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Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543

THE truce of Nice in 1538 closed the third war between Francis I. and Charles V. ; and Paul III., contemplating a Catholic league against Henry VIII., found it expedient to make David Beaton cardinal in order to secure the adhesion of Scotland. In the condition of German affairs, however, the Emperor feared to risk a conflict with England, and the failure of the league gave Henry an opportunity to deal with the King of Scots.

The past conduct of James V. lent some colour to the view that he might be induced to adopt his uncle's ecclesiastical policy. In 1531 he had approached Clement VII. with his plan for a College of Justice ; but the project, excellent in itself, was made the pretext for the sweeping demand that the churchmen should contribute £10,000 Scots annually to the crown. The Pope, in his anxiety to preserve the allegiance of Scotland, at first acquiesced : then the clergy, led by Archbishop James Beaton, entered a vehement protest : finally a compromise was reached by which the tax was restricted to a period of three years. James used the contributions of the reluctant churchmen to improve his palaces, and when he broached the subject of a new tax he did not find Paul III. so facile as Clement VII. had been. Prelates had feued church lands, had paid their contributions out of the considerations received, and had placed the responsibility for the business upon the Pope. Paul III. was disinclined to repeat the experiment, unless the money were to be spent on the defence of the church. It was politic enough to grant David Beaton the cardinal's hat ; but to make him legate *a latere*, as James vehemently desired,

would be to give the king's chief minister a dangerous power in relation to ecclesiastical property. It was not wonderful, therefore, that Henry VIII. hoped to find an apt pupil in his avaricious nephew, and suggested the bold course which he himself had followed. There was, at the least, a chance of creating strife between the king and the spiritual estate.

One factor in the situation, however, Henry left out of his account. James was perfectly conscious that he could not afford to alienate the churchmen, and that his financial schemes must not be too ambitious. The maladroit diplomacy of the English king in the end drove the unfortunate James to adopt the warlike attitude which it was the whole object of the ecclesiastical authorities to produce.

The situation, which was soon to end in the disaster of Solway Moss and the tragic death of the King of Scots, was in part created by the turn of European politics. Francis I. declared war upon Charles V. in 1542, and, while he would have preferred the active support of England, he was determined to procure, if possible, at least her neutrality. The Scots, on their part, looked with apprehension upon negotiations which might leave Henry VIII. free to mature his plans of conquest. Cardinal Beaton failed to obtain French aid in a Scottish war against England: he failed even to bring about an understanding between Francis and Henry which would secure his own country; and finally he was induced to believe that war was preferable to a peace which might be rudely broken when Henry saw his opportunity. James and his clergy would be united in a common cause: the Pope could not refuse to confirm ecclesiastical subsidies: the danger to an indispensable ally would force the hand of Francis: Protestant opinion might yield to the dictates of patriotism.

It was a significant fact that Paul III., aware of the hostilities with England, but ignorant of the king's death, granted James six-tenths of ecclesiastical fruits for two years, and appointed the Cardinal as collector. Francis, too, was angry with Henry, because he began to see that the English king intended to crush Scotland and then turn upon him. But his wrath was turned into consternation when he heard that Arran, as Governor, had thrown in his lot with the English faction, and that the Cardinal was a prisoner. Something must be done at once to restore the French party to power. To make matters worse, a fortnight after Beaton's arrest Henry entered into a treaty of alliance with the Emperor. In response to the French king's urgent appeal, Paul III. chose the

nephew of that Dominico Grimani who, as Cardinal of St. Mark, had been the protector of Scotland at the court of Rome in the first quarter of the century; and on March 25, 1543, he announced to the Scots that he was sending Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, to collect the subsidy and dispense it for their defence and the liberation of Beaton. As a matter of fact the dexterous Cardinal was already in his own castle of St. Andrews, and all but free.

