be called in to mediate between him and the Pope. The rumour of Albany's coming by water was certainly incorrect: but Arbes was still delayed, as he openly admitted, by the process for the King's divorce. In expectation apparently of Albany's arrival, "La Duchessima" his niece came to Rome in spite of the inundation which ruined one third of the city, and Mai proposed to call upon the child whose matrimonial affairs were creating
creating disturbance in diplomatic circles. Again on the 21st October, there were tales of the Duke's feigning sickness and going incognito to Ferrara, whose Duke in the papal wars had seized Reggio and Modena. Wherever Albany had been on his travels, by the first week of November he was in Rome for on the 7th—his actual entry being made on November 3rd—the Spanish and Imperial envoys waited upon him and conversed long on the affairs which brought him to Italy. Within two days the Duke returned the call, talking of his niece's marriage and the war in Hungary against the Turks. The reason for all the uneasiness was a suspicion that through the agency of Albany the French were once more at their intrigues with the Italian princes and the Cardinal of Ravenna even informed that Albany had spoken to Giovanni Paolo di Gori, a famous mercenary who complained to him that since there was now no war in Italy he was going into business. Albany in reply had assured him that "soon the King of France would have occasion to employ him and all other condottieri of his class". Venice, indeed, was very suspicious of Albany's mission and another Cardinal exclaimed to Charles: "for God's sake let us have no more French intrigues in Italy for if this man (Albany) can in any way influence
influence the Pope, we shall have a war as disastrous as the last." At Albany's intercession processes of treason and forfeiture against several of his onetime supporters were suspended, notably against the Ursini.

But Albany when on the 4th November, he was permitted to kiss the Pope's foot, "was not so pompous in his bearing as was reported," and he admitted openly that it was to treat for the marriage of Orleans and Catherine that he came. The Pope reported to Muxetuela the Spanish ambassador that Albany had remarked to him in a conversation how much both the Pope and Francis had passed through since Albany was last in Rome on his campaign of 1525. In a private interview once more reported by Clement to the Emperor's agents, Albany offered on behalf of Francis 30,000 crowns annual pension for Catherine and Henry if the marriage was arranged, while as regards the question of a crusade Francis was eager to help with both men and money if he were sure they would be used for that purpose: and the Duke protested vehemently that he came only to cement the friendship of the Pope, Francis and the Emperor. Once this friendship was secure, then the reprobate English king would be compelled to give in. In all these offers the wily Pope thought he could perceive a hint as to/
On the 11th November the Duke delivered his advice to the Pope respecting the war against the Turk, proposing to send a person of rank to the Emperor and the King of France to have their approval for his scheme. He proposed raising two powerful armies, one for defence and one to invade the lands of the Turks while a fleet was to be fitted out from all Italian ports including those belonging to the Emperor while the Italian princes who had no ships were to provide money. A circular letter, he advised, should be sent to all foreign potentates, asking how much each would be willing to give while to pacify all differences the Lutherans should be granted an armistice of two or three years. He concluded by urging a conference between the Pope, Charles and Francis.

After he had made these proposals, Albany according to Mai devoted himself to a life of pleasure though the Emperor's spies ascertained that he went occasionally after nightfall to visit the Pope. It is amusing to note the struggle for precedence among the various envoys. One, Don Pedro la Cueva did not attend chapel because since no place had been provided for him he would have to yield precedence to the Duke of Albany and Spanish
Spanish pride would not allow of that.

In the background of all negotiations was the menace of the Turk and of the Lutheran problem, while the English divorce every now and then seemed to upset all calculations. Francis wrote by the medium of Albany approving of a general council for, said he, it was the only way of meeting the Lutherans but the place of meeting must be somewhere free from all suspicion where every nation might send its representatives.

A General Council many years afterwards (1542) was summoned at Trent but it was then too late to check the advance of the new doctrines.

In spite of Albany's assurances that the Turks checked at Vienna were no longer to be feared, they still harassed the confines of the Empire, and the Mediterranean, and the Imperial ambassador visited the rope to urge him to action but the rope himself thought that a temporary peace with the invader would in the circumstances be the best remedy. Francis indeed had from the beginning been suspected of some clandestine dealings with the infidel though Albany seemed to be acting very openly and honestly, even showing to Nicolai and Andrea del Barigo copies of his private letters from Francis. But they still remained suspicious, indeed/
indeed "after he was gone they wondered what he had come about."

And they might well be suspicious. Francis had never given up hope of redeeming Milan and on the 13th December, 1530, Muxetuela informed the Emperor that Albany had taken off the mask. He had openly told the Pope that Francis wanted Milan, only so would the peace of Christendom be assured and then only would it be time to treat with the Turks. Francis indeed was negotiating a commercial treaty with the Turk himself and did not hesitate a little later to suggest a joint attack with them on the Milanese itself.

The Pope however, though he realized that the prospect of a brilliant marriage for his niece depended upon favouring Francis' demands was too carefully supervised by the Emperor's agents to harbour the idea. He told Albany instead that Francis ought to think more of Christianity. Charlesv. was daily in expectation of an attack from England or France and determined on an alliance with Scotland if possible. Already in the autumn of 1529, negotiations for the marriage of Charles' sister Margaret of Hungary and James had been in progress and James had written to Albany requesting his support but so close was the bond between France and England at
At this time that the letters were remitted from France to Wolsey, Albany sending a credence by James Lamb to declare Albany's distaste for any alliance between Scotland and the enemy of England. It was then only that the offer of Catherine's hand was made but as we have seen, though it obtained the consent of the King of England, the negotiation went no farther. The Emperor still however continued his advances and was thinking of offering his niece, a daughter of the deposed Christien, in marriage. Probably it was to check these possible delinquencies of the Scots that Albany's secretary, Jean of Barbon was despatched along with a Papal Nuncio going to Scotland about the reform of excesses committed against the apostolic authority - possibly in connection with the establishment of the College of Justice then pending. Throughout January, Albany was agitating for a settlement of the match between Catherine and Henry, promising for Clement a close league with Francis but to this the Pope would only reply that he would do nothing without the consent of the Emperor. Albany even hinted that if Clement did not really desire the General Council Francis would abet him in a refusal. Albany also with his aptitude for church matters had a commission to obtain certain benefices for the patronage of the King, and had hinted to the Cardinals that if the Emperor
/could bestow pensions Francis also was liberal to his friends.

But the marriage settlement seemed to be advancing no farther in spite of the Duke's canvassing of the Cardinals and it was repeated that the coming election of Charles' brother Frederick was not much to his taste (it ultimately was confirmed in June 1531) with "and for that very reason" said Muxetuela/"the touch of malice, "all the Emperor's true and faithful servants are doubly glad." Charles himself was struggling against the league of Schmallalde but his European difficulties prevented any definite settlement. He suspended proceedings until a general council could be summoned and we have seen what Francis attitude was as regards this question. Francis himself was not incapable of using the protestants for his own ends and his league with Henry induced him to have the proceedings at Rome against him delayed. Albany declared that Francis would pledge his word that if those proceedings were stopped at Rome Henry would take no further steps in England but the Pope was a Medici and knew the paths of diplomacy. He answered that if the proposition had come from Queen Catherine he might have entertained it but he would only do so on that condition. During February the diplomacy
diplomacy at Rome was agitated by propositions of an interview between Francis, the Emperor and the Pope, but Albany insisted that such an interview must only take place in Italy otherwise the Pope might be prejudiced in the Emperor's favour and closely observing the Papal attitude became convinced "that Albany and the Pope had something between them. For an hour they were closeted together and when asked the Pope the subject of their discourse Clement told him he had been trying to persuade him to remove his inhibitions upon Henry and the marriage with Anne and to suspend the proceedings for two or three months; but the Pope only answered that the Imperial ambassadors would never give their consent. But, as we shall see, these secret conclaves did have a definite result. As for the Turkish question, Albany still continued to advocate an offensive league, though was sure he was only doing so to irritate the grand Turk against the Emperor whose dominions were always the first to suffer, and the infidel was always a splendid corrective to the Emperor's increasing power "for anything may be apprehended from the French." Albany continued to agitate for a conference in Italy. The imperial ambassadors were frankly puzzled as to his object. They could only surmise it was to delay a general council or
for to hasten on the French marriage for Clement had no desire to submit to a Council, though it would benefit Charles, and Albany played upon his jealousy. By 14th April, it was believed that the place of meeting would be Milan or Nice though Mai could not bring himself to see how such a conference could be desired by the Pope or any Italian. Albany in April was preparing for departure. Grammont was to take his place and to pursue the policy of procrastination.

Albany sent on his heavy baggage and his suite to the baths at Lorettoto where he intended to remain for a few days before returning to France. Meanwhile as a special mark of favour, he received apartments in the Vatican itself—a privilege which de Tarbes' messengers were also trying to procure for him. The latter's business apparently was either "the English" one or the marriage of Catherine" but said the Imperial Ambassador "it will come to nothing." "When the Duke of Albany came we were all on thorns but he has achieved nothing." The Pope meanwhile had received offers of marriage for Catherine from the Duke of Mantua and the French. Official negotiations were suspended until the arrival of Grammont. Albany and Francis persisted in calling the child the "Duchess of Urbino" though another claimant had made good
good his claim to the title. However, Albany, so far as we know, did not leave for a little time and when he did return to France it was only for a few weeks probably to receive fresh instructions. About the time of his departure in April, Albany wrote to Henry that his divorce was "in good trim" at Rome and that if an able diplomatist were appointed to succeed him and follow in his tracks the cause was won. Immediately upon receiving this news, Henry despatched on the 4th of May, Sir Edward Fox to France though the Imperial ambassador Mustace Chapuys could not discover the object of the embassy. It was probably to give Tarbes more positive instructions before he went to Rome. The unhappy Queen Catherine, hearing of this was greatly alarmed but Chapuys reassured her. "Albany, he said, was leaving Rome and thus could write more boldly of the "success" so that if the divorce was unsuccessful he might blame the diplomacy of later envoys. Albany's reputation for boasting apparently had not decreased with his advancing years. De Tarbes when he did arrive had the same objective in view as Albany. The Pope however declared to Muxetuela that he would not accept the French overtures but it must be admitted that Francis' desires curiously corresponded with the secret wishes of Clement
Clement. He refused to attend a Council personally and opposed it being held in Italy and the Emperor's agents shrewdly suspected he wished to prevent a Council altogether until he got a footing at Milan. The French however, in spite of Clement's protestations to the Imperialists, were very high in his favour. Though he vowed he would never send his niece to France until she was of marriageable age, yet mai imagined that the rope would give much to see Caterina Duchess of Milan and the greatest lady in Italy.

It was rumoured on the 10th of June that de Tarbes was returning within a week's time to France and the Duke of Albany was to replace him until the arrival of the Bishop of Auxerre (d'Inteville) de Tarbes while advocating a conference of Francis, Charles and the Pope was exceedingly vague as to its object but Albany had been more explicit. He had said the King and Courtiers of France could not bear the idea of leaving Milan for ever and would be satisfied with the rope's granting it to the Duke of Orleans, on the death of Sforza without malice means, and the French apparently thought that the Emperor would consent since he would soon be requiring the French friendship owing to the rising of some German princes with whom Francis was known to be in secret correspondence. Mai under these circumstances advised
advised Charles immediately to refuse any such conference. The Pope and Francis would only try to persuade him to their common views. If it were held at all, then Mai urged it should be outside Italy, and if the French marriage did come about, after it and not before. Towards the end of June, Albany must have returned to Rome, and the negotiations received a fresh impetus. In July the Pope told Mai that Albany had said to him that if the Emperor thought Milan too great a price for French friendship, he could not reasonably complain if the French attacked Genoa which had revolted recently from France and had established a republic under Doria and allied with the Emperor. "There was also a threat of invasion by the Turks extending as far as Rome itself - but even this failed to make the Emperor come to terms.

Albany even declared that a marriage between Catherine and Henry "would have a good effect upon Germany." It might in other words induce Francis to cease supporting the rebel Protestants. The Bishop of Auxerre arrived in Rome on the third of August, but Albany did not retire. He was endeavouring to maintain courteous if not friendly relations with the imperial agents, and meeting Mai one day in the Rapal Palace he promised to call at the Embassy. Mai, however, received
received orders to refuse to treat with him, so he sent his subordinate Andrea de Beirgo to Albany. The latter of his own free will immediately began a discussion upon state affairs. Three things he said demanded a settlement (1) the question of Hungary. This he thought Francis could arrange by bringing the vayvod into agreement with Ferdinand, the recently elected king of the Romans, but Beirgo pointed out that the vayvod had lately taken part with the Turk and was under rapal censures. (Albany indeed had practically admitted Francis' dealings with the infidel.)

The second question said Albany was that of the divorce and though he admitted the justice on the emperor and Catherine's side, yet delay from motives of policy was advisable. As for his third point he declared that the political relations of France and Italy must be altered and if Charles refused Francis' demands the French might still do much harm if they chose.

In September, the emperor warned mai against accepting Albany's apparently frank statements and urged him to be extremely guarded in his answers while he was also to be cautious with the bishop of Auxerre. Albany apparently was recognised as a clever and dangerous opponent.
Perhaps it would have been well had they realized this some months before for according to Marten de Béthuy, some arrangement was come to between the rope and Albany in April, 1531, the rope agreeing to give as Catherine's dowry, Parma, Reggio, Modena, 'isa, and Leghorn. In that case Albany's boast had not been unfounded and the imperial ambassadors were wrong when they said he had achieved nothing. His short visit to Francis in May had only been to obtain Francis' consent to his arrangements. Clement promised assistance to Francis in recovering Milan and every aid to his niece in recovering the Duchy of Urbino and du Bellay states that on 9th June, 1531, the rope actually signed the donation and promised to pay half the expenses for the recovery of Urbino. Now on the 9th of June the imperial ambassadors had reported along interview between the rope and de Tarbes the object of which Clement reported but the intriguing Medici suppressed the most important item, for though the ambassadors remarked on the favour shown to the French they had evidently no idea that the matter of the marriage was already settled.

Albany apparently about September or October withdrew do
/ withdrew from Rome. He had already broached the question of the Scottish Court of Session to the Pope who was persuaded to grant its expenses from the revenues of the Church.

But it is not till 10th April, 1532, that we hear of him again as the accredited agent of Francis. It was then that the Imperial ambassador at Venice wrote to warn Charles that the Signory and Doge seemed unwilling to join a league between the Pope and Emperor against the Turk. On the other hand there were rumours of a counter league including France, England, the vayvod, and the Lutheran princes and the Signory had heard that representatives of France and England, Hungary, Saxony, Messe, three or four German towns and seven or eight princes had tried at Lubeck to discuss a campaign. As soon as the Turk invaded they were all simultaneously to attack the Empire; the King of England was to marry his daughter to the vayvod, while Francis was to prepare a fleet in Normandy — indeed already he had galleys in Marseilles, and the Duke of Albany was to be the commander in chief of all his forces. Such a scheme might appear somewhat wild but no doubt Francis was negotiating with the Turk and the German Lutherans and probably the rumour was not without some grain of truth.
By June Francis' attitude was much more openly hostile. The rogue who had a foot in either camp informed an imperial cardinal that from a confidential agent of his own at the French Court he heard that Francis had determined to do as much harm as possible to the Emperor, and the Duke of Albany was to be sent to Marseilles in charge of the fleet. But the actual outbreak was not yet to be. Indeed the imperial agents were convinced that Francis would not move till the Emperor was engaged with the Turk. Francis now refused the galleys he had promised, in accordance with Albany's arrangements against the Turks, on the ground of mistrust of Doria, but offered to send 17 vessels under the command of the Duke of Albany for the defence of the Italian shores. Even this he would only do on condition of the rope entrusting his fleet also to Albany's direction. Yet the papal Nuncio could assure his master that there were no actual preparations for war and that though Albany had been at the French Court it had only been on the subject of the Scotch King's marriage and he had almost immediately returned to his own estates.

Relations with Scotland were just then a little strained owing to the Emperor's attempts to detach
James from the French alliance and James became aware that France was so anxious to secure the English support that she seemed indifferent to the "auld alliance". The English were again making inroads in support of the rebels, Angus and his brother, and Henry, when he wrote to Francis informing him of his marriage with Anne, announced his intention of "chastising the Scots." Francis, however, sent an ambassador d'Acques to mediate and James in return demanded the renewal of the treaty of Rouen. It must have been about this time that David Beaton was sent to France to insist upon it and especially upon the marriage clause. If Francis refused, Beaton had instructions to proceed to Flanders and accept the Emperor's offers. But such measures were not necessary. Probably through Albany's mediation matters were successfully accommodated, but now all the arrangements were made for the marriage of the Pope's niece and to the chagrin of the imperial ambassadors, the Pope had promised an interview with Francis. But in June, 1533, the Cardinal de Tournon was still trying to induce Clement to permit the marriage of his niece before the interview took place. In the opinion of the imperial ambassadors, once the marriage was completed the French would prove Catherine the real heir.
real heir and duke Alessandro only her supposed brother (he was in reality an illegitimate son of the pope himself) and would attempt to get possession of Florence, since Lorenzo, Catherine's father, who had died within a year of her birth, had obtained a document from Maximilian, appointing him vicar of Florence. The Imperialist, accordingly informed the pope of their suspicion but in vain. The pope sent the bishop of Faenza to arrange the interview, the congregation granted their consent, and Tournon assured the pope that Francis would bring Henry with him and if Clement brought Catherine, the marriage might thus be satisfactorily concluded.

In October, 1533, the long talked of marriage did take place. In September, Albany went to Italy to escort the bride to Marseilles along with a splendid company of French and Italian knights and ladies. On the day after their arrival the king came to the papal residence along with the Duc de Vendôme, Comte de St Pol, Duc de Nemour, Montmorency, and the Duke of Albany. They were received with all conceivable pomp by the pope and the College of Cardinals and on the 28th of October, the young couple were married and received the papal blessing. In honour of the occasion the pope created several Cardinals, among
among them Albany's half brother, by his mother's second marriage, Philip de la Chambre, who became Cardinal de Boulogne.

It was hoped that through fear of Francis' displeasure Henry would discard Anne though at the conference at Boulogne in the preceding year, Francis had recognised her. Though the question was broached at the conference Francis only succeeded in obtaining a respite for Henry from excommunication for a few months and the rope returned to Rome on the 12th of November with no more definite arrangement. Albany had thus secured for his niece a position of royal rank, but by the next year he was engaged in some dispute as to the succession of Auvergne, for Saluzzo informs us that in that year Francis was employed in making up the differences between the Duke of Albany and the Duke and Duchess of Orleans.

Meanwhile James V. was eager to gain a powerful continental alliance and we have seen how Beaton had skilfully eliminated the alternative of a German alliance and had done much to further the match with Francis' daughter. In June, 1533, Francis wrote from Lyons that he desired the marriage of Madeleine and James with all his heart but she was only 13. Knowing that the Scots were clamouring for their King's marriage and an assured
assured succession to disinherit the house of Hamilton, next in line, he had no objection, if James could not wait till she was of marriageable age, to his marrying a French princess from Francis' near relatives, and offered to adopt such a princess as his own daughter, whilst James would receive equal advantages. This offer was not so ingenuous as it appeared for Chapuys wrote in January, 1534, to the Emperor that James was eager to marry, and that Henry was soliciting Francis to give him a wife, always provided she was not one of Francis' own daughters, and was even holding out an offer of making James next in the English succession on condition of a marriage with the princess Mary, though he was afraid to make any definite proposal from fear of irritating Francis. Chapuys also announced that there was a commission from Scotland going to Rome to complain against the Archbishop of St Andrews who had been imprisoned for writing to John Stewart, Duke of Albany, to urge him to return and put affairs in order which were becoming worse than ever owing to the misgovernment of the King. Yet James could have had little real distrust of Albany when he wrote on 16th February, 1534, a letter of credence for Albany, as an agent in the marriage negotiations. "He was never failing in business and knowledge of affairs, and
and that any benefit Francis bestowed upon him would be
looked upon as a personal favour to James.