The tragedy of James V. was followed and relieved by comedy. Beaton, distrusting Arran, had tried to push him out of the governorship to which he was entitled. The Earl suspected that Guise was coming to control affairs; and there was Lennox, by birth the next claimant, in whom the Cardinal would find a willing ally. Consequently Arran decided to fortify himself by reinstating the Douglasses and receiving the lords captured at Solway Moss, who had cheerfully sworn to support Henry's schemes. The immediate result of the coalition was Beaton's arrest. Not that Arran had the least intention of presenting the dominion of Scotland to Henry VIII.: it was merely a race for power in which competitors were tempted to sail dangerously near the wind. But while Henry never quite succeeded in appreciating the manner in which the political game was played in Scotland, some of his servants were more experienced. Thus, while the Governor was writing to Lisle in an edifying strain and requesting a consignment of Bibles, Lisle had some men watching his correspondent's house for agents of the Cardinal. The arrest had been unpopular; and for Arran to deliver Beaton to Henry would have been to commit political suicide. The Parliament in March, which agreed to the project of an English marriage for the infant queen, left the Cardinal's case severely and significantly alone. Arran's conduct was determined by the danger from Lennox. Beaton could not be handed over to England: it might even be prudent to anticipate future combinations by conniving at his liberation.

The next stage was amazing enough. Beaton expressed readiness to serve Henry, and would agree to the projected marriage, always saving the independence of the realm. While the English solemnly discussed the phenomenon, obviously intended to postpone their warlike activities, Lennox appeared out of France, and the Cardinal's real policy was proved by an immediate coalition, while John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, set himself to remodel the views of his brother, the Governor. Henry's exorbitant demands served only to restore Beaton's influence, and the clergy, without

awaiting the Patriarch, voted a large subsidy for the defence of the church and the realm. Arran, who told Sadler that he would make short work with Grimani, and talked loudly of reformation, had just written to Paul III., committing Scotland to the protection of his Holiness. Yet the Governor was not seeking a reconciliation with the Cardinal, as he still deemed himself equal to the task of controlling the French faction. Beaton set about fortifying his castle: Lennox, who was in touch with him, saw to it that Dumbarton would not easily be taken, and dispatched a messenger to France for help.

Grimani meanwhile was in Paris. There he had an interview with an agent of Beaton, on the way to Rome, and an emissary of Lennox and the Queen Dowager. It was clear that the legate's presence in Scotland would be useless and even dangerous so long as Arran remained in power.

The Governor, according to the English agent Sadler, seemed now to 'wax cold' in his prosecution of Beaton and Lennox. He could not arrange any peace with Henry which would not endanger his own position, and if his rivals obtained assistance from France he might be in an exceedingly uncomfortable situation. Henry's purpose was to drive a hard bargain, or to profit by the civil war which would follow an agreement involving the abandonment of the French alliance. Yet, though Arran began to draw towards Beaton, he was not prepared for a *volte-face*. A treaty with Henry was arranged which included France, and postponed for years the sending of the little queen to England. Grasping the opportunity offered by even this modified agreement, Beaton summoned a council at St. Andrews, where the Governor was charged with misrule. The next step was to be the capture of Linlithgow and the seizure of the queen's person. Grimani, no doubt in response to an urgent message, rode post haste to Brest, but was disappointed to find that Henry and the Emperor had beset the channel so closely that he could not sail.

In Scotland the combatants faced one another but did not fight, Arran hoping that Beaton might become a party to the English treaty, Beaton waiting till Arran should be compelled to espouse the French cause. The Cardinal, who had to put off time in the expectation of French succour, succeeded in creating the pleasant impression that he would ratify the peace. Arran may or may not have been deceived. At all events he took no drastic action. Henry, on the other hand, was enraged; but in seizing certain Scottish ships he raised a storm of indignation and ruined the

prospects of his diplomacy. Before an English force could be even ordered the Governor had gone over to the Cardinal, and Mary was crowned at Stirling in the second week of September. Lennox, seeing his hopes crumble, left Stirling shortly after the coronation on the ground that his sister was ill. Fraternal affection was not, however, the only motive which determined his action.

Meanwhile Grimani seems to have lingered for two months at Brest. Though enjoying the dignity of legate he was in reality the tool of French policy, and his interest in the expedition perceptibly languished. More than a fortnight after the coronation at Stirling the ships at last set sail upon a voyage which the Patriarch describes with some gall. It was indeed irritating for a Venetian who in 1538 had been placed in charge of a fleet against the Turks to be carried at the arbitrary command of some unseamanlike French ambassadors; and he deserves all the credit which he claims for his patience. Fortunately for his self-respect the Frenchmen blundered in their own business of diplomacy, a point upon which Grimani did not fail to dwell.

James Stewart of Cardonald, who was sent to hasten the French succour and now returned with it, wrote to Beaton immediately on touching land that he had 'ane patriarche quhilk the pape has sent in Schotland, quhae sall do na thing bot as your lordship plessis command hyme.' But the Cardinal had not anticipated the arrival, or, more probably, could not venture into the west; and, as the voyagers could not be aware of the purpose which Lennox now conceived, that courteous and adroit nobleman took the opportunity to possess himself of the French money and lodge it safely in Dumbarton Castle. Angus, too, and certain of the 'English lords' were drawn to the scene with the intention of securing the adhesion of the serviceable Lennox and opening negotiations with Henry, after hearing the French envoys at Glasgow.

In his letter of October 15 Grimani gives an account of his adventurous journey to Stirling, where he found the Dowager and the Cardinal. Though Arran had joined Beaton, the English faction in the west was exceedingly strong, and the outlook was not promising. Writing from Stirling on October 24, the Patriarch thought that Scotland would go the way of England. The Queen and the Cardinal were financially exhausted, and, as regarded his own special function, the clergy were not receiving their fruits. While Beaton was using every expedient to increase

his following and secure support in the Parliament which was proclaimed for the first week in December, Grimani was lodged safely in St. Andrews, where, on November 27, he penned a depressing account of his position. His faculties had not been productive, as business had been done chiefly with Beaton's friends or poor persons, so that he was actually out of pocket to his scribe. It went without saying, of course, that in the condition of affairs the main object of his journey, the ecclesiastical tax, was out of the question. Accordingly he stated his intention of returning to France, and proposed to pass through England, preferring to trust Henry rather than the sea.

Leaving St. Andrews the Patriarch was in Edinburgh on November 30, in anticipation of the Parliament. When it met, he had an audience of the Scottish lords. A copy of the Latin speech which he had prepared for the occasion still exists. It was not, however, the somewhat heavy and occasionally inapposite eloquence of the legate so much as the diplomatic intrigues of the Cardinal that led to a decision for the French alliance.¹ The last of these letters from the Patriarch makes it clear that Beaton did not consider him of much importance, and yet treated him with every courtesy in order to secure for himself the coveted power *a latere*, which was the really vital point. Incidentally it appears that the French ambassadors, in their distrust of Arran, very nearly upset the concordat which the Cardinal had laboriously secured.

Shortly before Christmas Arran licensed a Scottish herald to procure from the English a safe-conduct for Grimani. His departure, however, was delayed. On February 29, 1543-4, he received an official letter of commendation to Paul III., in which praise was subordinated to an urgent request for legatine authority in Beaton's favour, a request which the Pope, now aware of the necessity, had already granted.

Henry was assailed by a fresh access of rage at the conduct of the Scots, and, while Hertford's invasion was soon to give his feelings a measure of relief, his hatred of Beaton was destined to become a permanent passion. Grimani obtained a safe-conduct, but in such terms that he preferred to hazard himself upon the water. It was perhaps intended, indeed, that he should go that way, since Paget wrote to Hertford on March 27, 'We have prepared as much as we can upon the sea to speak with my Lord

¹ The Patriarch in the speech mentions his relationship to the late Cardinal of St. Mark.

Patriarch.' The Venetian dispatched a letter of excuse to Henry, and tendered him some characteristically ponderous advice about making peace with France and reconciling the French King with the Emperor. 'Writing things so ill-grounded,' said the Imperial ambassador in England, 'only gives occasion to laugh at him.' As the Pope was urging the Venetians through Cardinal Grimani, Marco's brother, to join in defending Francis against Henry and Charles, the legate could hardly be secure on either element; but probably the main object of the English was to checkmate Beaton. They did succeed in intercepting the Cardinal's commission as legate, which they still retain.

Early in April the Patriarch took ship along with the Scottish ambassadors for the Continent, after writing an apology to the Dowager for the little he had been able to do for her. The voyagers escaped the English patrols and duly landed in France. It does not appear that Grimani thought fit to avail himself of a new passport granted on April 25, which permitted him under very precise restrictions to visit England by way of Calais. Some two months later we find him in Rome. Henry's agent at Venice reported to his master that Paul III. spoke openly of the cruel fashion in which the Scots had been treated, and turned to the Patriarch for his confirmation. Grimani 'spoke of those matters at length and much odiously.' The writer, with more obvious appreciation of Henry's character than of the real facts of the case, then proceeded to dwell upon the insolence of the Pope, who by sending the legate had been at the bottom of all the trouble. A few weeks later, probably at the beginning of August, the unfortunate Grimani, whose achievements were not in proportion to his labours, was dead.