Albany apparently then proceeded with the marriage
negotiations and he naturally inclined to a family closel
connected with his own. The Duc de Vendome had a daughter
Marie de Bourbon, and in March 1535, Chauffeur reported that
Jean de Barbon was in Scotland to ask James to come to
France and also to make a formal offer of the "hand of
Vendosmis daughter." James however only replied with a
non-committal "we shall see."

By this time the agitation for the College of
Justice had come to a satisfactory conclusion but we
shall have to go back a little to trace its course. The
priests had time and again complained of the burden it
imposed upon them and it must have been for this reason
that for some time James Beaton was out of favour with
the King even although his nephew was the principal
agent in the King's wedding arrangements. The incident
apparently is very vague but there exists a document
published by M. Teulet - "a message sent by the King of
Scots to the Pope." Teulet places this document about
1535 but it is more probably about 1532. It is a list
of grievances against Archbishop Beaton for the offences
committed during James' minority.
It was stated that the Archbishop had enriched himself and his relatives at the expense of the crown. His niece had married the Earl of Arran, the father of the present earl, and the next in succession after the Duke of Albany, who was childless, and whose life was now drawing to a close. James complained that the Archbishop had joined the hated Douglas faction after his erection in 1524, and though James had pardoned him he imputed the failure of the Battle of Linlithgow to him and he was largely responsible for the wars with England. James asked therefore, that the papal briefs against him should be put into execution. He was already in ward but the guard was evidently insufficient for he had contrived to write letters to friends abroad offering to owe Silvestre varius recently a papal Nuncio in Scotland, a large part of his goods if he would obtain a revocation of the letters against him. He desired his liberty in order to begin his intrigues and it was known he had an arrangement to flee to Berwick any time he pleased. James therefore requested the publication of the papal brief and that a commission should be issued to Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, George Crichton of Dunkeld, and William, Bishop of Aberdeen, to admin-
The messenger, John Lauder, was instructed to show a letter of credence to the Duke of Albany to urge him to use his influence with the Pope against Beaton and if he obtained a process of indemnity for the loss incurred, Albany was promised his share. At the same time the messenger was urged to hasten on the proceedings for the College of Justice. This College of Justice was looked upon as a great benefit to the country, the Law Courts having previously been either ambulatory and the Session uncertain. Albany during his Regency had suggested a Court modelled on the Parliament of Paris but nothing definite had come of it though he certainly meditated in council some changes in that direction.

On 15th September, 1531, Albany had obtained a bull from the Pope directing a contribution of 10,000 ducats from the Scottish Church for the support of the projected institution. In this bull preserved in the Register House, Clement states that "delectus filius nobilis Johannes Du Albaniæ noster secundum carmem affinis Diets regis Jacobi, nomine nobis expotit" James could not obtain justice and Albany made supplication that the prelates being the first Estate, should pay something towards founding a college of good and learned men and the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Moray, and/
and whithorn were appointed to collect the 10,000 ducats for James and his successors, while anyone refusing to pay was to be under papal censures. By Act of Parliament, May, 17th, 1532, the college was formally erected.

Buchanan indeed mentions an ecclesiastical controversy on the point during March and April but to whatever period the indictment of Beaton belongs, it is certain that when the ambassadors were sent to France in August 1535, to arrange for the final conditions of the King's marriage, David Beaton was not found amongst them.

Perhaps the Beatons on account of their connection with the Hamiltons and their claims were under suspicion for a time. The Earl of Moray, (Albany's former protege) William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, John, Lord Erskine, and Thomas Erskine, were the envoys chosen to meet with Albany. And it was during their absence that the English King made a last bid for James' alliance offering him according to Buchanan his daughter and the succession with the title of Duke of York. This delicate mission was entrusted to Lord Howard and the Bishop of St David's and the benefits of Protestantism were to be revealed to the Scottish King. It is probable that Beaton, by his appeal for the old Church of Scotland won
won his way once more to James' favour. The English scheme failed and the negotiations in France were rapidly approaching their conclusion.

In December, 1535, James made a formal declaration of the powers he gave his ambassadors. In this it was made clear that though by the Treaty of Rouen Albany had pledged James to marry a daughter of Francis yet since Madeleine was delicate and the affairs of Scotland did not admit of delay, it had been agreed to negotiate for the hand of Marie de Vendome "relying on the advice of these chosen ambassadors" at the head of whom was placed the Duke of Albany. It was laid down that any three of them had power to treat always provided that Albany was one.

Francis, from Cremieu, on 3rd March, 1536, conveyed full powers to his representatives, Cardinal Tournon, Antoine de Bourg, Chancellor of France, Montmorenci, Marshal of France, and Philip Cabot, the Admiral, and on 6th March, the formal document was drawn up.

The marriage was to be in the May following, James receiving 200,000 livres tournois on his wedding day to be paid jointly by Francis and Charles de Vendome and Marie's claim to Vendome was still valid if there were no male heirs, and if her husband died she was to get back one third of her dowry, and the Palace of Falkland
Falkland, with a revenue of 15,000 livres in various parts of the country. Within 10 days of the marriage, Francis promised to surrender to James the Castle of Dunbar, which had really belonged to the Duke of Albany for over 20 years.

But Albany was not fated to see the surrender of his Castle. He was already upon his deathbed. When the marriage treaty was to be signed Albany was too ill to be present and the notaries had to go to his house to obtain his signature. It stands at the head of the ambassadors simply "Jehan" neither Governor as he had once been nor Rex as he might, according to the Renaissance principles of morality, so easily have been.

The marriage towards which he had directed his dying efforts was never completed. James' own choice over ruled all other arrangements. He married the Princess Madeleine, who had first long years before been suggested as his bride but long before then John, Duke of Albany, was no more. He died in his Castle of Mirefleur, near Clermont Ferrand, in Auvergne, on June 2nd, 1536. He was buried with all splendour in the Chapel of the Palace of Vic le Comte beside his wife who had preceded him to the grave in 1524. He left no heirs to continue his line and his claim to the throne of Scotland perished with him. Martin du Bellay give us
us a list of his honours. He was, he says, a knight of the Order of the King, the Captain of 100 men at arms, the Governor of Bourbonnois Auvergne roret Beaujolais. On his death his government was given to the husband of Madame d'Estampes and his company was divided into two, one part given to M. de Chabannes, and the other half to Albany's former lieutenant, La Fayette.

Albany for some time before his death seems to have been involved in financial troubles. The expenses he had incurred in the government of Scotland and the loss of his wife's large revenues had considerably crippled his resources. In 1530 on September 29th he ceded to his cousin Francis de la Tour Vicomte de Turenne "all that belonged to him in the seigneury of Malmont" most probably in exchange for ready money. In 1532, on 3rd August the Parliament of Paris ordered Albany to pay to Jacques, a small tradesman, the sum of 137 ecus de soleil. The evidence shows indeed that he died heavily in debt. On 11th September, 1536 or 1537, Philip de la Chambre, Cardinal de Boulogne, the half brother of the Duke, wrote to the Chancellor of France asking him to pay a sum of money claimed by the Sieur de Sainte Sevaigne and again in May 1538, he addressed the/
the chancellor to pay acreditor of his deceased brother. - le Sieur Bazanier "who molests him continually" to the chancellor was appealed to shows that it was recognised that Albany's debts had been incurred in the cause of his country.

Albany certainly had no legitimate heirs but he appears to have had a natural daughter; for in June, 1527 one of Albany's envoys in Scotland, one Jacques de L'onde, wrote to the Duke complaining of his treatment by Angus, and asking if he was to remain to attest the marriage of a 'bastard daughter' of Albany's with a gentleman having 400 marks revenue. This daughter according to Anselme was the child of Jean Abernethy, a Scotswoman, and whether or not this marriage mentioned by Londes ever took place we cannot tell. Aleanora Stewart was legitimated and married at Fontainebleau in the presence of Henry II. on 23rd October, 1547, to Jean de l'Hospital, Comte de Choisay, gentleman of the king's Chamber, and governor of Francis d'Alençon.

No one therefore was left with any claim to the once great pretensions of the Dukes of Albany, and the title vanished from its records of French history.
Any general estimate of Albany's character must be based on strange contradictions. Sometimes we think of him as a typical Celt; he was never really a Scotsman though at the time he followed a policy embodying all the best Scots traditions of national hatred to England. His early life shows a "young adventurousness" and hardihood typical of the school of chivalry which produced a Bayard; and though his skill as a military leader was impugned in Scotland, yet his prestige in France was such as to warrant leadership in the siege of Genoa and responsibility for the expedition to Naples, and his courage in face of the enemy was never in question. In Scotland perhaps he felt discretion was the better part of valour at the head of an army whose loyalty was always a matter of conjecture.

Yet somehow one thinks of him as a humourist, a courtier ever ready with quips and jests to amuse his royal master, ready to go masquerading with him and admitted with the favoured few to the bedchamber to entertain his majesty. Brantome indeed records a somewhat questionable practical joke which he played upon three noble ladies during Lent, and the story is quite in keeping with an estimate of his character. He was gay and witty, but hot tempered and passionate when irritated by the unceasing infidelities of the Scottish nobles. He must have had a charm of manner not easily
resisted and an eloquent and persuasive tongue, which, coupled with a handsome exterior did much to smooth away the opposition of the Tudor Queen. He is often spoken of as haughty and imperious given to boasting and conscious of his own perfection but more often than not it his foes who repeat these descriptions and in any case it was quite legitimate in the etiquette of the times to insist upon all the rights of precedence and attention to which a grandee of France was entitled. The times delighted in glittering display; it was the era of pageants and processions and Albany was not behind hand with his cloth of gold and silver and his waving plumes, Even Henry VIII himself could not have excelled the Duke in doublets of white satin and silver which he so often affected, He had all the vices and virtues of his generation - a certain chivalry in his bearing towards women but yet like Francis an accomplished master of the new moral diplomacy - though noone could point out any actual instance of his breaking his written bond. He loved gaming and dice (especially with my "Lord Legate") and his horses, and his falcons, his hawks and merlions for which he had a special keeper in Scotland. And he appears to have been a connoisseur in wines, getting them specially sent to him from France, He certainly had expensive tastes, He was a very courteous knight with all, a wily diplomat dreaded by the Imperial Ambassador for his fatal persuasiveness which looked so like open candour. He certainly was extremely clever. One has only to mark his conduct in Scotland - a stranger in a strange land - to realise that, and it was only a cleverness of tongue as the records of the Council certify, though he did
leave the finances of Scotland in a poor condition, at least at death his own were no better and though he could look after his interest - indeed in his later life he was almost litigious - he was only making Scotland pay for her own defence. A period of several years continuous warfare with England which was in fact a struggle for existence could hardly leave the Exchequer well furnished.

One wonders perhaps if he ever took the Regency of Scotland really seriously. To the end he remained thoroughly French and he did not even trouble to learn the Scots tongue. His wife never came to Scotland, France was his home. Had he had no estates in France his visits to Scotland would have been longer but both in 1517 and in 1524 he left to some extent for family and personal reasons connected with his possessions in France. He did not understand the Scottish nobles who were so different from the knights of France. One does not think somehow of the Scots baron having a particularly fine sense of humour; there is no wonder that Albany threw his bonnet into the fire in desperation at their pretension to dignity which so ill accorded with an avarice which sold them to the highest bidder.

But he meant well towards Scotland. He had a sense of his responsibilities as the Head of the Government and his national pride induced him to cling to a position which undoubtedly raised his status in the eyes of European politicians. Though he used the royal plural and talked of our warden and
our council and once or twice perhaps tentatively signed himself Jehan yet there is no evidence save that of un-authenticated rumour that he ever entertained the idea of a coup d'etat. Life in Scotland possibly did not attract him and though there may have been some amour between him and Margaret yet the Scottish Queen was too forceful a personality for Alain's tastes and as he said he had enough with one wife already without risking international complications for her sake,

Was he a great man? He was hardly this; but he laboured under too great disadvantages in Scotland to exercise his abilities to their fullest extent, His position was dependent upon the French support and though occasionally he might complain against the European complications which kept him from his post in Scotland and might even as in 1521 try what his own enterprise might do yet without Francis' authority his own name though it might inspire respect could not prevail against the opposing factions. He was not entirely a tool in Francis' hands for that king did recognise his ability but he was too French to stand alone without Frenchmen,

He was an ingenious and clever politician; It was he who originated the plot on behalf of de la Pole which but for the destinies of Denmark might have a vastly
different result. Up to the end he retained his great power as a diplomat for it was a triumph to secure a marriage alliance with the Pope's family, while he was practically a pawn in the hands of Charles, and but for the untimely death of Clement the French programme might have been successfully carried through,

His interest in Scotland did not die with the of his regency—after all there was Scots blood in his veins and he was a good friend to the country that had rejected him,

He was, if not a great soldier at least a brave one, if not a governor of the highest order yet one who acted honestly by Scotland, and it must always be remembered that he stood for the national principle of independence at a time when Scotland might so easily have been crushed between the oppression of England and the factions of her nobles,
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The following transcriptions from the original 1758 (unpublished) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, arrived too late for incorporation in the essay. There are several others to follow.
Monseigneur a voulu déput bon cœur je me recommande jay par Quauilié Malpene voslie
secretaire receu 103 lettres et ven la protogacion
de la trève et abstinnence de guerre par le Roy D'Escose
mo et les Salat D'Escose déciée pour une
cautre annee a commencer de la Saint
Audié prochauement venant et durer
jusques a la festé de Monseigneur Saint.
Audié proclauien en suruant en l'anée que
bon complète mil cens cens dix heuit jay pour
longjens desmontrer la bonne voicelé et liez
grande affectio que jay longjours en et
encore ay autant que jamais au bien
continuau mon et intitement de la bonne
amer ceu et fraternalle angué decuir le
Roy mon mestre et le cui Roy D'Escose son
bon neveu soliciet esto affaire enuers
sa hauteur lientement qu'il a esto content et
est a mon intercesion et heurte request
de conceder et othair la dite protogacion
et abstinnence de guerre déciée pour une
autre annee entiere et n'est esté
Monseigneurs aucuneum difficultez que se
confinuation de ce dit Roy d'Écosse pour dit veue et abstinance de quere main-
,

autdemandée celles du Roy mon dit

iste cesusent este Caillés par enteslange
ostie dit Secrétaire monsant la delivrance

les lettres de conzemement des nos État

isco expedées sous leurs Sigues et Seanco

ume j'a dit et remonstre plus a plain

ostie dit Secrétaire pourle leons signiffie

ses lettres et ne faisoms aucuns doubté

vos en arerissé a la reuîte emcentile

la résolution que j'a pruise avec lei

an ce dit affaire par guoy je vous feray

longue lettre forsque je proy a nostie

suitte vos entestim monseigneuer sen

sainteté et disque garde votre maison es

mes es le xvi. jour d'aoust.

C'entierement vosstie

J. Carlus Ecogz
Il existait de la transaction passée entre Messire Jehan de la Chambre tante pour luy que pour ses filles et Messire Jehan Stuart Duc d'Albâigne fils à Messire Alexandre comme maré de Dame Anne de Bouloque et filie de damoiselle Madelange de Bouloque fille de la dite Anne. Est fait mention par icelle que process avoir esté men par Messire Loys de la Chambre second maré de Dame Anne de Bouloque fille à Bertrand tiers marié en premiers à Messire Alexandre Duc d'Albâigne pere au dit Jehan second Duc d'Albâigne la dite Anne tante de Anne de Bouloque femme au dit Jehan Duc d'Albâigne et de la dite damoiselle Madelange de Bouloque donc est fait mention par transaction que proces avoir esté men par le dit Messire Loys de la Chambre et Dame Anne de Bouloque sa consorte contre Dame Jehanne de Bondon venire de peu
Jean d'Avarenge mere des dites Anne et Madeleyn. Et depuis son trespas continué avec Messire le Comte d'Oles Marquis de
sa famille leur tuteur pour la moitié des reuens et succession de feu Bertrand leurs

au profit des dites Anne et Madeleyn
contre le dit de la Chambre avec condamnaç

despens.

Selon il rend process entre les dites
Jean de la Chambre et le Seiner Duc
D'Albauge estat nomis pour la vedé du
mariage consisté a sa mere femme a
premiers nupties au dit Alexandre
Stuart. Plus pour le court et quant de la
Banonie de la Tour au moyen de la
donnation de l'ain 1449 faite par Bertrand
second au cas advenu aux filles de
Bertrand Aure dont sa mere et eort
le dit Jehan Dre d'Albouye maire
la dite Jehanne et l'ltreur de Radeseyne
pus, au dit Comte Jehan vellie les
souvenirs de ses dits prétendu, on demande une
provision de 5000 d'ordonnée par la Cour et
achte par le dit de la Chambre
Les dites années montant Science mel
finablement moyennant quittances recei,
voitures de tout ce dures etunge mel et
était en de la Chambre cede to aux
fut d'ontleder spécifiques.
La dite transaction du 14 S.embre 1526
Bien conformant l'apparence par dit.

Repand. Lieutenant, command de
Rom m'a baillé est extrait
et m'a dit avoir laissé les
morgans, a Mr. le Garde des sceaux.
17 Janvier 1532

A Monseigneur d'Albanny

Monseigneur, je ne vous ressens
avec amereyez de l'honneur et le
bien que vous me faizis dont
toute marge demeurez vous sente eclaire
ayant plus d'assurance et d'espeurance
en vous toujours que je ne l'aye encore
que un homme du monde et vous
assurez Monseigneur que je receyze
bien marge qu'il ne fut une bonne
entreprenes zous votre charge dont
je ne feuliste ay jene neais
bien conduire l'affaire par dila
et par dez que je cognois
l'intention du maistre et la voeste
ne m'esimez pas - desja par ce
voyage y ay je becounge de la
et desa je vous jure que l'espeurance
que j'ay de vous voir au bien que vous
entendez et moy espere m'en
l'envoye de autrums en France
Je vous resmercy etre humblement
de tant de breus qu'il vous
contentez a feueu dins au Roy de moy
dont ne vous estois contentez mais avez
Voulu en faire dénonciation par Mons. le Conté et M. de l'Alle de l'Écuyer choses que je n'avoir mérité ny contredit. Par les lettres que le Roy et Monseigneur le Grand Maitre en écrivent je meins bien aperçu que vous n aviez mis les mains je prie à Dieu qu'il me face la grace qu'en quelque chose je la puissent reconnoître et m'est besoin de m'en occuper, ny faire estropier seulement par Fervenx, ny en faire advenir il est quelque bruit que le Pape verrait aussi à Florenee mais encore rien ne m'est venu par. Lucy et me la peaux croye vous entendez bien que je ny parois pas de propos et dont nous advenir ay maintenant je vous enverrai une autre lettre qui est en paquet de Mons de Villeneve vous entendez bien que c'est adieu je vous prie que je vous ay réponse pour le moins de vostra santé et me veilliis mandant qu'elle vous rembléva l'intention du Roy touchant le propos de France.
Monseigneur j'ai lieu une petite lettres de vous pour l'affaire de Monsieur de Lyurey, auquel tant pour vous obéier que pour le devoir et obligation qui j'ai a mon seigneur je feray si bon devoir que le Roy sera Roi et tout le monde content Notre St. Père devar avec moi de l'affaire que vous recevez ou il a toujours son intention que vous me luy feulter et croy que par cette depeche et vous en escript quelque petit mot au moins il le m'a promis. Il me tarde que j'en voye le temps je vous envoyray cette page par Mons. le Baron Celeste qui s'en retournera ung de ces jours et puis seur qu'il ne vous portera nouvelles que vous fausstent. On a fait ici grand feste de la depeche de la prinsipante de Melche que l'Empereur a envoyé a Andre Dorge et sont Monseigneurs les imperialistes plus grands seigneurs que jamais. Le seigneurs Marquis...
D'alqant a passé par cette ville allant au Royaume de Naples pour ses affaires où il est allé descendre chez Monsieur le Cardinal D'Ors où il a tenu conseil et fait beaucoup de bonnes mises comme s'il eust lieu grands affaires dont il n'a quères estonné ceux qui croyaient leur façon & Tant un quant est ce dit ce n'est rien. L'on ne parle par de qui de tires argent des bénéfices pour combattre le teurle. Du quel il n'est nouvelles nouvelles je me doute que ce sera pour faire des marques pour car le père s'en tenant où je vous souhaite deux jours la semaine sachant que vous y auriez du plaisir je vous remettray très humblement de la plaine que prendre pour moy fort très humble seur leur qui plus désirer demeurer en votre bonne grace que d'homme vivant je ne recommande très humblement à votre bonne grace aussi fait le gentilhomme dont ay bledant vous au escrite et fore le Créateur.
Monseigneur vous donnerais
donnerais
bonne sage et longue
j'ai entendu qu'il a vaequé
tout fièvre de bénéfices vous
saurez ce que vous avez promis
à Messeigne Broyan et à Monseigneur
le Cardinal de Mathière. J'en
l'aurais ung mot à Monseigneur de
Quant Molete je vous prie si
vous trouverez en endroit y
faire ce que vous conseillerez
qui est pour le territoire du Roy.
A Monseigneur d'Albany. 11 février 1552

Monseigneur, par vos lettres et celles de votre secrétaire, l'abbé, j'ai appris que, par suite de choses combien funestes et graves, je ne pourrai vous répondre dans un temps aussi réduit que je le désirerais. Par conséquent, je vous prie de le prendre en considération. Je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible. Par conséquent, je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible. Par conséquent, je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible. Par conséquent, je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible. Par conséquent, je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible. Par conséquent, je vous prie de croire que j'ai fait tout ce qui m'a été possible.
J'aimerais en avoir une copie, et qui Conçois en rester grave Conseil que j'ai en ma Cauillé salle et c'était pour en plusieurs personnes nous ont présenté une loi afin d'avoir parlement de certaines sommes de dernier qui leur est devenu parce qu'il est très clair et ami Comme la Bour de l'Albany contenus en certaines certaines en nombre certifícations et promesses qu'elles sont est en report de sa main ce qui se peut est en bien entendu et dénoué et ayant avoué de nous adresses et Cauillé la charge de ce faire pour la Comme et parfaite justice qu'as fin de nous ayant promis certaines de payer et procédé sans avoir les lettres patentes de commissaire recommandables pour ce est il que nous avons avoir comme et dépôté commissions et dépouvoirs par en présenter avoir tous ceux que nous demander ut se rapporter payement des dettes de rester et fin comme le clair d'Albany béni et entendu les requêtes de dettes emplies promesses certificatives et obligations clair de clair et autres process
qu'ils conduisaient à des conclusions et produisaient celles
vérié pour faire reconnaître les signes
destinés à effacer tout de suite leurs faits rapport
en espérant prêter serveur afin d'en être
par nous ordonné et promis avec qu'ils
appartiennent et que nous avons affaire pour vain
ce faire dans dommages pour une certaine
commission et mainement espèces par les
dites présentes car elle donne à comprendre
Monseigneur d'Albany.