There is one reference in these letters which, though it does not relate to the main purpose of Grimani's visit, involves a personality of some importance. 'The Reverend Master Robert, the Scottish Doctor,' can be none other than Robert Wauchope, often called 'the blind theologian' owing to his defective eyesight, one of the celebrated Scotsmen of his time. In July 1539 Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, was suspended by the Pope from primatial jurisdiction as he had been compelled to submit to Henry VIII., and Wauchope was made administrator. The Scotsman strove, like his friend David Beaton, to identify the cause of national independence with the maintenance of the Roman Church. When the abbey of Dryburgh fell vacant Paul III. had justification in pressing Wauchope's claims against Thomas

Erskine, the nominee of James V. As a result Wauchope incurred the charge of 'impetration,' or soliciting benefices at Rome without royal license; and in December 1540, as 'parson of Pennycuik,' he was summoned before the Lords of Council to hear himself declared a rebel and an outlaw from Scotland. Paterson, who gives some account of the man in his *Family of Wauchope*, supposes him to have been the son of Archibald Wauchope of Niddrie-Merschell. He appears in fact to have been a son of that Gilbert Wauchope who died not long before Grimani's arrival.

[Authorities: *Henry VIII., Letters and Papers*, where other letters of the Patriarch are calendared; *State Papers (Venetian)*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*; *Correspondence of Mary of Guise* (MS. Register House); Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. iii.; Brady, *Episcopal Succession*; *Oratio habita a R^{mo} Patriarca Grimano legato apud Scotos*, copied by Dr. Maitland Thomson from Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuitico 934, f. 155, and also extant in Arch. Secret. Vatic. xxxii, vol. 34, 'Bullae Diversae,' f. 151; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vols. iii. and iv.; *Rentale Sancti Andree* (Scot. Hist. Soc.).]

R. K. HANNAY.

INSTRUCTIONS

Vat. MS. 7160 fol. 138. 6.

April 1st (1543).

FIRST to travel with all speed to the Court of France and present to the Most Christian King his letter (breve) of introduction, and in virtue of these his credentials to set forth the cause for which our Lord, the Pope, sends him to Scotland, namely, to procure the liberation of the Most Reverend Cardinal of St. Andrews, if he be not already set free, and to help in maintaining and defending that kingdom in the Catholic faith and in its ancient liberty, etc., according to the wise suggestion and urgent solicitation of His Most Christian Majesty to the Pope. For which two purposes, seeing that His Holiness has conceded to him the six tenths, etc., as the King, in his lifetime had requested

him, so he will not fail in every other necessary assistance even to sending a certain force from the Apostolic See. In this is manifested the consideration in which the Holy Father holds that kingdom, the affection he bears to its Queen and to all the nobles and private persons appertaining thereto.

Item. To discuss with His Most Christian Majesty what seems to him the best way of reassuring and calming the minds of the nobles and of avoiding tumults and seditions, and, should His Majesty deem it expedient, to appoint, as soon as possible, a King to that realm, as has been suggested here to His Holiness. Enquiry should be made as to what His Majesty thinks good, and then every effort used to put his counsel into execution. Owing to his wisdom and his knowledge of that kingdom and the love he bears to it, he would not advise anything but what was useful and beneficial.

Item. To confer with His Majesty as to the time and manner of crossing over to Scotland in safety, without incurring danger from the English, and should this journey not seem to His Majesty either safe or necessary, you must not go further, but must remain in France, advising His Holiness of everything that takes place and await his reply; if, on the other hand, His Majesty encourages you to go forward and points out a safe course, you must, without further advice from here, continue your journey to Scotland, taking care to travel prudently both for your own sake and for that of your suite, and also with due regard to the dignity of the Apostolic See. But in any case, whether you decide to go or not to go, you must deliver up the letters that you carry for the French Court, and visit the Queen, Madame Marguerite, Madame d'Estampes, and the other lords and ladies of the Court, as you in your wisdom may judge proper, not forgetting the Cardinals of Tornon and Ferrara, and the Cardinal of Lorraine and Monsignor de Guise.

On your arrival in Scotland you must go directly to visit the Queen and those persons who are at the head of affairs in the kingdom, and blessing them in the name of His Holiness, give to each one his letter (breve) explaining the reason of your coming, as has been said above. And should the Cardinal of St. Andrews be already set at liberty, as is to be desired and hoped for, you must visit him, give him his letter, and inform him fully of your mission, and do nothing whatever without his advice and opinion, for he is experienced, very skilful, and of a good understanding. That which you resolve upon with him for the benefit of the

realm, His Holiness will consider decided. And should he be not yet set free—which God forbid—you must with the Queen and the other great personages of the land, forward his liberation by every effort in your power, His Holiness having nothing more at heart than this.

Item. To tell them of the authority you have to make the clergy of the realm pay the six tithes, according as the King, of glorious memory, had requested of His Holiness, and persuading the clergy to pay willingly, you must arrange, with the advice of the Queen and the lords deputed to the government of the country, that there should be appointed one or more treasurers of the tithes, persons of good standing and honest reputation, into whose hands the money must come and be afterwards spent as shall seem good to the Queen and to those who have charge of the kingdom. Your own dwelling-place shall be at Court, or wherever shall seem best and most expedient to you and to the above-named lords and to the Cardinal, if he be free.

The formalities must be carried out gravely and courteously, and without the least ostentation.

The powers with which you are invested must be employed in the service of the Lord our God, and for the edification and advantage of that kingdom, and in this you must exercise great care as regards your ministers, after the example of the Very Reverend the Cardinal Pole and of others who in past years have had embassies in those parts, etc.

Letters must be directed to the French Nuncio, to whom orders are given that he take means to forward them safely and quickly.

Should an opportunity arise of opening up favourable intercourse with England, it is left to your discretion to do so, with this warning however not to undertake anything that could be prejudicial to or that could bring disgrace upon the Christian Republic and the Apostolic See.

The duration of your stay in that country shall be long or short according to circumstances, and, if time will permit, you must inform His Holiness of your opinion and await the reply; and, if for any reason this is not possible, you must act on your own responsibility in this matter as well as in those spoken of above. Should it seem to you right to modify these instructions you are authorized to do so, especially if acting with the advice of the Cardinal of St. Andrews, if he be free, etc.

And should the state of affairs be such that His Most Christian

Majesty and those who govern the kingdom of Scotland desire to have assistance for the purpose of molesting England, there are in the latter country certain personages belonging to Scotland who, for the service of God, for the welfare of those islands and for the advantage to the Scots will expose their persons to every danger, and perhaps not without great results; which fact, according to the circumstances and the state of feeling you may find, you may notify first to His Most Christian Majesty, and afterwards in Scotland, or refrain from doing so, as shall seem to you best, etc.

Contemporary copy.

LETTER I.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord,

I have written many times to your Lordship since my arrival in France, the first letter was by a Venetian courier, the second by the Count of Mirandola, in which I gave an account of the audience I had with the King. I have since written several times by way of Lyons to relate what happened from day to day, and I think that all the letters must have reached their destination. I wrote recently on the eighteenth to report the news from Scotland, and now little is left for me to add, except that the King has letters from the Queen of Scotland, saying that the affairs of that kingdom are going on well, that she rules and is obeyed as Queen, and that she is sending one of her gentlemen to France to give to His Most Christian Majesty minute particulars of all that takes place in Scotland. The Cardinal of Tornon and the Cardinal of Ferrara have informed me, through my secretary, of all that I have recounted above. They say also that so soon as this Scottish gentleman arrives, the Most Christian King will decide about my movements, and that he will desire me to cross over to Scotland. I shall not fail to obey His Majesty, having been so commanded by His Holiness, and all the more willingly should I go could I feel sure of being able to serve the Holy Father as I desire, if only in allowing myself to be seen on occasions of ceremony and in granting favours and dispensations—to which I am wholly averse—but I shall go forward in any case with a good heart.

Monsignor Dandino arrived here on the 22nd, well and in good spirits. The day before, while with the Cardinal of Tornon, I heard that he was expected from hour to hour, Monsr. of Rhodes having written to the Cardinal to this effect. I have seen

him, and with the very greatest pleasure. And although he has not brought me letters, I feel happy to hear the good news he has given me of the health of His Holiness and of your Eminence.