Monseigneur, concernant le prophète que mon ministère
fonctionnaire et sauriez l'esprit de sa fin allier
monseigneur le Cardinal en médecins par acte de ses priè-
non foi montrer la bête que je ne courir à l'honneur la
grand unanime et jusqu'au don du honneur que d'or
en le bien pensant nous recevrons, bien que c'est la chose
du monde que le Pape aigne le triomphe qu'a point eu
par de lui et qu'il promet de grand avantage de devenir
être entre nous compris la des complirs n'est il
point l'orig de celle du Roi par avoine qu'il y en
raison de la que pour honnoufet et enlissent particulier
dern que je suis approven et qu'il viendra devant le
monseigneur que monseigneur le Cardinal demandais
e qu'il est venu d'aimer de celui je se soin mele
mains que je puisse ou je ne dois et davoir de mon
mental de son proufet de lui debeille que hors est belle et si
sous semblait en avoir en act de Roi dossant que je
was age esoit est sans eloirs au bon avantage
et que paix bonnes tant faire dont je vous supplie
et avoir moy que honneur le grand Pape de bonne
bon, j'attendrai votre lettre. Si la paix est maintenue, je trouverai
moscovi et c'est l'autre et en achevant de l'imperio
et rien à espérer que la paix dure. ay prononcé, j'ose
aussi sans tarder, en la paix hâtera que pour que j'aurais est
que l'imperium en demain délivre à ce courtois, ce pay en
dans dénoncer l'histoire, car au moins pour que Choses
ont de son bonheur qu'à l'empereur et même des
salut avertir y se son ay damanement écrit dans le
par aussy de nostre secours en Conis qas pour l'asome
de leur loi, je vous supplie, monseigneur,
vue j'aurai entendu, si vous en avez une, que pour pouvoir
me n'eussiez marquer John le jadis du Roman duty
vous escarperoyez, si est aussi appareille et tant que
qui garante le les plus grands, pourquoi en faux de
Pape ne m'aurai je pas, pour leur les espagnoles contres
les Romains, et tous a buesque je ne vous feras point
de discours. Ces nouvelles du empire meennent alle
que j'ai escris a tous, le grand insiste car pros
d'inférieur amant ne se j'ajout pas, étant plus d'escr
annuit à une nation a que l'empereur et le pape
serient bien marais que je jure, depuis en France.
Je suis à dire que la couleure très belles couleure à Pape a répondu que nous d'espérons sont dérobées en Espagne, comme vous l'aurez des biens d'espérance dans le bien d'espérance de nous donner agréable que nous dire de l'espérance et sans l'avoir pleuré jusque vers eu Song de se devenir, en tour de faire les actes à mon

mien, vivre et ne le vivant entière Tour de Longtempsont et est à rendre pire pour accompagner Cook de mort dit bien

au lieu que me faisons d'ailleurs nous fassions propres

d'autres qui je pas recommencer, lui humains à

nous de dire pour Prenoir le contraire, mouseur, vous donner

comme vivent et faire.

Dont a...
Tronçonnez-vous ce qui est au Roy l'intention du Pape
bosquet et partez-quez est qu'il vire bien sa
moyen linte prèst pour s'embaiper de lui aussi et elle
de rendre au jour qu'on buer fail se voir jus que
sulfey y pouvez esté et que sa sancteté pour le
Roy y enveu tout les palmares pour la Can)</s>
seule car il a entendu que que Buin et tell usant
quelques centaines de se amis pour enviue sur la mer et après
qui en un ang condept madda dem et d'Gibon a Tyll en
quelques alliers lieu proche ont y aye bien aussi que
sans attente autre ou nouvelles ory duRoy se du temps
du de on vous reportez, pour vous en venir a l'Espérier je
prise en ma charge de vous faire entendre tous et nommi
des le Roy se couler proy tay que et se une declare bien
à Ambassade ou vous avezli a la duée speci ou sa
santeté est en dehors de s'en aller pour être proje
au air Speci in a Pars d'acte et n'est pas bien
beau de ce que il ne sera mais vous estes assuray que vous
en ang de honoilet a la duée speci ou en
quelques auti part toute fois une vray envoy le Roy
vos ordins sans ce mon lui t'envoyez et après por
...
Double du chiffrage de la main

Secrétair de Sa Majesté l’Albige.

Le 21 juillet 1533.

L’opinion de plusieurs des personnalités de Sa Majesté qui se sont occupées de la question est que plusieurs bons moyens pour la protection de la vence d’Athos et le Roy ne se font pas, mais que leurs dossiers semblent n’être pas pour endommager le Roy, mais pour les aider et aussi afin de recevoir des renseignements qui m’a fait un gentilhomme romain savant et bien instruit. L’empereur me lui a dit deux choses notamment de donner et repartir le Roy de France et avec le Roy d’Angleterre pour pouvoir effectuer l’affaire et puis d’après et faire dresser les moyens pour le Roy de France, car il se fait que le Roy de France et le Roy de Frise qui s’est passé de ces propos par la
le Cerdanie Palavisi m'a dit et dit que le Pape est aussi bien avec l'Empereur qu'il n'est possible de plus et dit qu'il n'a rien avoir en tête car il est en raison de ce que le Pape et le Pape de Romme non se connaissent bien que par l'enfant de leur part dans Chine et jusqu'à ce que le Pape ne soit à la place de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant ou de son enfant or de son enfant.
Monseigneur, j'ai reçu vos lettres qu'il vous a plu m'écriture d'une de xiii e et l'autre de xiii e de ce mois que je recevrai tant réellement bien et l'autre du xiii e le jour de devant et meconment j'empece rechercher les menestriers et joyeurs dont n'écris pas les quels ne furent trouvés être en celle ville amis estoient allés dehors a quatre grans cyeoos d'ici et ne recausant l'on ou ils estoient allés et encore j'ay eu la plus grande peine du monde a les trouver et fausse venir ney parler a moi et leurs ouy parle et m'ont faire réponse qu'ils avoient ung de leur principal compagnon malade et aussi m'ont demande tout plain de choses et argent tant pour faire leurs voyage que pour laisser a leurs femmes et que sous cela ils me se mettreoin point aux champs. Si j'eussi eu la commodité, monseigneur, de leur fournir ce qu'ils m'ont demande
Je vous promets, monseigneur, que je l'aurais fait si j'avais pu parler à Thomas Certin pour vous dire que m'a fait dire qu'il n'avait chargé de vous de ne bâiller rien à personne à votre nomme sans expresse commission de vous. Quant à ce qu'il vous plaît de me mander que je les fasse mettre en bateau pour aller en meilleure diligence des mercredi passés la vous pouvez voir monseigneur pour la réception de vos lettres qui sont venues tant et c'est chose impossible de faire. Quant aux nouvelles je ne vous saurais pour le présent dire aucune chose car tant ce que nous avons par deço vont du coté de vous restez. Et à tant feray fin après m'etre recommandé à votre bonne grâce poyant bien monseigneur qui vous deins en santé et prospérité très longue vie. De Lyon le XXIII° jour d'août 1533
Votre très humble Serviteur
Pomponio Trivelgio
Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Duc d'Albanie à
Messieurs, ou la part qu'il m'envoyez.
Clemens. P. P. VII

Dilecti fili salutem et apostolica
benedictionem. Ex dilecti fili
hostilii veri magistri fratre ad
nos et tuis ad secretarium
Nicolaum Raymee et litteris jucundis
intelleximus le xxviii lugis classen
ex Hasselio salutarem esse venus
Tuore littera etaque statim
tablarem uppeditmus at nostram
transique neptem duceamutus
sit altius Petrum sanctum se
conferat ubique expectato adventu
Tue nostri tanquam altius patris
se commitat Niciam delectanda
ubi deinde in curitate ulla duce
lo Bandie communio affinis nostri
nosteran adventum praestat datas
Nunc fili dilecte amor nos
coquit que ducemus duceam non
modo ut neptem sed ut felicem
propriam prosequimur ut cam
ubi omni affectu cordis nostri
commendamus et si nos officium
teum pro pecus superfluum
arbitramus haud eum nemius tuo quam nostra sed tamen impellimus claritate et benevolentia nostra quod simul officii et honoris ratioebus ad illam tibi commendam ut eam pater amore honoreque suscepias et Niciam devehas ille certe facere non possimus quin a te amantes et fiducialiter petamus ut ante quem eadem duceceam eam naves recipias per litteras tua manu scriptas nobis polliecarios te eam Niciam amoveamus quod a te cum et fiducia amorem erga nos tui tum spes quoque ducece flagravit petimus nostrum eam aliter illa naves neminem comprehendere Ad nos tibi intere in iter nos salutem conscriptantes et manuere. Ternpos interea deum nos ad Petrum Sanctum terra venientes te et deflore communem neptim Niciam et nide ad nos de spes vel unde tunc tibi subaequipotes de duendi sedire posses quod intrinque et urgere et accelerare velo magnopere

Delicto Filio Nobili suo

Joanni Ducii Albanii nostro, secundum caritatem affini "necessi de bello et mon mariy de guay et le marci grandiement a nostre Rive de l'eau et a mon fille J" d'Albar et anchone a vous mon amie et rien et pour vous faire entendre de mes nouvelles. Mon corpartes tres de Honeste et a preveray comme venons a Proteje de nous avons trouve Opinieus a Cout de temps mon parent duois des domanis a son plaissant a bieu roiy ca Lagresses a luehe foustant a ferro sanctus et mon demy a Masoe avec Honnigeneus Reme Cardinalle de Cebo namente s'ay esperante de vous parler a la espce de la apres.
Monseigneur mon oncle j'ay recu une lettre que m'avoit envoyé par Monseigneur le Comte de Carrara ; mon bon père lequel me dit plusieurs choses que me font estre fort agréable et celles en mon exemple avec les lettres de mon maistre le Roy nostre lie et le presens qu'il n'envoyez contenant la premere lettre du nom de Monseigneur d'Orleans son fils et mon mary de Gruy je le maray grandement a nostre roy le Roy et a son fils 1re d'Orleans et anchore a vous mon oncle et père et pour vous fere entendre de nos nouvelles nous partimes hier de Florence et a pourleu commen venus a Pistoje où nous avons trouvé Monseigneur le Comte de timaro mon père desus de de demain a soin plaisant a Dieu nous a logerons a lieu jaudi venant a pietra Saneta et venansay a Massa avec Monseigneur Rmo Cardinale de Cibo cemad y av esperances de vous parler a la Space ou la apres
ou me comme il vous plaira le présent porteur sera Baptiste lequel vous contiendra de bouche plus à plan aux où nous abandonons réponse de vous par cinq moitié homme que dépensarmes dimanche et à rotrait bonne grâce tout journes me recommande except à Pistoie le deuxième jour de septembre 1583

fréquela et nepote

Gatuno Medici.
A Monseigneur

Monseigneur le Duc d'Albany, la pastourel.

Monseigneur je vous escrize

le xxviii° d'août la lettre que

croy vous aura pleu recevoir et

voir et depuis et mmes ce jour

d'huy matin au celle celle que

vous a pleu m'escrize oui

pour xxvii° a Nyce et tant

m'content de leuer de nostre

Sainet Père j'ay bien revoir a

sa Saineté la lettre que vous

luy escrizez avec que celle que

vous avez escrize a Monseigneur

le Cardinal de Tournon que j'ay

tele a sa Saineté et aussi

la myynne de quey sa uti

Saineté vous mercye qui est

si tres content de vous et se

sent tant vostra obligé que

plus ne se peut dire pour la

demonstrat Volonté de bon soubs

que sa uti Saineté vost continuer

en vous pour le bien du

commun service

Monseigneur avant la recepción

de la presente le Sr. Philibert

Stroy et vous avez presente le

brief de sa Saineté - de Pho...
Lettre de recueil écrite à nostre St Père de la main de Monseigneur le 1111 è septembre 1533 à l’Espée

Tres saint père par messire Philippe
Entrouy ay reçu le bref qu’il a pleuX voctre saaintete me envoyé
par lequel jay entendu la
continuelle foyance et receu
qu’elle a en moy donx assez
humblement ne le reauroit
meroyer fors à dire que c’es
chose que jay toujours autant
décide.
Et quant à ce qu’il plait a voctre
saintete de commindre et ordonner
de conduirre madame d’Herbin
à Niço je ne foulerai obeir
à tout ce qu’il vous plaira me
commander et esperant avoir
autres nouvelles de vocctre dite
saintete sur ce que icelle aura
entendu par le Conte de Bonne
en attendant ferons la dilligence
de tout appriser pour l’embarque
ment du nostre dame d’Herbin et le
faire veno a l’Espée et mectrit
Ainsi de la conduisire le plus récemment et honorablement qu'il me sera possible suivant le commandement que j'en ay du Roy et le dessi que j'ay de faire pourvoir à votre luy demandez et à la dette Dame et conjestion faire le voyage de Noyez pour m'ensortir

retourner vers votre dite Damiette ainsi qu'il luy a plu me faire entendre par l'autre brief soit ro. Pierre Sante l'espee au tel autrich lieu dont il luy plaira me donner adoss pour l'exécution de ce que nous y eus est devoilé Siet d'autre esquire ainsi que plus a entendre par ce present porteur

Jacques Lamb auquel je la supplier donnez cendence comme a moy et au plusdot soit par mon secrétair de terrains ou vel autre qu'il luy plaira me donner ample adoss et réponse sur ce que votre dite Damiette poulara que nostes fait pour lui obey de tout mon coeur et pouvoir aider le Créateur auquel je supplye tres saint pere vous donner au saint regne de la Christianet tres bonne et tres longue vie Escripto l'espee le llll jour de septembre d'ann mil Vic XXXIII
Très sainet, père, ce présent portez à quelque procès à la Roi. Je vous supplie qu'il ne vous fasse terme de brevet justice et me tenir en sozete Grace pour recommander ce dit porteur dire à votre dit l'amis de la nouvelle et affaires de Sicorze qui sont très bien attendante que je vous vster dit l'amis pour la informer plus amplement la suppliant les avoir pour recommandé et la lettre vous signifiez

y avoir faite en son nom eu que nous avons

mander et ainsi pour relater tout ce qui pens nécessaire pour

l'obligeamment et mort de Dieu

Père et de madame de l'Abbe Cypri

ont tous dites par ensemble pour

les deux parties divers des qui

Suis le premier article que pour concev

le bon plaisir et remonter

que le Roy vous fait a montrer autres

Dieu d'Albany je oirez confère

tout ce qu'il plaiz à nostre de

Se premier exemplaire

Sainet, père, ce

nouvellement
Aujourd'hui 1111 pour de Septembre
mil cent trente et trois Monseigneur
le Duc d'Albany, lieutenant-général pour le Roy a assemblé
monseigneur le Conte de Tandie et les
captitains et gens de bien de
l'armée pour adorer sur un
brevet que notrefamet pese lieu
a envoi faisant mention de lieu
donnes soeute par escript de
mener madame d'Estabn à Née
et la laisser ouudit lieu sans
y avoir faict et s'en revenir
queurs notftr dit St Phe à Petre
sancte en autre lieu qu'il lieu
mandera et aussi pour adorer
ceux qui pere necessaire pour
l'embarquement de notftr dit St
Phe et de madame d'Estabn lesquels
ont tous adoré par ensemble sur
les deux ponts dessusdis ce
qui s'ensuit

Sur le premier article que suivent
le bon plaisir et commandement
que le Roy a fait à mandat secou
le Duc d'Albany de aler et faire
tout ce qu'il plaiz à notftr de
St Phe lui commander comme a
sa propre personne aussi
que monsieur le seigneur a montré aux capitaines par un article de ses instructions militaires que le Roy leur avait ordonné de ainsi le faire à cette cause ont esto d'avis que monsieur le seigneur ne devroit ne doit différer de bailler la lettre de respite a lui demandée par nostre dit Saint Père.