The King came here for the festival of Corpus Christi ; he left this evening to sleep at Honè, three leagues hence ; it is said that he goes on to Villa Cottrè, but his further movements are not spoken of. I, for my part, believe that he will stay in this neighbourhood in order to see what the Emperor means to do, because if the King were to pass into Germany he thinks perhaps that it might give trouble on account of Flanders. These two princes seem to think of nothing else than of giving offence to each other without considering the action of the Turk or securing themselves against so powerful an enemy. If they will not move from this their attitude, they will repent too late, when there is no remedy. If I had had an opportunity, I should have unfolded my mind to His Majesty, but when I start for Scotland, if not before, I will say to him all that occurs to me, although I know my words will not bear much fruit. I know that the Holy Father will never be weary of continuing the friendly offices he has always exercised, and perhaps both the sovereigns reflecting upon the paternal exhortations of His Holiness, the ruin of Christendom, the distress of the nations and the common aspiration, may listen to the counsels of His Holiness, whom God preserve for many years for the sake of the public weal.

As regards news, I will leave that in the care of Monsr. Dandino. In conclusion, I humbly commend myself to the kind favour of your Eminence.

Your most humble servant,

MARCO GRIMANI, Patriarch.

From Paris on May 25th, 1543.

Addressed—

To the Most Reverend, Illustrious and Honourable, the LORD
CARDINAL FARNESE.

State Archives in Naples, Farnesian Correspondence, Bundle 709.

LETTER II.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord,

In my last letters, dated the 25th of July, I wrote that I was to start from Paris, and from these your Eminence will know of my arrival here to-day at Brest. I have journeyed with the greatest possible speed, expecting to find the ships here; they, however, have not appeared, and have not even been heard of, and it seems that everyone believes they are in no haste to come, perhaps dreading the Spanish, Flemish and English, who have a great number of armed vessels in these parts, and moreover do some damage. The other day they landed at Belle Ile, a little island near Vannes, and set fire to a good part of it. This island, as far as I understand, is feudatory to His Holiness and the Apostolic See, as are many others under the dominion of the King of England. These shores of Brittany, I hear, are well guarded and furnished with plenty of soldiers, so much so that they do not fear a sudden attack, but, should need arise, they would defend themselves valiantly, especially as Monsignor d'Estampes, governor-general of this province, is at no great distance with a large number of troops at command, to lend assistance if required. But returning to our chief point, I may add that I will await here the arrival of the ships, and so soon as they are come, no time will be lost, but with the first favourable wind we shall set sail for Scotland, and may it please God to conduct us thither in safety!

Nothing else remains to be said except to request your Eminence to be pleased to order the payment to Bandini of the 600 scudi which I had from M. Roberto di Rossi, and to Monsignor of Rhodes the last 1600 which I received by order of the Cardinal of Tornon, without which I could not have left Paris, and not having more to add I humbly subscribe myself,

Your most humble servant,

MARCO GRIMANI, Patriarch.

From Brest on the 12th of August, 1543.

Addressed—

To the Most Reverend, Illustrious and Honourable, the LORD
CARDINAL FARNESE.

State Archives in Naples, Farnesian Correspondence, Bundle 709.

LETTER III.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord,

We departed from Brest on the 27th of September, and on that same day I wrote to your Eminence of all that happened to me. The following morning I wrote briefly from Crodon, that by the help of God we had set sail for Scotland in the service of His Most Christian Majesty. I shall now relate what followed. We sailed with a very good wind for three successive days, so that we proceeded well upon our journey and already we had left England and a good part of Ireland behind. In obedience to the King we started, resolved to leave all the islands on our right and keep well out to sea, sailing to windward, in order to avoid danger from the English fleet. But the wind having changed we were obliged to run nearer to the Irish coast, and on the fifth day we came in sight of the island. We found ourselves about fifty leagues more to leeward than we had intended; and being in a place where it did not seem possible for the ships to double the Irish headland on account of the wind, which every hour increased and became more and more contrary to us, and fearing to be seen by the Irish and English fishermen, for we were not far distant from either of the islands, in a place called St. George's Channel, finding ourselves in such straits, it was determined to pass between England and Ireland, because the wind, which was contrary to us for the navigation of the ship outside, happened to be most favourable for the passage within, and so it was done. And by the grace of God this choice made by necessity turned out to be good, for on the night of St. Francis' feast, about midnight, we entered a port in Scotland, two leagues from Dumbarton. This caused me infinite joy, for many reasons which I will not enlarge upon now, so as not to tire you, reserving them rather for a personal interview when, with the help of God, I shall have returned. On the 5th, then, I disembarked, and came here to Dumbarton, where I am adapting myself to the customs of the country. Before I left the ship I wrote to the Queen, the Cardinal, the Regent, and the Earl of Lennox, and sent the letters expressly by a Scot, my servant. These letters contained only the news of my arrival here in their service, and a request for their commands in regard to my future duties, all which I would fulfil. The King's ambassadors also sent letters by means of my servant

to the same effect. The replies will not be long delayed, and I shall act according to their tenor, and will inform your Eminence of the result.