Sur le second point dont auparavant avoient renommé à monsieur seigneur qu'il estoit nécessaire tenir et manigcer deux bons navires qui sont voit tant pour accommoder l'embarquement de nostre dit Saint Père et de ses gens que aussi pour laisser un respite les gens de guerre que l'on dischargera des galères pour recevoir ceux de nostre dit Saint Père et des Cardinaux et aussi pour la recevance de l'un de nos navires qui est arrivé voyant que les autres ne sont encore venues. Ceux a semblé estre très nécessaire de arrester les dits deux navires l'un nommé le Raguemois de 6 tonneaux l'autre le gallyon de la Rente à de 11 tonneaux disans que ayant ces deux navires avec la billette aerois...
affranchi pour aider et se défendre
ayant entendu que les forces de
Barbevaux sont au canal de Blomion
en nombre de xxxv tailleurs et qu’ils ont
fais plusieurs nauces et aussi le retour
de xviii guileries espagnolles venant
de l’armée de André Doria pour se
gérer dans Genes pour la défense
dela ville à cette cause ont conseillé
à monsieur seigneur et tous métamment
royé de faire arrêter les det de deux
ravins et les mauvaises pour s’en servir
comme disent ou du moyen monter
seigneur le due a désiré que les det s
Corte et capitaine vendetta regnent
ont présen advisé pour après l’envoyer
ton le Grant maître pour
seilleurs monter et faire entendre
au Roy fait les jour et au qu
dessus à l’Espece (la Spezia)

Claude de Tande
G. de Portiers
de Chabannes

de

de Cubriano

Saint Bonnet

Dorucian
Chap. 180
Au dos de la pièce... certification
de messire Philippe d'Ambois pour
la peurle que monseigneur le duc d'Albany
a faite au Pape.
Monsieur, je vous ay reçu vos lettres
les huyges des deniers de August est
les autres du 1er septembre monseigneur
le grant maistre arriva vey ner tout
l'air que estoit allé vers le Roy au
Anjorah la ou je ay esté avec lui depuis vendredi est vui jours la
ou le diere grant maistre a reçu
vos lettres dont il confond vous
est fut par ses d'avoir de vos
nouvelles est par espres de ce que
leuy mandes que ses qualitez ay
bonnes que n'a pas euct sans le faire
entendre au Roy je fait enten dre a
Monsieur le grant maistre le contenu
au vos lettres par espres de vos
fais ceauoir duz nouvelles et de
ce que ayes (?) affairez pour ameneroz
ce que vous mandez et me fer
response que a Marseille vous
reçopier et monsieur le grant
maistre receut aussioi tout tant quant
fut a rentre vers la ou 11° pour
Pleneau est apres monseigneur le grant.
maître parla amoureusement de ce quenges
que me l'avoir vu depuis son retour est-
son dieu, c'est le grand maître maire, est-
men est que vous pourriez secouer encore
des navires de parade est fait est-
prononcée espérance que le Roy ne
semble bonne est que l'argent que qui
et la pour payer les gens de peur me
le faut mettre en autre usage est
que ny le Pape a affaires de autres
navires plus que de nous en le que
le Roy luy a envoyé que nous en
ayant faire la despende au Pape sans
vous en amusées est je luy ay
dit que ce quer -- en havites de faites
pour connu pour faire revien au Roy
et le dit celer grant me dit que luy
mêmes vous avoit dit deux au trois
fois que ny le Pape un vouloin d'autres
que ne vous amusées en façon du
monde est dit que les ambassadeurs du
pape luy ont dit que le Pape se
ontant ovet de ce que le Roy luy
envoyé ont est à raison des guerres
l'équipage que avez mené sans en avoir
autres comme dit est mondet veu et
Dieu monstre médiat autres que l'empereur
au Roy pour monsieur de Cartuye est-
davantvay mes que les gano resol ceve
et mi-enquier de l'évesche dudt-Cardinal
cardinal pour ampes un solliciter leur grand maitre monard reigne de corbe ce est alle a la fleamne est croit que viendre au plus tot l'ont dit que le venace sera affurque que monard seigne l'grand maitre partir de ce dimen pour y alen je lui en parlar a ce matin pour le savoir au vrai pour affin de y donez courant de faire penser vous beigne et a ce matin le regrent girard et moi y adresserons pour le myens et je gro avecques ledit le grant maitre dans le loyer suivant ce que vous asteu (?) moy monder monseigneur depuis ce que de eux escript cy a des nouvelles que je ne peu savoir quelles sont de prostement mes je ne pense que monard desktop le grant maitre vous ferant prendre le cout pour bleneau ? je vous assure que monard dr le grant maitre a este fort lez de vous nouvelles est a esperer au Roay pour monseigneur de corbye pour l'aventure de deunt point est l'abage de tommerei que le cardinal de fererey vont en france ce non restant que ne m ayes monder que de l'ouesche de age est a se levert de la route.
Ayez qu'el sera devenir l'affaire demander
le tout au Pape que comme tout se
voie en Cour de Rome vous reaux ses
chose est mieux que moy. Monsieur je
vous assure que je montrait decrire le grand
maitre et fouru affectionnons a vous fer
pleu come je vous est au est advoy
Que monont d'ecrire le grand maitre a
repousser au Roy que vous est alles bien
au loustic et que vous avez faire
fouru bonne delegance monont bien
de grand maitre ma diit que je vous
ecrisse ce n'est il sous prie que
autant que poures ne metto les affares
du Roy en dispence nouvelle quant
les ambassadeurs du Pape luy sunt
dit que le Pape ne voulloit au plus que
ce que vous avez mene est que le Pape
et les Cardamines a auont d'ailleurs
quant qu'ilz on voudront s'il en
veulent d'autre sans que le Roy anfaze
la dispence de potaire vous direi
toutes autres nouvelles

3 liques de chiffré
Je vous envoie une paquet quanmet (?)
Je vous avoye d'ecraver est vant
Je vous auey de Pari so ne vous fare plus
louer de Pari so ne vous fare plus
longue pour la acte de potaire qui s'an
Free va y nrente tout est ce en la fin
rappe avoir paye le createur vous donner
bonne et longue roya, de l'Anselme le
xiiie et ambarre
Je parlé plusieurs fois à monseigneur le grand
mestre de parler au Roy de l'affaire de
Clarmont qui m'a dit qu'elle ferait est-
ourdans que m'a dit qu'il n'etait venu à
ropermes à vouter venie ainsi dont.
Son ouvrage est le venie change l'on donner
bien ouvrage à vouter affaire à l'eye
Père
Vouter lato humilis et tristes bœscoos
petiteur

De l'Étouéce

A Monseigneur

...
Lettre du Cardinal de Bonaparte

à Monseigneur le Duc d'Albany

Monseigneur, j'ai reçu deux de vos lettres avec les cyphres en date de

novembre et pour ce que à celles j'ai fait

le contenu dicelles envers nostre Est Père

dont ainsi que vous par messer de mon

cyphre, que je vous envoie vous supplia-

voulons ces cyphres tant ce que je vous envoie

par le dit cyphre la sainteté ecoutant un

bref que vous voire je vous envoie

envoye du poste et les choses ou se

merite mais je l'ay garde attendant

autres nouvelles. Des nouvelles depriez

il ny a rien rei nom de Barleusone

qui se prepare fort pour venir au Ciellet

et Napples - nostre deant pere a fait deux

de ces regueur. Car au en cese quatrié

temps passé c'est assavoir le fels du

Regneuer Pierre mon fils qui est en-

eraque de Paline (1) age de xiii ans au plus

à l'autre fils du Regneuer loie romain

qui espons la fille de sa sainteté euraque

de Monté flocoon age de xvi en xvii

ans, sous feal monseur de Paris comble

que monseur de Masson et moy en ouyant

le commandement du Roy en eusses

fait nostre devor somme j'en escrivi

au Roy et aurait Regneuer de Paris 20

appelles au Roy escrivi a Philippe contree

pour moy faire delivrir deux mille dont
tes humblement sans sans voûte grande
sollicitude je croiy que enquerens je me les
suis point eu. On demeurant mes gens
qui sont en Auvergne m'ont except du
du Gouverneur de Clermont comme il
eust condamné a Mobs et renvoit
eu a Rion je croiy que en brief et ains,
condamn de reléf au det Rion ains comme
m'a écrit. Ludere de quo y en ait fort
joyeux aut vous suppliant sans humblement
a fince ce bien et donnez en boulor
fau aduit affaire voûte bon plaisir
rai il a une croise et une mistre
fort belle, je vous vouloir vous supplier
de la commander a celuy qui vous
plaise de la pouvoir seulencar en saun.
celle el le y a pour VII ou VIII m livri
en voqelle et X V m livri en monoye
sans l'argent monoyé et auflieu proces
d out et avecques tout plain des meubles
a suivi assuré que à en avoir le Gouverneur
rendra, car vous vous y en feus de
tout voûte bon plaisir. Quand je
departis de furyon je lauris une procuse
fr süreç par laquelle je vous laurais
toute puissance d en faire de broux ames
qui vous plaise a et faus et ordonnez
bon pas suelement de cela mais de
tout mon bien que je bien et lieando
tans que je trouvay de dieu et de vous et
du Roy comme mon souverain je crois que monsieur de la Chaussée a reçu ladite
metante à mon argent et par camisier
vos bagages étaient des angagiés dont
je ne vous en ressors assez remuquez
humblement de lui me donnant grâce de vous
pouvoir faire servir agréable je crois
touche que de Ferranti à sa façon
accompagnée vous pourra demander
quelques argent de mon pour point
occasion de le faire car pour l'honneur
de vous je l'ai mes chambres de
notre saint Père et que plus est l'ay
mené avec vous au Conclave et pour
ces ressors je lui enléves donner plus
de qua truncus ceeus outre cela et est
avec vous moi et tous ces secrètiers
en corté qui me dépend rien et que
plutôt est si venu à vaguer quelque
bonne piece sans doute je lui en
faisant ung don pour l'honneur de
vous je lui en communique tous vos
affaires et le traité très bien et si
je pas pouvoir meules faire je le
sens qui selon pour la fin après moi
celest recommandé très humblement
votre bonne grâce suppliquant le
Créateur qui monseigneurs vous donnent
très bonne vie et longue à Rome le

11 de Decembre
voelle bise humble et obeissant frere
Pétre Car de Bourgogne
Français par la grâce de Dieu Roy
de France père et légitime administrateur
des personnes et biens de notre
très cher et très aimé fils le duc
d'Orléans et de notre très cher
et très aimé belle-fille sa compagne
et tous présents et avenus salut.
Comme par pour mettre fin et
accord sur le différend qui ce
pourroit monnoir entre ceux
notre très chers et très aimé fils et
belle-fille duc et duchesse d'Orléans
d'une part et notre très cher et
très aimé cousin Jean Duc d'Albany
d'autre pour raison et à cause
de la succession et biens de laissé
par feu de bonne mémoire Jean
Comte d'Auvergne et de Launegais
cieux maternel de notre dite
belle-fille pour émissions fait et
constitue notre procureur général
et spécial notre très cher et aimé
Cousin, Philippe Sieur de Boyon
Comte de Dupongans et de Charmy
admiral de France et gouverneur
de notre pays et Duché de Bourgogne
pour transiger, accorder et conclure
sur ielleuy différend au med yu
avions ordonné de boucher avec
notre dent Conue et Admiral de France,
notre procureur auront accompli
selon et en suivant le pouvoir et
charge que lui en avons donnée
comme il est amplement contenu
en lettres auctoritiques aux ce fautes
et passées dont la teneur s'ensuit
et tous ceux qui ces présentes
lettres verront salut. Saurons faisons
que par devant M. Jean Bourgeois
et Jehan Servant natifs du Roy
notre seigneur au bailleage et
à l'ambassade et sont compariez le
Sr. de Bourbon admiral de France
et gouverneur de Bourgogne procureur
de très haut et très puissant
prince franc eny par la grace de
Dieu Roy de France tant en son
nom que comme père et légitime
administrateur des personnes et
biens de ses très chers et très
amis Henry Duc d'Orleans son fils
et de Catherine de Médici sa belle
belle compagne du dit Sr. Duc
d'Orleans aient pouvoir de
procuration specialle quant au
fait qui s'ensuit. Les quelles sont
marquées à la fin de ces présentes...
Haut et puissant seigneur Due d'Albany,
Comte de la Marche de l'Iflemen (?)
et de Lannegais Comte du det Roy
lesquels ont conquis et comprenz en
nos presences concouurent et
confronyment avoir fait passer et
accordé Traicté concluz et astreinte
les parties et convenances qui
s'en suivent sur le differand qne
ne pourroit monstoir sur les biens
delaissez par feu de bonne memoire
Jean Comte d'Auvergne et de Lannegais
Baron de la Tour avoisant et celiuy
Sr d'Albany que ens reeult biens
et avoit quatre mil cinq cens biens
de domaine viagers qui luy furent
donnés par feue madame Anne
de Boulonne en faisant le maniage dentre
luy et elle et avec le droit partangu
par feu Charles jadis de Boulbon en
le Comte d'Auvergne advenue au dit
Seigneur Roy par confiscation lequel
droit devint celiuy Sr Roy luy avoit donne
en vertu duquel droit celiuy Sr
Due d'Albany qu'ellectort les foruits
du det Comte d'Auvergne eschue depuis
le temps par luy feu Jehan de
bouclet demandant les trois quarz
de la baronnie de la Tour par
luy acquiz des Seigneur de
Si Ballein, la Chambre et Court ensemble ce que de sa part pourrait leur en appartenir et moyté de la Canté de Lauveoys avec toutes les terres de Ly mour qui sont en pays de droit excepté et ce à cause de la disposition faite par la deit feue Dame sa femme et davantage les aterages de vingt années d'icelle Canté de Lauveoys qu'il aient ley compettes à cause de ladite feue femme et davantage lesquels droizy sos pouvoit que celles ensemble les reparation de temps et vacances emploiz à l'entretienement et divisions de cette maison Est laer S[e] de Roy en admiral de France pour d'icelle seigneur Roy disoit au contraire c'est assavoir que dudit feue Comté Jean seigneur et passer en au temps de son deces de tous et chacun les biens descendant sont seuellement decendues deux filles l'année mariage audit Sr. d'Albanie et l'autre au feu Sr. Deu d'urbano la première est deceedée sans enfans la seconde est aussi deceedée laissant une seule fille qui a été
conjoints par mariage avec mandement seigneur le duc d'Orléans seconde filz de celle seigneur a laquelle celle et pour le tout sont aversus des dits breves desquels elle est dame possesseuse et savoir par la coutume generale de France par laquelle le maison savoit le seigneur prochain s'entierre habillé a succeder et quand aux quatre mille cing cens liures dudit demeure urages que le duc seigneur duc d'Albani doyaund n'en peut demander que deux mille cing cens liures qui lui prevent accords auparavant selon mariage d'autant que ce qui lui auroit esto depuis promis est-nee par la coutume d'Anjou que le mariage but faict et les breves sont sectees Est au regard dudit droit pretendre par feu Charles jactio de Bourbon en la Conde d'Anjou que le faict dielluy pretendre droit est fort douteux et y en a proces pendant en la cour de Parliament a Paris et en est mort S'anx comme sont aujourd'huy reeuls Sr. d'Orléans et madame sa compagnie et outre le don pretendee par le duc Sr. d'Albani n'a esté vareffie par la dite Cour de Parliament et Chambre des Comptes et quy n'a peu peut Sr Roy disposez d'autant que ce n'est
conclusion mais révulsion et la disgrâce
ville consolidée avec la douleur par la
crime de lege majeste commis par le dit
Charles de Bourbon et par ainsin malheureux
et aussi ne vaut celle donation d'autre
que le dit pretende droit est à advenu et
decheu a fees de bonne memoire Madame
nue decelluy Sr Roy a cause de la succession
dela maison de Montpensier et dont ladite
feu Dame a transige avec ledit Roy
en survivant d'ecus. Deux et apres eux
trop pas en faveur de Monseign le duc
d'Angoulême tiers fils audit Sr Roy et
quant-est ces parties pretendues par
le dit Sr d'Albani en la Baronne de
la Tour la le dit Comte Jean en est
mont payer et en est aussi saisi
la dite Dame Duchesse d'Orellas par la
courtaine generale pretendit d'avantage
lesdites partes par leuy pretendues sont
ainsi en fer de la Requesito du Palais
ou les dits Receveur Dame d'Orellas
prétendent aussi bon droit. Et touchant
la Comte de launequina et terres de
dimouvoir pretres en paup de droit
script decelluy Sr d'Albani n'y peut
pretendre que la majorite et sur les
fructz de la Comte d'Aumeque qui'il
pretend leuy estre eleus. Depuis le
temps que le dit Comte Jean pour les raisons
anoblit ledit Seign d'Albani n'y a
aucun droit ainsi c'est a leuy qui
Il a paru à qui on les peut demander au moyen de quoy en ressort comptable
accompagné de la morte pour le couvant de ladite Dame sa feue femme et de tout depuis son deces pour la rédaction de quel compte pourroit mettre en dépense les reparations réunies proces vacances et autres deniers disbournes qui il demande en sorte que le on faulderoit venir à la perfection de compte ne trouveroit débiteurs de grosses sommes de deniers ainsi qu'on peut clairement entendre et ny lieu convenirroit renoue les meubles d'elle maison aux dci duquene et Dame d'Orleans appartenant d'autre part et que leaut Sr d'Albanie a eu monstré les testaments contrats de mariage matrimoyny informations et autres pièces dont il ne pourroit aider et que les sommations du pape sont accordées entre lui et que leaut Sr d'Albanie s'est remis au Roy de la recompense que non plaisir avoir luy donner pour rendez droit et après que iceluy Sr Roy a fait venir tout ce que le dit Sr d'Albanie de sa part ensemble toutes les pièces dont il se rend contenteroit aizers par
personnages reconnus et expérimentés qui
ont fait leur rapport et par celles
produit les raisons et pleures allégués
pour justifier des droits d'écueils Sr. Sr
Dame d'Oliveaux désirant s'ellesy Sr. Roy
tenaient le dit due d'Albanié pour
connaître la considération auxay des bons
venteux et recommandables princes
que luy a. eu devant faictz. et espere
u. il feva e reconnaissance a. l'avvenir et affin
que ce differend se moutant en forsis
et longueur et que le dit. Sr. d'Albanié
renouvayant la bonne recompence que
dit Sr. Roy luy veult faire se prouy
plus honnere Clemment et relie son
état luy aurari offert. pour toute
recompense de tous les droitz par-lui
pretendant en la dette maison c'est a
revoir l'ususfroutt sa voye durant
de la Senguiriz de la Cante de Castres
avec ses apperstonances et dependances
pour icelle luy comme bon jere
de famille sans toucher aux bois
de haute fontaye ne aux autres ny
s'en est par les couppes ordinaires
nee pouvoir de donner les officiers
et presenter aux bénéficiez qu'ant-
vacation y escheray. Pardellement
de luy sa vie durant du Cante
de la seigneurie et autres chosesVICES
par le feu Roy au Comte Bétzrand
en recompense de la Conté de Boulange
ansiy et par la forme et maniere que
fur est de la Conté de Castres et les
villes de Limousin en Delory appartenan
t l'adett maison lui demeurant en
propriete pour en disposer a son plaisir
et volonté sauf que s'il n'en dispoze
marcheraiendoi vendre Seigneurs et Dame
d'Orleans ou a leurs lois après son
deces et avec ce ledit Roy lui
a remis et remet la restitution des
biens qu'il
aperceus d'icelle
maison sans ce qu'il soit tenu rendre
compte, lesquelles offres lui ont est
fautes parmi ce qu'il promettre
rendre quitter ladett succession et
dechangera ledits Lieus et Dame d'Orleans
de dettes d'icelle. Et meamement de
leurs qui aurouient est fuit par leur
feu la ladett Dame sa femme
fon tout esoir ceuly que ledit Comte
Jean pourooit avoir faciet ou debrus
en ses dettes pouroient debrus
cause des proces et quuelles qui
furent entre icelleuy feu Comte Jean
les terre conté de thousande et Rookie
et ceuly de la maison de Couches
Dourogne desqueltz lead Seigneurs

d'Allianc demeureroit descharge et

aussi qu'il querera et renoncera a tous

seules chauzey par leuy pretendy Meesmen

la mort de conte de Lanepage et

comptence quedtio de la comte de

enlape tant et ay avant qu'il reva

ques et necessaire avec elemens et

mande les lettres et illitera et enseigne-

mens de la dite maison avec les transport

et renditions q'il dit aussi de la

tur et baronnie de la tours des Sr de

Vallier. La Chambre et Sr Counton et

que des a present dellaubera au

heroffmage que le dit Sr Roy depulera

les terres et Seigneuries que le dit feu

lonte Jean tenait et precedant au temps

de son trépas en quelque lieu qu'elle

voient seictuelles et assises avec les

maisons de dans destinez pour icelux

chasteaux palais maisons et autres

manant a fer et a claux sans ce

que d'icelux en puisse aucune chose

duplaces Et en ce ne sont aucune

ment compromeis les terres cydecques

mentionnees que le Roy lui baille

delaurese par manfournir ou

autrement desquelles terres qu'il doiuit
Le procureur d'icelui2 duc de Roy en la qualité que dessus est dit et le dit d'Albyx
sous ont requis faire une ou plusieurs
instrumentz et a ledit procureur promis
promis faire satisfier audit Sr le
contenu au præsent contrat et transaction
ray ont accorde ledits contractans
au garder et observer les choses audits
avec stipulation solemnelles et obligation
à leur bien
C'est a savoir le dit procureur
seulx de la maison du dit Comte Jean
le dit Sr d'Albany de tous et chacuno
à bens présens et advenir tant et
avant que ce peut faire en tel cas.
Tout renoncé et renoncent à tous
horiz par quelsq ou pourroit empecher
le præsent contrat et traite ne
porte son effet. Et au droit avoient
la général renoncé et renoncement ne vaille
la spéciale ne precede et avec
le dit Sr d'Albany renonce par
moment aut chose spécifieres tant et
avant que ce peut faire en tel cas
et fut fait au lieu de Blois les
emborses présens nous notaires sotriques.
Messy présens y Guillaume Royet premier
président en Bretagne Conseiller du Roy
et advocat du dit Sr en sa Cour de
Parlement de Paris et 17e Jean Caléry Conseiller audet Seigneurs en son Grand Conseil témoings a ce appelllez et juge a tenu par le jugement dela Cour royalle audet Ambrozé audet parties ressorts? noms presentés et consentants qui out promis une aller faire ne venir encontre en aucune maniere et recelli a son reqquete du seel royal estably tont d'on se aux contractz roiauxx audet lieu d'Ambrozé En les monny de rente. Donne et fait le sçavoir seconde jour d' Octobre l'an milleving cens trente et quatre.
The following supplementary transcripts from the Duperé Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris arrived too late to be included along with the other original documents. There are still several original unpublished letters of the Duke of Albany, which I might have transcribed if desired.