The Queen, who is at Stirling, had instant notice of the arrival of the ships here, but not having other particulars, she sent one of her messengers to obtain full information. Having afterwards received my letter, she replied to me, and has this morning sent two of her gentlemen to express her pleasure at my arrival and her desire to see me. And on the return of the said gentlemen to the Queen, I asked them to make known to her, both by word of mouth and by my letters, that I shall always serve her readily, this being the will of our Lord the Pope and of His Most Christian Majesty, and in whatever way I can exert myself for the preservation of this poor realm, I shall not fail to do so with all my heart. I use the word poor, because the kingdom is so divided and in such confusion that if God does not stretch forth His hand, and inspire these lords to unite together, manifest ruin, both public and private, lies before it. I have heard different accounts of the troubles of this country, but I think it better to abstain from writing any details until I have spoken with the Queen, the Cardinal, and the Regent, that I may be able to give some accurate description.

The Earl of Lennox came here two days ago: he has had a long interview with the ambassadors and with me, and from what he said, he would seem to wish to live and die in the service of the Most Christian King. He also declared that he has drawn over to the cause of His Most Christian Majesty some of these Scottish nobles who, left to themselves, were inclined to favour the King of England, and that they all agree in wishing to remove the government from the Regent, and that to-morrow he will depart for Lilburg¹ (Edinburgh), where, he says, the greater part of the Scottish lords are assembled, for the purpose of renewing the alliance and confederation between His Most Christian Majesty and this kingdom. I did not fail, such being the obligation laid upon me in the name of our Lord the Pope, to influence the Earl in favour of universal peace, pointing out to him how great would be the benefit resulting therefrom to this realm, and that I did not see much difficulty in the matter, provided he desired it, and especially after what he himself had said to me earlier, that the

¹ 'In the sixteenth century, or more precisely in the latter half of that century, Lislebourg was a French name for Edinburgh.'—T. G. Law in *Scottish Historical Review*, i. p. 19.

Governor is on good terms with the Queen and the Cardinal, and that, to say nothing of the peace conducing to the honour and advantage of His Most Christian Majesty, the Earl himself would establish in his own house the honourable rank that God had given him, and could enjoy it without disturbance—and other words to the same effect. The Earl, who is handsome and pleasing in aspect, has also impressed me as being gracious in disposition, for he replied that as for himself, he will not fail to do all in his power to live in peace. May God inspire his heart so to do! As for the rest, I will supplement this by other letters, if the ship which is ready to depart for Brittany be delayed.

To your Most Reverend Lordship I constantly commend myself.
Given at Dumbarton on the 9th of Oct. 1543.

Since the above was written I have learned that these lords, the ambassadors, have placed the money in Dumbarton Castle under the control of the Earl of Lennox, and this against the command and commission of the Queen. May God grant the issues to be good, for it is understood that the Earl is not in harmony with the Queen or Cardinal, still less so with the Governor; to me this seems too hasty a decision. All will turn out favourably here if only it result in the advantage and honour of His Most Christian Majesty. In whose service I will always labour heartily, especially as in this I further the supreme desire of His Holiness.

Your most humble servant,

MARCO GRIMANI, Patriarch Legate.

On the back—

To the Most Reverend, Illustrious and Honourable, the LORD
CARDINAL FARNESE.

State Archives of Naples, Farnesian Papers, Bundle 709.

Duplicate.

LETTER IV.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord.