"A man so wondrous that he seemed to be
Not one but all mankind's epitome"
manuscrit des dépêches écris de Rome
par Monseigneur de D'antiville Evêque
d'Auxerre ambassadeur pour le Roy
français premier près le Pape Clément
VII depuis le mois d'aout 1531 jusqu'au
mois de février 1532
452 folios

d. 29. A Monseigneur d'Albâne 6 Biar 1531

Monseigneur, entre la prise de Modène et la
victoire que a eu le Roy de Pauvuns contre
les moronziens qui se sont arrêtés pour y a lieu grosse bataille
et beaucoup de gens perdus tant d'une
côte que d'autre comme j'ai accu pas
la royce de vengeance à supelieu Monseigneur.
J'olbujan, a vous demander a voues
parlement ce que relozor du propos
que vous me mandater par mon homme
Nicolas quand je vous y manday par lay
La partance de Monseigneur de Fayence
et me dit que quand il seros dit que
Nicolas Raync le recevoir et en n'avo
répondantes se faire non et beaucoup d'autres choses et n'ai d'on dit qu'il a intelligence avec les gens de l'Empereur et y prend parti. J'en reçurai mon homme entend bien je vous enverrai mon seigneur mien mandant ce que vous recevez affrime. L'advertence serve de deux ou autre. Il y a moyen a retirer l'homme dont je parlais qui reçait des chiffres le moyen est que vous leur receviez et recueillir les promesses que vous leur avez faites, une bonne. Cette conformée par une lettre de créance sur vous du Roy et m'envoyez cela jeespère le vous envoyez mais faites que vos lettres ressemblent a ce que luy avez promis et l'on entrabat quand il yra pas. Dala j'ay recevoir mat a Mr. le Grand 1re afin que il y ayde et l'entrouve meilleur de vous, puis Monseigneur Ay seconger et vous voyez qu'il y ai ordre de me aux plaidre a vous d'une lettre que le Roy et vous, le Grand 2e m'ont écrit de Compiègne du xviii siècle du passé et me
À son mandant, et en raison de son absence, le Roi et l'Empereur reçurent le pontif et le Pape avec amour. Une lettre écrivant tout de la main de l'Empereur qui manda le contrat et la faisait en l'occasion tant au long et une d'origine d'autres lettres de bons lieux parlant de bonne voix qu'elle fit réputation l'on fait que aux gens du Roi et vous supplie quelque chose donner une bonne parole. Il est vrai que je m'entends point les occasions parquoy l'on ne fait que qu'il en soit de ma volonté que celle qui on veut quelque chose à morir pour le peuple et ne veux point plus savoir que l'on me veult je vous supplie Monseigneur ne vouloit rien oblier de ce que vous avez délibéré par deo d'esclave et donner à entendre par delà ayez en renoncement quel il fait non et quel bien de vous heurt cette d'havoir par delà un homme qui vous eust bien faîte le bon. Que me pouvez faire cette heure le Pape a reçu ce que le Seigneur Raine a écrit à Jehan Paul qui est alant serois Monseigneur.
la Raynaude et pour l'en engager d'envoye commodement queun et me fast
arie par Ramie que je l'en destournasse
je respondez que c'estoit chose ou je ne
toucheroys par faute d'en avoir advertisement
leur. Jean Paul le recoit rey et parloit sur
l'heure apres avoir parler au bape je renday
en quelle resolution pour ce que je n'en
ay rien relee. Monseigneur vous pouvez
reconnoistre combien il me tarde a cevers
alors nouvelles j'espere qu'avec trouve
que je vose connuez a Lyon depuis
il n'est personne parly que jaye entendu
jay reevo un paquet rey adrecaunt
a vous et a moy de Monseigneur de Telby
jay fait ce qu'il vous mandoit pour
moy florentini jefly de son hotez. Et a
a autre chose vegne de vous envoie
for que l'on se porte bien par dees et y
fait a en grand chien et en es profes
al vos recommander tres
humblement en estre bonne grace
et pour le createur monseigneur dois vous
donnez tres bonne voe et longue vous
enfletant monseigneur que ni ma
naire
vois semble bon me tenir promesse que cer de nous seroit de moy en toutes vos affaires et parcelllement de ayder et ensor par dela autrement je poudravay nous avoys ramenter par celi cevveli le 11 jour d' Octobre

ci en est en 1531

mas je ne luy pour qu

je moy coda de prent secour

procure que luyne au pour caser

est ci la maistre done de moy

nous demande que on entre

apporrens que vous avez bien demeurer

dont je pai de dire si n'ayant rose en

mes moy a aice l'octuration que

ay est et adresser a le bon mander

aty 17 exercitiers les Canandes en

sembleant fort je commence de les

hauter morissent et n'a trouver bien

par grande capitanee que vos letters hier

l'ort de telque una despere je may

que faic ci moy retomma se a inster bon

en estant ceux de y ester par deus je son

par quer en es que je puis tant bon

autre part et capter que tous son ben

de bon en grace Le merveille et pour doig
A Monseigneur d'Albany

Seriez-vous bien de vouloir rassurer la tante, que nous avons reçu par une lettre de votre cousin, qui vous avons donné pour savoir que vous vous êtes réunis, et que vous avez été bien accueillis à la Cour. Je vous prie de Dieu que vous ayez les en ayons bonnes et que vous vous en ayez toujours.

Il ne reviendra jamais à moindre que je m'aye bien de voeux secrets parmi que je l'ayez au Roy nostre. Je vous conjure de me faire bien d'écrire et adressé à la Cour. Monseigneur les Caranalets se rassemblent fort joyeusement que je commence de les hauil de moment et m'en trouve bien. J'en grande espérance que vous avez l'écriture. Monseigneur les Caranalets se rassemblent fort joyeux de me recommander à voeux bonne grace et tant cœur de vous faire par ce que je puis tant hors que autre part et espere que tant vous me faire par sa grace le voueille et vous doynt
Monseigneur très bonne oyé et longue

Écrit a Rome le 22 V I I è d'Octobre

Monseigneur la chanc 1581 plus

pour le parlement de France, requis ce feu

procureur-lieu de l'Arche qui l'accompagne

et reconfeé rent un secret qui

comme qu'il est par deus et qu'il se

navig formé dons a esté leure grande

secundery leon de Paris qui le

Cardinal et Yvrai eant advetir de l'esten

malade de Monsieur d'Anjou, en qui

luy ame de ses lettres pour le parle

main doucer d'Amiens en al Jyly

bon ane avec douier qu'en

grandd adoue, que fait Monsieur et

quel eulx inçipit et trine mes membre

faut a le contrame yen autre

laboramment a diuide a l'ausin.

douier de se pour pour être personne

le d'assemble et en contrame prieur

luy en indouit le respon, dont

primice de Paris,

luy en

preuves pour expéto a Canne, que

me preuzy votre serviez renveni.
Monsieur, la chose que plus vous partagent je vous requis de fait procéder envers le Roy qu’il reconnaisse et recompensez ses serviteurs et ampu qu’il a par deça et ainsin le ne avons promis dont à cette heure je vous demeurez car monseigneur le Cardinal d’Yorée étant advanti de l’extrême maladie de monseigneur d’Agen envoyé au Roy neun de ses gens le pouvoir de lui souhait donner l’entrée du dit Agen ce qui à mon avis il fera avec les grands serviteurs. Que feu monseigneur le Général n’apparte et tous ses parent qui fut à la couronne y’en eclei fraternement à monseigneur le Grand Trésor s’en sautent comme pour tel personnage que le reconnaîtront et ce comme j’espère la chose. Va adorier je meurs bien d’ais ne pourrez le Roy. souhait sur lad Breche conservez une bonne pension de XII. ou XV. en eux pour départuir au Cardinal que reauez cette contre serviteurs et
rancy, et a que recevez poudroir faire et
avoir fait beaucoup de roirces je
remets cela en voeure direction qui
recevez mieux que bien receva pour
les affaires du Roy et qui merite et qui
que mon par que par faisant fes me
recommanderai tres humblement a
voeure bonne grace pesant duie nous
donnons bonne grace recevrons a moi
avoir voulu en quelque et a Bali
que son armee de mer n'est point de
armee, de peur, me croiez qu'il y a
est cinquante, qu'alloing ne garde
que d'antender que n'ustillez le doux
monter d'or gendarme et done de action
est de 12 mois, divenant tant pour langage
que pour huygard en reve se done chez
cont rouger fort, a resamme de la belle
pour le mer qu'elast semblent j'aurai
peine et eux se cogner, il tome c Busy
lerait des terribles imp weak rose qui
au Royer a donné le deuus au saum d'elles
faisant au connu ou mainement ce a
sauce finirius avec en su partie
an par cela en sue navire sue
sage defens votre sancte de
Monsieur. ce pour le Pape nous
fut assemblé pour nous compter
les nouvelles du Teusch qu'il a tenu
par le patriarche Grégoire venuant
de Constantinople qui sont en peu
de paroles que le Teusch le morn
d'Avril vient en Hongrie et en Italie
qui son armée de mer n'est point de
moins de 101 e vessaux dont y'en a
cent cinquante. qu'elle est grande
que bastardes qu'elullon le reste
nefz doux et longjandino l'armée de terre
et de 111 mel chevaux tant pour Hongrie
que pour Italie ce sont choses malles
sont vrayes faut a croydre le Pape
pour le mornoy fait semblant d'avoir
peur et nus en arg. de tous contez
et fait de terribles limitez sur ses lieux
au Royer et a pour le grand maire bidi
j'écoute au long rossmont dont ce a
passe je nus dire que cela ne nous
nous pas echo je vous assure que
nous avons depuis ou voir partiement les
Les gens de l'Empereur ont bien gagné de haut le sort à l'autour du Pape de morte que je veux et aye occasion de la pensée que nous ne traitons avec leur chose que monde qu'il ne m'ayt mécontent à moncoup d'ame et fait semblant qu'il le fait qu'il m'en fust compté mais il fait vent(?) a Dieu qu'il n'aurait emouche sans lui faire devoir j'ai descouvert une secret ces trois que dont la trêvée que le Pape a fait de ce mariage reculant ancien de nom inventions et trouvant occasion sans propos mentir pour trois tant fauche le Roy et que de lui-même il fait la roture du mariage et est ce que nous ne pourrons devons liacer en fer la foy je n'en accroy see au Roy car je ne ay qu'il en a été advoyt
LeRoy pour ses dernières lettres qu'il écrivoyt à nostre S. Pape luimandant qu'il louy evoit tel comme ma Santité lui avoit j'embariz comme le Pape ma honte de nous abuyer et amuer ainssi et par cela congnoissoir
...la proclaimant vous congoissez de contres qui, il estime pour le Roy puisque sans raison ny découvrons ny de profit ou avantage mais de cette puce il fait ces choses la je m'en souviens à personne que à vous et vous pré ser vous les découvrons sinon que vous ne serez que le rôl du me vouloir l'amer de ne l'entendre point letant siez et vous cueillez en mettre le Roy ou Monsieur le Grand Maistre en tappez et puis leur faire entendre que je l'ai entendu et on tout expose je m'ay enchères point découvert au pape que je reache cette belle becogne mais je le feray en temps au ecurelles sound avec bien cette advenst du debat des espaignalz avec les Romains qui est revenu jusqu'a la que le Cardinal d'Ome s'est abarni de belle peur et cinq autre espaignal nomme Don Alfonse terre de bonne maison et fort riche contract d'habeardonnnes Rome l'on tua a ce Don Alfonse non parler devant lui et tira l'on trente coups despel dans le prapont et la ralle mais il ne
Il peut paraître étrange que deux matins qu'on a tué mung des gens. D'arme devant
son lieu et est toute Rome en armes
les plus proy des premiers des Cardinaux,
semble, je dois à vedere j'ay ce jour escorta
e Mons le Grant Mentre. Il est devoir
Tachet à tirer le Cardinal Mentre de
dela pour guage de faire plus ayvient
Tirer le pape à ce que nous teurions
Je vous paie le luy vauter voir
et bien donner à entendre.
Dupuy 260

a Monseigneur d'Albany

1er février 1682

Monseigneur, je crois que par l'abbé Roud de Fontenay, vous avez advenu de bons et honnêtes propos que tiennent l'homme de Monsieur de Tholozé le prédicateur de la Blandeprye et crois paroisse que c'est sa dévotion. Vous en aurez advenu la roine qui nous espagnole désirant que grands moy res maistre est et Paradisant étant mort et un certain ouvrage fait qu'il en est basieux de ce ressourcer intellect. A qui il tint maistre aux dépens de monseigneur de Tholozé qui est très bonne récompense. De tant de pépinières et de forêts qui j'en ay peu dont je meure en chacun homme de bien en ceste échapp et a ce que j'aspérerai au délibéré de dire que j'acte délibéré d'ou opposer au chapeau de Monseigneur de Tholozé et une tâche d'autre chose se délivrée qu'il a devenu depuis qu'il a fait une robe de damas, une cape de velours et qu'il va aux mules à en écrire

mât a Monsieur de Bayonne lequel...
S'il est question de ce propos ne faulda en aucun des nouvelles du royaume, je n'ai reçu aucune de que vous y mangez mais il me semble que je ne devons pas aller à vous en avoir plus de nouvelles. Par l'autre depeche j'en exerce la verite et depuis je suis instruit que votre escuyer et certain quelque chose que venuille dire ce gentil Sieur ne m'a pas faire entendre. La Monseigneur de Thalague auyant ce que le Roy aux commandé d'une chose en ce propos je me suis vanté que monser de Thalague est plus tenu à moy que aux la Blandeqye et autant tenu comme ey feu le Cardinal meus que j'en ay pris la pieque au pape telle que j'en en suis pas ce propose envers sa Saintete pour le verson du Roy. mais qui a affaire a pal glorieux il n'est pas sans peine puis que gy ay laus faire mon debvoir j'espere que Dieu l'aidera

Livrou supplie de vouloir dire un mot
À Monseigneur, je vous ferai longue
longue de ce fardeau pressé, il est-
meilleur et plus plaisant, je m'y
en vais pour de grands regret je me
recommande toujours très humblement
à votre bonne grâce Prions le Ciel
Monseigneur vous donner très bonne
vie et longue Excert à Rome et
beaucoup plus et le petit jour, enfin, j'ai
accru (Quand à celui qui m'a donné tant d'offres et autres
selon aller je m'y vois comme
ont ensor que le monsieur lui fait
voyez bon traitement et qu'il
fait du bien pour ses proches proches...
J’envoie encore que deviendra surtout de l’emploi de telle sorte que vous ayez pu vous estimer bien au long de la plus part de mon amour en ce que vous excédez à lui et à moy qui ne l’auray je a vous enfeuissé une mat de réponse dont je m’en le donner par la derniere porte et l’envoyay a celui de la coupe auquel le nom en chiffrs est il vous plaist mey dans vos chiffrs 66 je saiui l’seau agié d’avoir quelquefois moyens et occasion meetur a lui plus pour ester lui bon gentlhomme que qui puisse seavoir de ceulx que recevois amon la plus part du temps ce qu’els veulent bien que chacun reachent et nonobstant aucune fois de peu de chose l’on fait beaucoup et espére que je m’en aideray bien mario si le fet faus tenir fort secret (quant a celuui a quelon veut donner ung app级 de reconnais il veult allers je m’voy sous ma curte que le seigneurs lui fait acces bon traitement et qu’il lui ait fait aun bien pour ses proches parents ay est il en grand esperance pour luymesme vous n’oyez penner et il
ne vient à autr' chose que à domettre s'il vous plait je vous avay destutir cela dont alangement et ay je peu que le mennevay a chef par le moyen d'autre que de moy de sorte la chose fust decouverte ay ne repondroit on a vous ay a moy quant a Mesdes le Cardinal Medicis jay pieus secre au Roy qu'il estoit son intention et enchones a cette heure luy mande je le trouve plus hardy que jamais dans ses entreprises et me trouve rien difficile que me faire reconnoysser qu'il a intellige avec le Pape il continue toutfois son propos [de pouvoir plus estant par deca que par de la pour la seconde du Roy] que me semble veritable pourvuo que ce soit point miefaini pour attendre [la passee de l'Empereur] et veoir qu'il chemin prendront toutes chans de vont que hazadier ne fortune Le passage de l'Empereur est chose dont despendent tous les entreprises du monde parquoy pourdrauy bien Monseigneur qu'il y est per deca long tel personnage que vous soye
entendre et manayer les affaires
je congois que je suis trop mal
pratie pour y bien suffire.
à Monseigneur d'Albany
26 Avril 1582

Monseigneur j'ai reçu 111 pièces
de lettres de vous dont l'un est
tout en chifre qui monte du XXIII
XXV et XXVII du mois passé dont
Très humblement vous remercie
J'ai par ailleurs vu ce que vous
envoyez a Ferrayg. qui me mis
en grand pénés car vous manda
que le Roy me fait réponse a
Monsieur le Grand Maistre parallèlement
et j'ai n'ai reçu les lettres mais
toute cette dépêche qui m'a été
retorné et ay pensé qu'elle se soit
trouvé entre les mains de messie
aulici de Pape par mes
lettres de Monseur le Grand Maistre
de Chantilly je voy parallèlement
que le Roy m'ayt respondu a
beaucoup de choses dont je n'ai rien
Sous ce vertes ce que Ferrayg. vous
reçuit qu'il m'a monetie et
semble que d'hors en avant reça
le meilleur moyen de bien vous adresser j'écoute par cette dépêche à Monsieur de l'Holge 
prê mon frère le bailli lui présente ou faire porter par quelque gentilhomme ma lettre pour en avoir réponse je 
vois demeure humblement de l'amortissement de la bulle que 
reçois et quant à celui qui est 
mal content j'en esquons la 
raison à Monsieur le bailli marbre qui est celle que Ferrarins la vous 
escrit j'ay dit ung mot à nostre 
S. Père de ce que m'exerçiez il 
respond le mieux du monde de ce 
vus donne que ci la face je vous 
rappliqu ne diffère plus de nomme 
à nostre S. Père celui wouldrez être 
à nostre S. Père en l'affaire que savez pour les 
chose en l'affaire que savez pour les 
raison que vous ecris Ferrarins j'ay 
grand regret aux choses que me 
mandez que tiennent les angois 
it ne tardé d'en savoir la vérité 
du surplus monseigneur la chose de 
voi monde dont plus vous passe et qui 
plus m'obligerà avon sort que m'engager
et que me trouverez qui est votre
revoirne ni cher que honque n'en
heures de plus ne recommandant

En claire de dans la lettre de Fenez,

L'Empereur et le Pape se délibèrent
de disparante l'y rallie sans l'aide
du Roy mais le euydant faire ce
secretement que nous ne l'entendions
point dont ils sont bien trompés
not j'espère par mesmes moyens le
trôner eux mesmes qui sont les
taisser du laye et de leur seul
delay prendre l'occasion de faire
on de me pas faire la guerre ainien
qu'il remèlent meilleur au Roy
ll'on nous a bouillé bailler une
troussue de coste de longue mais
ils ne la sont donnée eulx mesmes
par a leur /car saible j'espere
faisé que le Roy donner a qui
qui il boncle et Euretie de Ryon
on le Pape confesse avoir trouillé
autrenew les longuees contre le
Roy mais qu'ou me me yaste
tenez ceci secret.
Cherche de Tournay

à Monsieur de l'Albanie

xxix Avril 1532

Monseur et y a longtemps que je n'ai rien de vos nouvelles l'occasion en est que vous allez bien chez vous j'entends que vous allez en Provence je vous veux requérir que si vous y êtes bien allez et le Roy bien avoir devant que vous partiez de chevaux pour y allez cogez bien asseuré que leur payement soit devant que vous en Provence si vous partiez cela le Roy y aura profit et vous y a bien la légereté des lieutenants du Roy qui ont honte d'aller à leur charge devant qu'ils y fussent le payement les à tous contrains d'enlever que les capitains fussent leurs compagnons fussent qu'ils commandissent et ne leur payez moy je vous feray je vous prie de vous contentez de mon transport de tant que
d'exclaire que je suis je me meste
et m'aie de conseller je suis
seur que le fevendez bien voyant
que c'est la verité. Si vous vous
revoir en un mat comment
tout ce point par de ch comme
toujours fontune nous guide
plus que raison je vous ay escrit
dernierement un grand lettre en
chefre de terrasse en sa lettre
depuis noetie S. Père a conclues
d'envoyer madame voctre nyevre
a florence qui fait une tres belle
grande et grande je sens que lori
Donne fero companionie avec les trois
gralieres aux rix d'Anade qui
retournent de naplis a Genez dont y en
a deux denornées. Le pape a
mandé par Trasino Donne auq
Anade. Qu'il se fervent nom amée
defner defner ce qu'il fait de
contien je ne recuy le der
empereur ecrit fort chaldement
que le Turch vient en slongyf
et ne meny pas noetie S. Père a
rechaufer la newelle mais alla verite
par les argument. Que f'ay je croy
Te que le Turc n'ira pas en personne mais baillera gens au Roy Jehan pour faire renverser en les frontières quant à l'armée de mer ce n'est rien au moins que l'on puisse douter. Vous n'avez point montré à maître S. Père lequel de vos frères vous voulez je n'en suis point content vous reprenez pèce que Muratole, sera cardinal je commencerai à connaître que le pape lui a donné gout de l'amour pour se renouer contre son maistre même sans pour secher de payer argent et le Roy fera tâner le plus qu'il pourra lui montrant espérance longue mais le reculant jusqu'à ce qu'il en ait fait et du lieu que le pape n'a point payé les trois mois derniers à l'aide dudit Maretzole j'espère ne bien revoy de ceci. De là seu de trait que les Empereurs furent couverts par deça que le Roy n'entendit avec le Turan et disent que l'Ambassadeur de Venise qui est à Constantinople vint voir la dignité que en sa
Surnommé par le Comte de Château, le Capitaine général de l'armée de mer qu'il ne touchait qu'en face du monde aux res de l'Ancien Monde, et que Ranier est allé en Hongrie porter, fort grand argent aux Rois Jehan et ses deux belles messeges, le pape me dit qu'il l'accordera à l'Empereur contre le Turc d'armes qui guerroyez pour la defense d'Italie contre le Turc à lui donné un siel et un autre de celles qui estoient à Genève. Desarmez André Dorico, les luy donnez.
Pour la dioncèse d'Albans
que j'ai bien de la cour qui fut
au xxix mai. ay réçu votre
arrivée qui me fait en bref espère
de vos lettres. J'ay esté très lâche
d'avoir répondu. Mr. le Commandeur
de Villiers pour quelques
fin qu'il puisse bien rendre bon compte
de tout ce qu'il a eu dans au Roy
que a vous et a. M. L. et que me gardera de vous en faire long
propos espérant qu'il aura après
certez à la Cour. Cependant je vous
advertis que le Card.de Théliez
me receut a mon arrivé. aussi est de
non entre prise. Je l'en ay pressé fort
et quand il est venu a rechercher
ceu dont il faut qu'il ajde
et me semble qu'il les a trouvés
changez le Pape. Que vous allez de ce
pres qu'il me receu. ou il tomber
et m'a enchoer racem paroles a
Monsieur le Commandeur. Qui
me guarde de neu escriure au Roy
my a autrre lenez vous le albury
secreet s'il vous plaire je recommende
au R. l'hoste de la Courppe le
Pape est plus enveloppe avec les
Espaignals que jamais et s'est
mis en calme contre moy mai
et ne mia pas estonne j'en ceces
bien au longs a M le Grand is-
en cheffre s'il vous plaire a lui
demander et le vous commmuniquer
je vous prie parles pour Jehan Paul
fautes leuy faire un estas de
viii e ou melle lucrres a payer
Guards a vous en aurois trop
et une promesse de iii e chevaux
leguer ou de eux melle hommes
de pied amey que vosis l'entend
mey le que moy mais monseigneur
je vous emprez humblemment
et brei fort sou me croyes
les delegences que sont les gens
de l'Empereur de pratiquer penda
les Ureins de Pape monstre asoir
grande peur de Turch pour en faire
enches plus et neus aux Cardinaux
pour meaulx diner argent mais on me fait pas
le honme je ne goissens rien et me remale que nous
à Monseigneur Duc d'Albany
2 Juillet - 1562

Monseigneur par le petit chiffrage de Ferrand versés les nouvelles qui sont par deçà autrée en ayant vue ce que vous avez exécuté me suis adonné d'envoyer à Mr le Lt. Je vous propose a quel pour ce que je ne recevroy s'il est a moëté plaisir vous envoyer la lettre toute pourêt que si vous plauro envoyez si bon vous semble ou la brusler et me mander que j'auray à faire je vous remeure humblement de faute restauement que me faitie touchant ceux qui tanchent m'embranler je m'esbath que celui de qui avez eu la lettre ne m'ien mande rien puis qu'il cognost que ceut chose qui touche la recolte du Roy pour ce que me le commandez je le faiso mais ce ne revo sans m'enprendre quand ce vous remeure fairement très humblement des bonnes paroles qu'il voue a pleu porter au Roy
qu'il l'empereur faisoit faire par deces
des gens espagnols et de bourguignons
qui ont ete menes en la volle
de Naples depuis l'on les a contre
mandez et vont la volle de Lombardye
l'on y en fait encore d'autres queques
en nombre comme j'ontens de dix
mille espagnols complety et dix milhe
Italiens c'est chose cleure que le pape
pouvoit capterenes se sent
indifferemment des gens a l'empereur
et l'empereur des gens et ensuques
de gens de pied que le pape a fait
faire n'y a que la croix S. Andre
sans clefs.
À Albâne du XIIIe juillet 1552

19e

Monseigneur,

Je vous envoie, je crois, ce qui est pour vous besoin de faire raison tant par vos lettres que par les lettres de mon secrétaire dont vous me cherchez, car je vous présente mes excuses, la continuelle affection que vous me mettez en bien. Que je me trouve désavouer envers vous et qu'il me faille la grâce de vos regrets au bien de mes fautes et de la patience que me donnes de me travailler de corona et de me conformer de mon côté. J'ai parcellairement reçu les lettres que vous avez remises de ma part au duc de S. Pierre et le duc de S. Pierre. Ensemble ce que le Roy a recu pour de sa part les dommages qui ont causé qu'à la réception des dites lettres voyant comment les affaires passent par dela comme de la part de S. Monseigneur le Cardinal de Spediis de laquelle par écriture se sont faites plans, envenimentement, que les députés que le Pape a fête accordé au Roy nous estrevent à la requête des empereurs d'Alger et demi reprise craignant donner à sa Sainteté occasion du n'effort de plus long délai, il se devait que pendant
vos autur lettres je devoy COMMUNIQUE
C COPER aux Parmanuels de Toulon et
de M. Hainvou qui avoys communique une part de
ces affaires et par le Comman defer de beliers aflan quels plu-
au long il en peut faire rapport au
Roy Lequel a tous ensemble fuvent d'aous
que pour cette heure me droyt parler en
par le Roy ainy de par vous mais comme
de par moy pour entaster le que et
ce pour les raisons qui s'encuiront
jones devant que je commence a vous dire
les raisons je me plaindroy a tous de tous
qui a vostre partenant ny depuys ni avez
propos a nostre Sire dont avoir tel fort
veu que je suis vostre serviteur et la premiere
du Roy dont il est presque venu incovenent
ne laisser son armée et a moyen au pape
imperialx je l'ay deux fois recherché comme de par moy de la
mettre entre les mains du quelli de
Rhodes comme de pièce ay advevy le
Roy ay j'exeuse auce vostre intention
je n'exeuse fait cette faule
Monseigneur je vous écris pour vous assurer que le pape ne cherche que les moyens de rompre avec nous pour le moins souvent se déclarer que pour avoir il se tromperait perdre l'amitié et alliance de l'Empereur jusques à dire que le Roy fait entreprise en Italie en quelque endroit que ce soit il se déclare contre lui et y a luy même en personne reparti lieu il ne le m'a pas dit mais il le dit aux Commandeurs et à Raynez je n'ay voulu qu'il le me dit et pour seauje je le voy en certain roy avant entre leurs mains des impécaux qu'il me fait rien sans leur conseil et me trouve rien impossible de ce que veulent ou demandent jusques à la qu'il fournisse à l'Empereur par moy quatre sing mille escou dans le Hongrois que Genèse et en camp de la Lombardie voyez c'est chose qu'il faut pour le Roy ou pour vous et si vous vouloir donner son armée de mer c'est assaurer ce les Genèse de l'Empereur le contrepourent vu que quelque dize que je luy ay fait de celle du Roy laquelle il a voit tant de fois requié et si mettant en lieu de la remercyons et la accepter nul accoing et qu'il se peut bien réposter et ce ne soit pour avoir occasion de ne baiiller choses décues tant que
pour fuy, occasion par laquelle il peut
venir en Espagne et quant tout ce que deu
e ne seroit le pape n a une quelle nef
ni gallerie qu'il vous secont bailler. Celui
de gens ne sont a bury que pour le
mouty et n'y a credit ny puissance mais
Andre Dorgy les 3 de Tony Dorgy sont a
bury et courti condices dont l'une est que
pour revoir sa patrie et s'en pourra
aller quand bon bury rsemble. Il est
personnage que vois veniez enmy a l'entour
de vous pour la faulte qu'il a fait
au Roy. Et outre tout ceez est une
funence de laquelle le Roy se pourra aider
et seroit touti et quantes fois qu'il
vouldra car quant le pape rechercche
le Roy pour son armee nous devans toujou
sur nos piedz de demander que vous
royez Capitaine des deux armey qu'il a
promis et que par aventure la necessite,
or il se verrra bury contrainda et ou l'en
rechercchant a este heure qu'il n'a nulle
necessite qu'il n'a nuaire qu'il vous
prenet donner moy volunte de la faire
hippouvoir quant il le voudroit cela
est desoy d'autre chose que de mepuiffes
ou delayer. Aloit decines courtz couleurs
que le Roy bury trouvait honnemente a
mepuiffes rad armee g'en roeux autant
au Roy affin de le contentir et ratir afain
de ce qu'il m'en avait écrit jay
fait venir à propos parlant à nostre du
S. Père parlant de l'armée du Roy de la
Quelle vous êtes général ets'il vous
debvoir tenir le processa montrant qu'il
le me cueut autrefois dit que vous
m'écriviez depuis mandé que je l'en
ramen Terraçque a quoy il me respondu
que autrefois il en avoit tenu quelque
propre avec vous mais que cela s'entendait
le cas advenant que le Roy et luy fussent
armée ensemble et qu'il eust des
memoirs qui plussent a luy a quoy le
Commandeur qui estoit present a respondu
que c'estte Armée d'Italie estoit seule
Que c'estte Armée d'Italie estoit seule
du Turc. Sa Se féire diligencement
faire dix ou quinze escorps de galiere
qui pourroient saultes prestes dans le
moys de mars et vous enfermer l'apprêter
aquoy il n'a voulu entendre disant
qu'en ne pourroit trouuuer ouvrer et
qu'il estoit trop paure pour eust
heure voyez qu'elle boone responso
si je trouve les matieres deposées
votre secresse præsentera les
dites lettres a Saincte sans parler
de la part du Roy mis en conclusion
et n'en attens que ung ne plus mala
propos et ung moyen pour empêcher
votre venue pour dea si d'aventure ce que d'ournement nous ou escrient pour faire tenir à M. le Grant que vous plaisit dont je vous supplie m'en advenir j'ecris de ce propos au Roy et à mardi à M. le Grant M. ne raitiement qu'il pourra beaucoup aider votre venue et vous avoir envoyé ma lettre sinon celle ne passerà rien les décisions furent accordées en la congrégation avec donnez Cardinlet sans condition aucune et depuis le Pape y a ajouté que le Roy les aurait eux donnant recours d'une partie de son armée la nécessité advenant et pour faire envoyer les bulles ci Monsieur de Côme et ne les monques voulu baillez au Commandeur pour les porter au et au Côme combien que renoncent il en ayant cette revue
a Monseigneur d'Albany le 14 Juillet 1532

Monsieur, je vous ay eus très bien au long et ny a que trois ou quatre jours et depuis meest revenus choses qui valle le vous exécrer fors que nous avons nouvelles roy que a Genes les quatre galeees qui estayent alle en Espagne ont rapporté quoy que ces quatre congregs mil leen en commenckenement de toucher au moreeau que l'Empereur ayant ay ches et puis qu'elz ay ont commençé ilz pourront bien continuer nous avons nouvelles que l'Empereur est touvjours a fe ne rezay quoy tain près de Fatichonne bien mal de sa jambe et de sa personne et que faut autant de préparatifs pour la venue du roy comme s'il m'en etoit pont Monseigneur le Commandeur de Villiers present partu en a promis qu'il vous ayerra cel puis par lui vous pouvez escomer la diligence que mon roy les empereurs a retuer les serviteurs du roy principalement les libres quoyque ilz en ont ja retiré quelques uns et vous accordre que les autres sont en branle pour qu'ils seoyent qu'il le roy ne fait emblamant de les mettre en aloronge. Et me tarde avoir de vos nouvelles j'espere que de ce en de lour je contine en letter que le seur evo de brief a Monseigneur le Grand Maitre de propos dont je vous ay envoyay une letter aunc Seigneur Grand maitre mais ausin de sorte que je ne gaste rien. Monseigneur je me recommande...
Dupuy. 260.
fol. 299.

À Monseigneur d'Albany 21 Juillet 1532

Monseigneur, par Mr le Commandant de Tilly, vous ay exempté et auparavant du xiii vous avoyé bien au long adventuy de tout depuis par lettres du x. de Bataille nous avons reçu que l'Empereur marchant que Mr de Velay qui est vers lieu Ambassadeur pour le Roy avoit été aigué avec les Comiss des belles luthériennes qui est mort venus à la dette la arrest au lieu disant que s'il n'avoyt de ce commission de son Maistre ce qu'il ne pouvoit avoir elle chasseroit bien et pour ce a envoyé incroyment ung homme vers le Roy qui est une mauvais nouvelle André Doyse est parti de Renais qui ung bon nombre de galénes auquel vont les neuf du Papes Nous l'Attendons ney en bref. Il est ja arrivé à Naples xxii de ces neuf qui cel chaignent de partieilles Ferrary en a communiqué le propos que luy avez reçu mais je ne vois ordre de il n'ait la ou est la beste que l'on demande le camp de l'Empereur faire toujours bruit de tifer en Montray le neuy s'il yra les nouvelles du TurcMe s'estchaignent qu'eser Jean Paul en
enchers demeuré pour quelques jours attendant qu'elle vienne reparation de trancé mais je n'en veai que m'en retiendra ja la fait ney ni chant que ay m'entreti les bons ney ni chant que ay m'entreti les bons melons qui nous neconfortent je ne melons qui nous neconfortent je ne"
Monsieur, je vous envoie ce courrier après pour aviser le Roy de si beau temps de vêtir particuliers concernant la venin de l'Empereur en Italie et l'entrée du Pape et de lui envoie
n'est arrivé le bateau avec monsieur
quand il en verrouy quand je le
reconnoy, je vous le mandeвой
Monsieur est encore une fois
mande de venir en toute diligence
je vous assure Monsieur que qui vous
est envoyé par deza de brefe je le
mande, l'on trouve à bien les affaires
plus faciles nous enconnons toujours reculer
le Pape demeur et les autres
approcher dont il prendra mal je vous
suis en vous faire montrer ce que j'ecris
au Roy et le Grand 1e la haste me
garde de vous en faire redire si
vous plaça a advier quand le Roy
ne levra ensemé pour Mons de Whalos de
me faire aussi ensemé pour Monsieur
frère pour lequel je en toute vos affaires
pouvez être assuré que tous
 diligemment et de bon cœur vous
serviray appuyant le Créateur lequel
je pré vais donner figé par ce

Le contentement et bon cœur
que vous me portez et l'affection
que vous avez que je vous dis nier
bon retour en sur n'ont pas mainte
en mon esprit. jay dit à toute
homme en irany que je partirai
pour c'est il tombaques et ce
departe que j'apprécie

nayez cela bien informe de tout
jusques en ey les affaires dont
endormis mais ne vont de bien
un roxle enclant y ne mentray
point à vous excusez et la nouvelle
en roxle désormais de muer

toutes quant a t'affaire de mon neu
roxle fres sous poumy toujours que
je ne fauldray y pren même deman
quant d'occasion y caso je se rempy
point que nous avons encore pour
hors, dispersant quelque et enoy en
Monsieur, j'ai reçu vos lettres de
XVIIIe du passé et très humblement
vouss remercie voyant par celle
le contentement et bon vouloir
que vous me portez et l'affection
que vous avez que je vous demande
bon retour qui n'est pas montrer
en mon endroit j'ai dit à voire
homme Fersarys ce que par deça
pour c'est être compagnie ne se
despartera que premièrement
n'ayez être bien informe de tout
jusques à ce les affaires vont
endormez mais ce vont iby bien
en noire endroit je me mettray
point à vous causer des nouvelles
car votre lettre avec les reçu
dont quant à l'affaire de Monseigneur
votre frère vous pourrez croire que
je ne faultray y faire mon devoir
quant l'occasion y sera je ne voy
point que nous soyons enchore pour
hors despartir est tout et croy qu'il
rien plus aux galeries qui ne sont
pas de 
chose Monseigneur
Dernier 4/32. Ferrars.

Monsieur, pour ce que par les lettres de Monsieur le Cardinal vous avez été amplement avverti de toutes nouvelles de decay, et aussi que je n'ai aucune chose digne de vous escripre ne vous feray long discours. Et si l'antay devois abonder que le 5 de ce mois après le Convocation Monsieur le Cardinal de Ravenna a cause d'aucunes injustices par lui comme l'on dit estant ligné. 

Ancore parles fut envoyé personne dedans le Chasteau Saint-Anges où il est toujours et selon le commun brevet estant mort. Et Père plani d'un tres bon voulonté pour administrer justice et punir les delinquents, car que se peut aller que mal hombolant que sa Sainteté y fail proceder tres justement ayant ordonné qu'il y ayt 3 Cardinaux assézans à l'examen dudit Cardinal de Ravenna qui rendra une chose plus certain de
la bonne justice de sa santé. Conçu ainsi, pour plusieurs des principaux deses ouvriers, pour vérifier miel de les délits du dit Car. et si ainsi est que Dieu me veuille qu'il eut mérité d'être privé et degré de la dignité où il est soulevé, mettre ordre de pouvoir n'ayant autre protection pour le Roy d'Écosse comme de Monseigneur le Cardinal votre frère ou si ce ne vous semble, vous bon qu'il eut la delié protection la faire donner à Monseigneur le Cardinal de Tracy qui est tant homme de bien réauoir et bon ouvrieur du Roy et votre grand ami comme comme escevez et que continuellement il le monter à Monseigneur le Cardinal votre frère ami ess que par lui en vous mieux informer et eius ceurant que les affaires du Roy d'Écosse. Il en porteront eux bien et mieux qu'elz n'ont fait pour le passé Monseigneur nostre le Pese parlia d'icy dans deux jours pour aller à.
Poëta vecche seor les gallees qui
y vont contz la cas charge de
Mons. le Conte de Longueville
lequel comme je puis entendre
m'entendant apres avoir lu la
benediction de sa saintete partion
vers Napples et Cecile pour faire leur
provision de vins et biscuys et
de la prendant leur chemin contre
Barbieroune lequel comme jay peu
entendre depuis deux jours a lieu vues
de centante gallees qui seoyt beacouz
s'il estoyt soy. Deui dont aux
Christiennes la vicitue et grace aux
indefelles de reconnoscree la veite
de nootre foy. Je ne vouz escris
autres chose pour moy de paour de vouz
enmuyer sinon que eu tout menez
a vostre boz voulons — suppliant tres
humblement qu'il vouz plaise me tenirs
toujours en vostre bonne grace porant
vostre seigneur Monsieur que il vouz
dont tres bonne vie et longue A Rome le
XVI jour d'April. Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur Ferraris
A Monsieur Monsieur le duc d'Albany.
Monseigneur à monnerre de l'Albano
e 20 au
1583

Monseigneur j'ai reçu votre lettre
écrite à Monseigneur sans date et depuis
que ce que vous aviez envoyé peut être en
ainsi les lettres que M. de Belliers vous
avait faites je lous dis la fin
vous avez congénial pour n'avoir point
d'occasion d'avoir n'ouïé que de mon
n'ayant eu l'adresse à écrire par
et quelque chose que vous exprimez à M. de
de Belliers par sa lettre que nous parlons
au Pape de vous et puis du Grand
maître de Rhodes il me dit pas trait
encore premier fut pasable du grand
de Rhodes sans parler de vous et de
fut parlé de vous sans parler du grand
et je croi que qu'il y aura en
faut qu'il y eit fois que je fus admiré
de l'entier de du Roy à la fin de juillet
que Anané Dorje est ce pour a faire
voile qui me prend de faire autres monste
comman que j'en lovely lettre du Roy dont
lev au fait ce que j'en ay depuis repartie
au Pape et Messire Jacques Solnati tous
deux. d'entre qu'ils ont bien cette intention.

mais je me roya en façon du monde
que le cas puissance lechoir que le Pape non
quis seulement face armée défend mais
ce range aux roya tandis qu'il reva en
la main du Empereur et ceux qui vous
occupent que mostrar le roya continue de
vous faire advertir que si le roya lui ayde
et vous en donne la charge il sera
semblable et ne vous demander point
ce que devoe vous trompent et se mequien
de vous car je vous assure assures
que le papa n'a nulle intention ny desion
que le roya face armée parmer et n'est
pas niais d'y que demander au roya
qui il lui. pour qu'il la face mais ceux
qui le vous recevont sont gens qui ont
envoyé de compaire et n'ont point de
peur de mentir dy jargues a e vous
avez trouvé vérité en moy croyer encore
reley par le dernier courrier je vous
ay envoyé le double d'une lettre que
sescrivoy au roya et le baillay a estre
secrétaire puisque ces lettres vous trouvayt
court ne vous en feray reedict.
car je n'y eusseye plus rien d'avantage je crois que l'on vous adestira bien autant comment le Sr. Napoléon après prisonnier son frère aîné qui le voulait prendre et le tient prisonnier
or Bucarest lieu et un nombre de gentilshommes, remain l'on y a un plus voulu trouvailles. Johann Paul j'espère que ce ne sera rien de Chambrier Messire Bettienn de Chateaux Remy. Que vous donnassiez à Notre Seigneur un mot de lettre que je vous envoie avec cette je ne saurais de lui faire plaire ou je puis pour l'honneur de vous de sa Santé. Et ce messire après qu'il aura vu sa famille ce qu'il y a de nouveau et peut partir de nouveau
parce que nous avons de nouveau
un voyage à l'étranger recouvrant-bien-mieux-
un sondant besoin en l'état que
la ville palatine affinait de rester
quand il sera fini et enfin
Dupleix 1756
fol. 106v

Monseigneur j'ai reçu ce matin une lettre de vous de la Spcie. le premier jour de ce mois et m'obiet que ce porteur m'a dit que vous avez trouvé le dernier chevaucheur que j'ai renvoyé vers monseigneur le grand maître auquel j'avoir baillé paquet après pour vous que vous ne me mander par vos lettres quelque chose de neceuf car vous ne m'en faictes mention ne reponse et pour vous advien de la doutrille resoluto de sa sancteté à la quelle vos lettres ont été pressenties je vous adresse monseigneur que sa sancteté me veult point aller avecque sa niêce et par ami ci il faut récoldre sans en parler plus de luy faire un voyage à l'en amener devant et coudra de bien sa sancteté que toutes les XVIII galères fassent de retour quand il sera prect d'embarquer.
et n'a commandé ainsi le vous
écritre s'excusant de ce que pour la
hâte de ce porteur il ne vous peut
respondre et d'avantage n'a commandé
écritre au Roy et parélement à vous
que au retour du voyage de Madame
D'habitude vous prendez la peyne de
tenir les galeres jujques à l'isgome
qui lui sera commodité grande d'autant
qui il sera moyno par lese quatre
journées grandes Par amici Monsieur
je zeur. D'opinion que vous ny ferez
ne ny deuez point faire de fausse
Quand au lieu de la venue je foy compte qu'elle se ferà à Marseille à
mon zalous mais eur tout Monsieur et
le faute leur secret car sa santete fait
pour la bruit par deça que ce sera à
Vie.
Et si c'est lettre temo in
autres mains que la vostry desfendez
derien ne m'en deve sur sa voye je ne
cro pas que ce vous furt une tres
grande incommodez et d'attendre en
port de ce temps que ce Sammect
demeurera à partir d'ici qu'en par les chemins qui seront à mon avis XVIII ou vingt jours. Et même que je ne
entends que au pays où nous étions
n'y a guères bon air et où adviendrait
quelque inconvenient de maladie
derrière vos galeres je vous supplie
pensez en quel termes nous reconus et
pays comme en c'est il ne s'en faut
plus rompre la teste car nostre Dr.
Sire s'est recolu comme depuis
la Sentetée cuyp doit partir vendredi
prochain mais il m'a payé bien fort
que je fusse content qu'il me partit
jusque à ce que la feste de nostre Dame
fut passée et que mardi prochain
qui est le lendemain il m'y aura
point de faulche qu'il ne parte pleune
ou non pleune encore que j'aye grand
regret de le voir partir sans pleune
et aux grands Challeurs qu'il fasse
par-deca vers la regle cuypz ont en ce
pays que tous ceux qui délogez
avant les pleunes lument en quelque
maladie de cuypz nostre dignité.
...toute sa sainteté et toute sa compagnie j'en ay point encore vue ne monseigneur le Conte de Ternoze ne sei libertés que vous vous ne me souvenez pas d'une lettre de vous d'autre part. De tous à prison de Yenne à laquelle ne faute point faire me semble d'autre réponse que ce que j'accepte a présent. Mon seigneur mon neveu de Touron me mande qu'il vous feist quelque présent de vin en passant par Tournon et qu'il y en ait quelque peu pour moy. Je vous prie me mander s'il se trouvent tous sur la mer et bien faire garder ma part non tant pour moy que pour en donner a mes amis de deçà qui en pourront avoir à faire quand aux gens que le pape même il en a déjà envoyé la pluspart de sa famille et bagage à Civita vecche où il a fait toker 8 navires qui portent beaucoup de gens et des Cardinaux je vous envoie...
la liste de ceux qui viendraient ce voyage je vous envoie parélement une douzaine de lettres que m'a écrites Monsieur de Prant maître où il me demande qu'il vous envoie les deux nautes dont vous êtes en usage je crois qu'il n'y fera point de faute je me attiendra que par monseigneur de Tournon je aurai nouvelles de l'embarkement de la Duchesse d'Alençon et de votre partment du pont de la Seine notre règne nous vieille bien conduite et nous doyons monseigneur bonne vey et longue de Rome ce mercredi au sort Troisième de Septembre l'an mil cinq cent trente Troyes.

Votre très humble serviteur

Joseph Cardinal de Tournon

A Monseigneur

Monseigneur le Duke d' alumpe
Honneur et moy avons reçu vos lettres par Nymammon et que luy avez ordonné comme pourrez entendre par luy et nouvelles mesulx reçu faite que de remettre les choses à Monseigneur mestre qui me semble à ester l'occasion de vous faire respecter les soins pour le naufrage et l'eau pour les cas motines que n'eussiez eu promptement si l'adresse m'eust est, audit Seigneur mestre lequel m'a dit qu'il vous escripsoit et bailler à bien ample mensonge encore de Nymammon et par exprest de plusieurs gens de guerre dans les galeries et œulx du pape et de Madame et l'Urbin dans les navoyes et l'aventure auquelle chas vos fluvemoit et comme j'ay entendu le Roya trouvèt estrange à l'oeil et qu'ay donné au pape de mener madame à l'Urbin à Nîpce entre les mains de œulx qui sont auait Nîpce avec quelz n'ont
tant voulue faire pour le pape de lui accorder la venue avant lieu et m'a dit monseigneur le monseigneur le grand maître qui est de l'ordre 
qu'on peut faire difficulté à recevoir maître Dames d'Herbier et quant ceux qui sont là pour le pape verront cette difficulté vous les pourrez donner 
adois et confort que de leur apprênez comme d'habitude même pour postre 
être assuré d'adois que la menace est plus avant dans le royaume en la 
seurte de la main de roy comme monseigneur le grand maître m'a fait entendre 
le seigneur grand placé au Roy et à la 
est aduly du conseil. 
Toutefois suis assuré que vous y ferez pour la miépr 
gardant votre honnête et proponne 
et le tout au plus près qu'il vous sera 
possible pour le service du Roy la plus 
grande parque que tout la cour a cert que 
ladite venue soit longue et mise 
en dispute. 
Monsigneurs je trouve monseigneur 
le grand maître plus affectionné envers 
vous et je hais meilleur visage due
je ne luy veys jamais a ce qu'il me
semble du noyaut, et en fait la
migype que je croys qu'il vendra fort
que vous souvenez contant de luy biases
et de l'ayranent vous dier tante
mouvelles qui sera occasion de ne vous
faire plus longues lettres sinon que
le seigneur de Paris est malade et pour
le soustenir et creuer vous donner en
rant en tres bonne et tres longue ore
de Marseille ce xiii° jour de septembre.
A ce que ma diuer monseigneur le
grand meurtre sera bon d'abreger ceet
veue le plusser et qu'il sera possible
et sera grand plaisir au Roy et a
toute la compagnie. Quant a
l'affaire de Clermont monseigneur
le grand meurtre ma diuer que a voulu
venue et l'ons ny fera de cent
que vous veuez contant et autre
chose n'ay plus avoir de luy
voulu tre humble et tres
louebissant serviteur

De Strousse

a Monseigneur.
Monsieur, j'ai reçu les lettres et tant ce que m'avez envoyé par

le Sieur de Myrammont présent pour le

que j'avais envoyé vers le Roy

comme il vous dira, pensant qu'on

vous devra envoyer de l'argent de

dela pour repaix à ce que demandez

mais il n'a seulement rapporté lettres

pour vous en faire délivrer que comme

vous entendiez par-luy. Et c'est cause

nous contraindre affin que l'affaire de

Roy, une demeure ne, de vous faire fournir

pour cette ligne de l'argent, du payement

des gens de guerre, que vous avez la cing

cens de guerre pour la paye d'un mois

de naissance. Ragouge que vous avez retirer

et cing cents livres pour les cens, boîte

que l'honneure du trésorier qu'il est

la delivera qu'ay que suis ordonner

je crois. Monsieur que ayant l'advice

néf avecquis les autres que vous, menées

et le galion que je vous ay depuis

envoyé qui donnent sept cens escus

le moys dont le Roy ne recevaitemens
sera bien assez pour ce qu’aucun affaire
semble j’apporter plus autant de maître
Ses est de Tyrannmon qui est si
écoutant pour le voir faire entendre
peuque je lui ai dit de ce que me
semble yon ne dout faire en votre
voyage pour le devoir de la roy que je
lui feray tout de vous en espacpe
autrement qui me fera remettre la
démonstrant pour lui duquel entendre
l’assiduité que j’ay fait pour
avoir ce que est nécessaire pour
l’acquement de laԴillaume de nostre
Saint Pierre mais encore m’en est
rien envoyé je y ferai tout ce qui
me sera possible en attendant de ces
nouvelles et de votre arrivée avec
madame D’Arpin à Nape qui sont
destinée à Grant devoir pour les
causes que vous ay par aydevant
receptes et que vous entendez par le
dit l’apparition que je vous
ai prét croir décé que je ten ay pris
vous dire demain par
Au demeureur Monsieur je...
Monsieur, depuis mes lettres comptées et à ce matin huit heures, Monsieur de Gilbert, ce matin qui a trouvé Monsieur le Grand Mestre voulant de la masse lequel je vous assure, monseigneur a ce qui nous joyeux des bonnes nouvelles qu'il a apporées qu'il n'est possible de plus et le contenant à ce que j'ai peu entendu merveilleusement de vous il dépende le duc de Gilbert pour se devant le Roy lequel je croye sera encore plus joyeux. Je suppie le Créateur que le tout fasse aller selon votre vœu et intention et à voire grant profit et honneur monseigneur le duc de Gilbert m'a dit que pouvions avoir le logis de Monsieur de Chateauneuf qu'il se retor honorable me en réputation au bien où il est, aussi qui est en ung recouvr et manœuvre me et si y sont les mulles si petites que ni vouliez faire.
quelque banquet s'on ne vas pourroir
aies encore bien peu pour voir
ordinaire deublement et ci sera toujours
bien voir quand il vous plaing par
nous n'avons pas bailler par les
Fourriers a Monseign de Conroye qui
y est logé et celluy de Mons de L
Blancard est beau les chambre et
palais fort bien tapissées de belle
apparence et en Beaux lieux de réputation
qui sera bien aue mais que le logis
qui est devant me rogit deslieux comme
j'espere que sera je y voulloy faire
une pont pour aller de l'une a l'autre
mais je suis certain que madame
Madeleine ne vouluevo que l'on perco sa
maison ny ne vous plaing m'en decembre
uny but que je lui presque monterez
et aussi quelque lettre a monast de le
Grand maistre pour avoir logis pour ceux
de votre maison et gentilig hommes qui
sont avec vous aultrement il nous
en sera plus baillé que monigtz je
m'en doute
Monseigneur Quant à Monseur Contet moment après que ses seuls voyant qu'il ne servit que de dépense et qu'il avoit bien voy de retour avant le veu du Pape il s'en est allé en sa maison et doit être de retour à la Cour dans demain ainsi qu'il me dit et depuis n'a cessé de faire et il est à lui d'où il le bougera qu'il ne reache votre retour je leur ay montré les lettres qui sont dans vos coffres suivant ce que vous plaiz me commander et les ay au bailliez et reprent pour remettre audit coffre qui én a extrait ce qu'il a vouu qui l'est devenu pour votre retour il est allé audit Les pour ce que les lettres sont icy messieu et qu'il y est à mons de dépense voyant aussi que pendant voctro demain il ne feray icy aucune chose
Monseigneur après m'ayant tant et ci loin humblement qu'il n'est possible à voctro bonne grâce de suppléer le créateur vous donner en santé icy bonne et très longue icy de Marseille le ca. X. me jour de septembre de tout voctro très humble et très obhissant serviteur Givrand Lyon
Dupuy 1486
Monseigneur je receus hier par
Sal. 263, Tlénneau 100 lettres du feu de
ce mois et ayceste aussi aise quil
est possible d'avoir entenue la
deligne que vous avez faict et le pape faict son compte que si
vous n'etez deja de retour a
largonne vous bien eteze guieres
long par quoy il fait toujours
la meilleure diligence qu'il peut
de ay randre bientost ayant aviant
son plus de seigneurie de vous y
faire. Ici attendez que moy qui eux
votre serviteur recausoy rassoir vous
ayez vue par ce que libertez vous
portez demeurement et aussi le
corrir que j'ay depexé depuis au
Roy la recution qui estoit lors de
toutes choses qui vous aura toujours
donné occasion de continuer votre
deligne. Quant a ce que vous mi
ceschirez destreoy et ce mele
qui estoient avec la Duchesse vous
avetz bien faict de les contentez
le mellet que vous avez pris jusques
à ce que nous ayons entre nos mains l'ingr avoix ordre dela lais
souvre authentique que à la florentine
quant aux navires dont j'ay vu qui
monseigneur le grand maître nos seigni-
ors furent point plus grand despence ou Roy
je vous escrevoz dernierement par
l'aud. liberté qu'il mettoit point
besoin d'encan plus large
que ceux que vous avez menés de
Marcelle ravoix les galères mais de
devoir bien faire que vous mandiez
venir en force frégates et bregantines
au port car chacun 'Cardinal emprendroit
et les paysoit mil en avoir affaires et
n'auraitdoit seulement mais qu'il
enpeuvent trouver à quoy je vous
playroz devenant le meilleur ordre que
vous pouvez en nous advien-
ont continuern de vocto inenrubà hant
ligorne par ra Marcelle est récuses
de s'embarquer là et d'il est advenir
pour certain que vous yvoyez cela
le chaîs en davantage da Marcelle
prend le droit chemin avoit...
vigorne sans passer par Florence
Monseigneur fuyant avec que vous recevez
Monseigneur le Grand maître de l'Ordre de St Pons et de l'abbaye de Touneus
de Quoy je m'y reinvite... de l'Empereur
Monseigneur le Cardinal... Fanez qui a
été malade... maintenant bien
quoy ne m'en diez bien qu'il ne
sera pas point à cette veue ne croye je
mon chasne... que la maladie
n'est point venue que pour cette parti
de Rome avant les plages et cela
l'agance de ne m'etre plus avant
en chemin que ces grandes chaleurs
ne soient passées car vous recevez
qu'il est déjà veuex... Tous fois je
suis veux que pour cette veue il faut
bonne chance Monseigneur je me
recommande toujours bien humblement
to cette bonne grace... Broyant nostre
seigneur qu'il vous doynt tres bonne
roye et longue... de Sancte Clerice
commande au matin... de septembre
je n'ai pouvoir... parler au Pape
des beneftes de Ternex comme le
n'écrit pas pour me voir pomer [sic].

Ce bon [sic] car nous avons passé à Troyes de sa maison, et avons reçu qu'il est très bien, et bien. Que foiblement peu du mal, qu'il a eu sur la garder, tenant pour faire ce voyage

Mes très humble serviteurs,

Je l'ai dit de Tournon.

S'il le grant mien, ma dit que le Roy a Monseigneur d'Albany

voulant part ente ne son... autrefois fils de ce que je nomme seigneur de Rome, appartenant à la sainte de... Part du Papre seance de mon parler,

je l'andu les lettres de monseigneur le Cardinal de Tournon. Et l'ordre
d'expédi le grant mien, pour les vous envoyer, ny il aventure la


Monsieur, cette présente lettre vous renvoie seulement que pour vous faire entendre que messieurs le grand mecré de votre part est en va auparavant à déléguer vers le Roy que m'a dit que je demeure au Roy est que je ferai que il soit à venir mondet le grand mecré m'a dit que le Roy letier pour contant de ce que mondet de libertés lieu à part de votre part est mondet encore plus de ce que le comte venant de Rome apporera la part du Pape assurance de son partement je rende les lettres de monseigneur le Cardinal de Tournon à mondet le grand mecré pour les vous avoyer ay d'avenir que vous despéchez mondet de son le grand mecré m'a dit que fera très bien entendre au Roy le bon servise que vous faictes et que parlera de tout ce sous affaires je vous mondat veignez le grand
au pour bonne volonté défaire pour vous tout ce qui pourra. 

Pourquoi l'a-t-on desreché pour

San retourner vers vous depuis dimanche sans la fréquetter qui 
hous est si une mondair ancelaine 
grant mercre manne au clerc qu'est 
avec nous pour le трésoriers 
de la marine vous babinner 
ainsi sans aucun pour la manière que 
aves princes et V. pour l'este ordinaire 
que croys oy n'a eu fortune ne sera 
vers vous prier ouest. Que ses présentes 
Libertés est a la Cour et il ney a 
rien de nouveau le Roy la Reigne 
et tout le monde fêt bonne chose 
grace a Dieu monsieur de St. Jos 
a est en peu malade maist et 
guerre grace a Dieu tous maist de 
que le Roy ne viendra pas yez jusques 
à ce que le pape y soit pour faire plus 
grant honnour au pape de le retuir 
Touvrir la ou il sera monsieur 
de licences se recommande très 
humblement a voutré bon grace
et ma foi que le Roy parlet l'autre jour
duant d'ille monsieur d'Orleans et
Madame d'Aubigny de courrevois Beau
Regant et Bollion et les autres dont
que l'evques de Clermont vient tant de
la mesnie de Bologne que des Comtes
de l'archieque de l'aparage
et que l'evques a puie de bien
des armes de l'evthes ensemble
labuge que il a auprès de Clermont
roye touts les nouvelles que vous
puis mandar pour le present que cero
da foi après avoir paye a houari
seigneur monseigneur tous donnes
tres bonne et tres longue soy
De Navarre le 8 Ulle Semebre
housire tres humble et
tres houciuant seigneur
De Struyfse.

A Monsieur
Après avoir tout a fait, je vous prie d'envoyer une lettre de votre du XIIème de sept ce mois-ci et me dire si vous ne vous y faites une réelle mention des lettres que je vous ai adressées par ma diligence et par le conseil que j'ai apporté de votre pour avouer le Roy du parlement de Paris qui auront tous deux choses de passer par vous.

Or monsieur pour vous avouer de la résolution de Sa Santé, bien que je croie que de cette heure vous l'auriez entendu après avoir vue la dépêche de Bléneau et que maintenant et tout à cette heure Sa Santé le m'a fait entendre. Qui est de se contenter l'embarquer de lentille corsetes à Bologne et de voyer sa Santé au dernier. Il est point. Si à son avis qu'il est gratuit besoin de faire encore trop ou quelle journée par lettre de l'aventure. Il me voit personne de vos est de moyay félon en la place de sa Santé qui n'aurait plus de respect à la Santé. Soyez sante.
Qu'il n'a pas de renvoi que vous prête Monsieur,
que vous attendre autre dépêche vous
voulez faire venir les galiers à Téborm
et ne se fâche point cabane s'il y a
changerment d'opinion en ces parties
desquelles il y veulent se mettre. Si
puis le Sainteté du très bien que vous
avez commande 
commandement du Roy
que luy ayez exception de faire entièrement
ce que cedite Sainteté vous ordonnera,
etant bien nouvel que vous en avez
aussi bonne sontante que le Roy le vous
titul de commander par ainsi
Monsieur que vous ressemblez que s'il
vous plaist vous ne faillez de vous
rendre vos deux galiers à Téborm ou
se prenne que sa Sainteté pourra ester
lundi ou mardi au plus tard quant à
ce que vous me mandez de la famille
du Pape ge ne vous ay tant dejoyo
mande que sa Sainteté ne veuli que
trois galiers pour luy et trois vos
Génois et une pour le Cardinal de
Medicio puy de deux en deux Cardinalo
une galère et je vous ay supplyé
Saurez d'uno pour moy que est
le chef Ragusaone je ne vous pas d'ado-
ne vous. La je retenez veu que ceux
la du Roy vous pourront envoyer pour
les plus privilégeois et de devoir qui en
aura a faire en prendre a ses dispen-
Bien empe je d'ados comme je vous
ay escrite que vous faurez dire a
ceux qui ont les baches deleui
ce l'on e'mbarchera pour ay-
 trouver ou ilz pourront gagner beau-
conn d'argent et si d'aventure le vent
ne vous pourroit envoy pour ramener
audit histoire cendel navires et nous
en faul dre adven compenser en
on envoye la pluspart de la familie
se embarquen par leon a la Spee.
Quand aux nourris que me mandez pour
les detto familles he recuerait faillen
demotere dans leurs marnes chais
vallies pain et ton pour la bouche
les maistres chacun aura quelque
fregate a ses despecs pour faire refors
de boucher toutes les jours je vous entr'aperçois par Gilbert ; je m'aperçois de gens de galle, plus que pourrez car il n'y aura cette des Cardinaux qui pourro[a]t amener m'envoyer de vingt ou vingt-cinq personnes.

Je croyo[a]t les deux Cardinaux en chacun galle qu'avant un cinquante je vous supplie Monsieur et vous m'auroyez espéré quelque après avoir vu la despeche de Blenner que vous con

ven attendriez point la réponse. Quand je vous auroye excepte cent foy. Je me retrouve vous mande aultres chose de la résolution de sa seanté et me semble que pas la je réponds à tout ce que vous m'aurez exempt par volet dit à lettre aux quoy je feray la fin de ployer maître pèlerin qui il vous doynt. Monsieur bonne sain. et longue de Florence 

ce vendredi 17e de septembre a ma

Voire humble serviteur

9 Cardinal de Tolone.
Permet-que je vous aye averti que les
approches du Roy errent pour les plus
privileges et que je crains que si vous
renoncez autrui moyen de dechangers
vos galeres vous mordiez la dedans
sont:- ce de que vous voudiez les
dechanger soit de gens ou autres choses.
et cins.Cardinaux veulent meners
plus grand nombre de gens que deers
est dit objet le pourvouront de
fregates et comme ils voudront


Leur partement de Rome duquel ils se sont partis dimanche et qu’ils arrivent en ce lieu aujourd’hui. Dout entièrement a voire bon 

Cesurien et commandement j’ai trouvé icy votre secrétaire present 

porter un lequel ma semblé avoir 

aller prendre sous le chemin de la Spece pour que le gouverneur de cette ville m’a certifé que vous 
y estez arrié et les navires qui 

etonnent venus a ligorne n’en estent 

retournés et ainsi que je nay pour 

reçu qui la deliberation que vous 
pont monseigneur receu de 

Rome qui on s’embarque vont a la 

Spece n’est changée et muser et en 

bien et nouvelles monseigneur nosse 

sur Sainct Pére n’est resté celle nuit 
a Pontgibond et demain le sors 

doysra secon a Castel Florentins.
Avent met long d'icy et tout autant de Lucques sa sainteté et petites journées et a le chemin non pas bon tout à l'
fois il a bon courage et pourroit bien non pouvoir aume qu'on ma mande je lui ay ecrêt des nouvelles aussi a mander
Cugneur de Tournon qui est encore à Florence et croy en partira demain
pour venir ici ou a Lucques je leur ay ecrêt que je revoy demain siè du palais audit lieu de Lucques et que dela je gray a vous s'il ne me mandent autre chose que une leure me due ung an de vos faire la reverence et vous bayer la main et vos palais sera une commander aucune chose je prévoy en ce chemin la a Petra sanerà ou a largane pour bien vous obey et me pe drey heure ne temps que je me nos autres de vous pour vous dure des mes fortunes que bien vous entendiez sans aucunelement clover mon texte et parmy tout eela
il y aura quelque bon remède
qui ne vous déplaira pas
accueillant que je le propoz que vous
trouverez à ce copun papel autant
a votre gré qu'en tels jamais
homme et autant bien délibéré de vous
faire cagnotre qu'il vous tint pour
son bon amy outre laffinité.

Monsieur, il est arrivé à
Higone, la nuit passée sept marins
chargés de grains qui enlament de
Pallome et ont yey certifié au
Gouveneur que André Doria était
arrivé à Higone et se mettrait en
ordre pour trouver Barbourene qui
était tiré devers Trapani en
Sicile vous euevez le quartier que
ceut. Bien y doint ce qu'il leur plavz
il ny a pour le present autre sinon
qu'il est quelque nouvelle de la mort
du Cardinal Monte qui estoit légal
à Rome que je taissoy demain sera
huyz pour vous seyn et guilleroy et
se recommandai bien fort à votre
bonne grâce à laquelle je me
Recommande très humblement
Monsieur mon créateur qui me donnt
soin bonne et longue vœu de Cyre
ce vendredi soir XIXe de Septembre
1583

Votre très humble et très humble
abbesse, évêque de
Nicaise Barné

à Monsieur
Monsieur le Duc d'Albano

La part qu'il sera

La culpabilité du temps, la cité, la terre, la mer
l'apport, la puissance, les guerres, la douleur,
l'âge, le froid, la pluie, la chaleur, la souffrance de
mes couvertures, de qui affamé, de qui cognad. Lors
de deux est affection qui repose
de lui, oblige quelque commande
que sa main soit envoyée
comme

si on vous est venus

si de mon expérience que je vous
Monsieur, encore que je sache, je ne vous scéant que trop que le plaisir de voir vos lettres est bien doux. Encore en la présence de monseigneur de Brachault, présent de l'intention de bien vouloir. Je vous ai envoyé par ladite lettre de Florence, et ce est raison que vous ne savez pas faire une plus grande pitié, a sa Saincteté, que de faire venir les galères à Lippe comme veuillez, monseigneur, la dit-à ce present, parlez que vous avez dit. Saincteté, et resalut en ceste. Je vous ay aussi parlé des affaires difficiles, saincteté, même la dit-à ce presente, le deus et affectation que vous avez de lui, allez quelque incommode que ce vous soit, et quant aux navires qui sont retourner à l'Espagne, comme mi escriquez la saincteté est de mon appareil que je vous
ay except durant Florence qui est
de les saisons. La ci le vent ne vous
peut arrerer et qu'il fera prendre des
varnaux pour porter le bagage qui
sera necessaire jugez a la dite
piece pour le mettre la dans vos
navires et quelques passeroir pour
les barquiers on aurra avec
les. Voici ceux hommes desquels
vous me avez mande que avez
dechargé les galleons et quant a
cel que vous diuis que je vous ay
except recoulement que le pape
n'embarqueront a la piece il est
bien voy a que je vous ecouragiez
par Gerberoy. Que de mon appor
rea samlette seront pour s'embarquer
la car des lors de dite samlette n'en
parla toujours lors si vous regardez
bien la lettre que je vous ecouragiez
j'en cuide que vous y trouverez que
de Piece en fons je vous en Deboyp
fais entendre la resolution et si
vous deuez passer autant ou non
ce que j'ai fait incontinent que
que j'ay entendu le changement: par Bléneau et si je ne l'eusse trouvé si a prospé se vous eusse dépêché quelqu'un aulcie pour vous en advertir. Quant aux Cardinauls et gens que le pape veuli bien mener auezques lieu je vous ay \_descript ce croy je deus en trop pour que le pape ne veuli avoir pour lui et pour le Cardinal de Medecis que quatre galères et que chacun couble des Cardinauls aulz la pierre desquels Cardinauls fevons ay envoyé la liste par le damnis et croy a mon advies qu'il ny en aurra. Que XIII ou XIII j'ay encore cejour d'uy parler au Pape du port des galères qui a \_dit que ci les voeux ne sont d'aucun autre sorte que ceult qu'il a accoutume de veoir elles doivent porter outre les charmes et cinquante hommes de guerre cinquante personnes voire centante pomes que ce vus. Samuelle veoir que la lune Dieu mercy s'est tournée en beau quant à mon fêché.
parlé que comme trois égarant de la marine et bien raporté que vous autres seigneurs gens de mer y recevez. Quant aux vivres de quoi m'empiez que ma joy je n'eust veu comment en commencer le proprz au pape pour le grand chaste et peu de vivres qu'il y en ce paup cey et pour le peu de reputation que avoient nos galères d'estre partis de France mal armées toutes fois comme de moy meemes je feray regarder s'il y auront moyen d'avoir des bleuz qui sera bien difficile. Quand aux gardes au pape dont esempiez sa sanetete est délibérée de sepeche auparavant une maréchal de logiez fourriers et un chambrier rein pour aller à Livorne lesquielz vous porterez la liste de tout ce qu'il fandra pour le pape broue sa sanetete ma toutefois dit comme je vous ay escrirt qu'il se contente de troup galères et eine pour le Cardinal de Mécici quand à celles des Cardinaux.
il y a attendent... comme je vous ay escript... de mener chacun x x ou x x v personnes qui aient pour deux x e on censurant par galee jene acauy s'il d'abondent sans ceste. Quand il m'ay dit porter si peu de bagage que j'ay envoyé à ljvorne arrester des barches et y mettre ce que la galee que vous me prestez si il vous plaist se pourra porter car d'en envoyer de mon bagage par terre ce est impossible que le seigneur fasse aut part que de n'avoir habi de Cardinale tapisserie ne vaiselle quan je seray au lieu en ce sera la voie que je ne rouve nommer non plus que vous de quoi le Pape a esté terriblement aire quand je le lay au dit j'ay aussi parle à Sa Saclellet de vouotre chambre dans sa galee de guoy. il est tres content et qu'il sera tres avec de vous y voir bien ensu je d'apprenz que vous y menez la noun de gens que vous pourrez je ne lay au pont parlé de vos bochea pour ne écaui...
auldre raisons que je ne reapressemme
par sa demeure. Parse a y mettre
des men pour m'etre point pressee
j'ay dit a sa samelte que nous ne
demandez ce lieu dans sa dite galereque
pour cette pres de luy a le seoir et
entendre a toute heure des commandements
pour luy obeir. Et vous adverz que la
lette par laquelle vous m'escrio que
voce ditte chambrer qui estoit du
XVI je ne la receue que apres que je vous
euz respondu de florence a celle du XVII
qui me garde d'en faire mention en
mad lettre. Mon dengermeur pour aventurhe
que c'ain n'est pas crot bon a Peres le
Pape fait compt de faire appuy le
sejour qu'il est fait la et cependant il
fait a cheminer long le train a Peres
pour incontinent que nous reausons
voent arriver a lyorne sa samelte
s'y achemynera et pourra repoener
un jour au audit Penne ou je croyo que nous
le viendra assez et vous assure
que ferez grant plaisoir a nostre def
Saint Pere et de la on pourra faire
commencer à s'immiscuer dans le monde par la révolution de sa lamette. C'est de demeurer pas une heure s'il peut audir Lycee, jay dit audir Bonchault que mon appartion est qu'il allast prendre à Lycee une fregatte pour vous aller trouver de plus que après ma dépeche de Florence vous voyez deja party pour venir audir Lycee et en ce je vous feray la fin de propre nostre église en qu'il vous dons monseigneur bonne voie et longue de St. Ympato ce demanche XXIe de Septembre après veepres
vos humble serviteur
chevauch le Cardmuc de Lison

A Monseigneur
Monseigneur le Due d'Albany
Monsieur, je vous avoue que je réfléchis bien fort à ce qui vous arrivera. Le Roi, voulant arrêter l'affaire, a demandé à Madame la Duchesse de l'Angleterre de revenir à Paris et de me faire des nouvelles. Elle m'a dit que vous aviez été renvoyé par plusieurs fois et que vous étiez parti. Je demeure huit jours à la Cour. Je ne saurais dire que l'on est sûr de votre retour. Vous parlez de la beauté de Madame et de l'âge de la Roye et de Madame, que de toute la Cour.

Monsieur, et Dames, et Dames, et Soeurs.
laquelle se recommande à votre bonne grâce aussi fel monseigneur le Leguas
monseigneur devantages ma prié faire ses très humble recommandation à
votre bonne grace vous suppliant avoir souvénance de luiz se me
bougeré dicy regnairnt subito
depeche ru ne me est quant de me
mande monseigneur pour ou perre
me recommander vous bonne plage
pour ou recelx vous habery suppliant
notre eligneur monseigneur vous doner
longue vie ay cante de Marseille
de xxii e de sept

in continent que monseigneur d'Orléan
me cri il raigier et monseigneur
d'Angalème luiz depor pour guy ne
me demandant des nouvelles de sa
defame de quoy il fut fort content
quel tous luiz en fayst la guere
bistre tres humble et tres
mon habbersant servylynk
Dugibertes

à monseigneur le duc d'Albâtre
Dijon 2186.

Salut ! Monsieur jusques en ce lieu de Bellefonds monsieur le Cardinal de Boullongne avec votre frère a souffert et enduré une travail de mer mauportable a la St Rè de Quivy je vous puis assurer que j'y en deux displeasure comme une tel peresente que je suis a lui et aussi que l'avez voulu et que je suis doi avoir l'une pour lui veoir tant endurer que est le moins l'autre que la mort ay voulu quil n'ayt pus comporter plus outre pour supplier voceté absence et monter a ceul qui recavez qu'il est plus que besong de tournier a l'ecole aires quoy que royt. Monsieur et en a assez fait et tant que nature sante aie bien contenu tres bien et assez plus qu'il ne paart pas du oit que royt nous entendez et monter Seigneur Rime le vous dare a bouche et je vous en escopray plus autlong arrêt que roys
À Rome, sans doute, n'est pas temps en
Ponsigneur, monseigneur Rome
En retourne. Pour vous trouver et
Avoir donner tout travail en l'affaire
Deconvenir tenant, obtre promesse
À Rome de quoy ne vous feray
Replique monseigneur vous dire quelle
Est observée et que pour voire
Honneur et bien il ne se y
Trouve faulde, autrement vous
Venez plaing à tous vos ennemisp
eur envoy celsx et pour ce plus
Ne vous en dicent, monseigneur par le
Premier que de mandera de cette
cour, je ne fandray de vous
Envoyez la requittance de nostre
Saint Père que que aujour de mariage
Selon votre memoine et ci autre
Chose voulez vous velez obéy et
Croyez qu'il reviendra ainsi tout
autant que les autres choses dont
Vous avez vue les effectz et je
Vous advis de ce surplus que vous
Me mandez Jehan de Turnes pour
Les affaires du Cardinal et autres
Cet vous en fevez bien Monseigneur
Dieu vous dont la très bonne
voy. de Villefranche en la
gallerie ce dimanche xvié jour de
novembre 1533

 humble et tres
obéissant serviteur
Nicolas Rainice

A Monseigneur

Monseigneur le Duc d'Albany

"
Dupuy 1862. Monseigneur je vous écris par Monsieur le Cardinal de Sainte Colombe qui vous aura compté 80° plus de l'état de son et aussi du nostre et plus a plaint vous attendra Monseigneur de Sainte Colombe votre bien serviteur comme aussi est Monseigneur de Ste. Blanchard homme de bon entainement et de grand entreprise de l'un et de l'autre desquels ont vu le grand danger que notre Se prêse a passé de quoi jusqu'au roy q'au roya à Rome je ne ne nous accroît autantement simon que sa Saintete est iévy avec sa joûte qui le travaille fort en attendant de s'en aller par terre où il aura la commodité raison par l'amour pour abréger chemin tout au mieux qu'il pourra et le court. En écrivant de Rome Monseigneur touchant l'osebre affaire j'ai aussi trouvé centaine bersons qui devient le contract et avant passer
La guérison de qui il est nécessaire pour votre nouvelle qu'il envoie la note dudit contrat qu'il a
à Rome. La ou je ne saurais de faire expérier. Ce tout bien est vrai qu'il
devrait requérir que je fusse arrivée
que des que à quel temps vous avez
reçu et la dette de voûte
dernière guérison et ne ferez
que bien me le mandez immédiatement
pour vous gérer de toutes fashions
pour le temps advenu comme
entendez trop malheur que moy qui
me gardera en dure autre

Monseigneur j'envoie présentement
à monder Seigneur le Cardinal la
bref pour prendre la possession
de ses deux abbayes sans au premier
levez ses belles qui est ung beau
passer droit et qui se fait après
de gens. J'espère qu'il pourra
comprendre que pour l'amour de vous
il trouvera de grand amour et
de bons serviteurs qui pour le
prenent cela fin me recommandant
Très humblement à voctre bonne grace Messire, je prie à Dieu qu'il vous doint très bonne voie et longue de la Specie ce dimanche dernier jour de novembre 1533.

Votre très humble et très obséssant serviteur
Nicolas Ramée

A Monsieur
Monsieur le Duc d'Albany
La place ou il sera