I wrote to your Eminence from Dumbarton on the 9th of all that took place from the time of my departure from Brittany until my arrival in Scotland, and though the letters may have miscarried, you will be able to understand the whole situation by means of the duplicate copy here annexed, for at that time I was so placed that for many reasons it appeared to me imprudent to write fully, therefore fearing lest the letters might be intercepted I passed lightly over details. But now that I am at Stirling with the Queen and the Cardinal, I desire to write freely and fully so that your Eminence may know what is going on here. Our Lord the Pope despatched me from Bologna, as your Eminence knows, with the express commission that I should make haste to proceed to the Most Christian King in France, and to fulfil all the commands of His Majesty regarding Scottish affairs, and this I did. And finally, as I was about to leave France, I had an audience with His Most Christian Majesty in order to receive his commands concerning all I had to do in his service. I learned from him that he had given orders to his ambassadors that they should communicate to me all that happened daily, and that they should not do anything without my knowledge, advice, and express desire. With this I departed from France, and although on board ship the ambassadors always took upon themselves to govern and to decide in their own fashion as to the navigation of the ship, and although I knew my safety was concerned, they not having had any experience of the sea, still I bore it all patiently. But having at length arrived here in Scotland, they ought not to have left the ship nor removed the money until they had first heard from the Queen and the Cardinal, and though they knew very well the present state of affairs in this kingdom, nevertheless it seemed good to them to land and to take the money with them to Dumbarton. To this place the Earl of Lennox afterwards came, and secretly intriguing with the ambassadors, he easily persuaded them to place the money in the fortress. I was informed of this proceeding by others, and although it appeared to me too hasty a resolution in a matter of such importance, still being ignorant of the commands they might have received from the Most Christian King, I let it pass. But I afterwards learned from one of the Queen's gentlemen, whom she sent expressly to

inform the ambassadors and me, that the Earl of Lennox was not on friendly terms with her nor with the Cardinal, and that he did not act straightforwardly, seeing that he was conducting an intrigue for the purpose of taking in marriage a daughter of the Earl of Angus, brother-in-law of the King of England; that he was in communication with all those who supported the English cause, and that therefore the ambassadors ought not to give up the money to him or to any other; so it seemed to me right to open up the matter with Monsignor dell' Abroza, one of the ambassadors, and persuade him to pause and give more mature consideration before making this decision. And not satisfied with this, I desired also that the treasurer himself and a Captain, Michele by name (who has been sent here by the Most Christian King to take back to France the ships in which we had crossed over), they also being displeased with such a resolution, should undertake this same duty of remonstrating with the ambassadors. The ambassadors, however, notwithstanding all these memorials and commands from the Queen, have deposited the money in Dumbarton Castle, under the charge of the above-named Earl, and have been satisfied with a quittance and receipt from him. What will now follow, God knows, but it is the general opinion that these ambassadors will not easily recover this money. Both the Queen and the Cardinal think evil will come of it, and they have declared to me, with great agitation, that they heartily wish the said money had been sunk in the sea, rather than what has been recounted above should have happened.

The money being placed in the fortress of Dumbarton, as I have said, I parted from the ambassadors on the 11th, and went to Glasgow, waiting till the Earl of Lennox should come with the Earl of Argyle to the said place for some good purpose, as he had promised. And while waiting in this expectation I was told that the Earl of Angus, before named, with many other lords, was to arrive in Glasgow, and already some of his followers were beginning to appear, when on the 13th a gentleman was sent to me from the Queen, and a little later another from the Cardinal, with letters of introduction. These gentlemen gave me to understand that the aforesaid Earl of Angus, and those other nobles who were to arrive on the following morning, were all of the English party, and therefore they begged and commanded me to depart from Glasgow as quickly and secretly as possible, and to go to Stirling, otherwise I should be taken prisoner by these lords and sent to England, from whose borders we were not far distant. Your

Eminence can imagine my state of mind; not losing courage, however, I allowed myself to be guided by the said gentlemen, and on the following morning, three hours before daylight, disguised and with one servant only, I set out for Stirling, where, by the grace of God, I arrived in safety; and although the Queen and the Cardinal had been informed that I came disguised and without a following, nevertheless they desired to see me on the very same evening. Early¹ in the evening, then, I betook myself to the castle of Stirling, where were the Queen and the Cardinal with a numerous guard. On being presented to Her Majesty I kissed her hand and paid my respects in the name of our Lord the Pope, and, in order not to revive her sorrow and distress, I briefly offered condolences on the part of His Holiness on account of the death of the King, her husband, of happy memory. Then I assured her of the good-will which the Holy Father bears her, and that for her preservation and that of the whole kingdom he was ever ready to lend her assistance, that he had sent me here on purpose to serve her in every way that was possible, and that I had willingly undertaken this mission in order to do her service, with other words suitable to the occasion. The Queen welcomed me graciously, was pleased to see me, and lamented that I should have come in these troublous times, because she could not extend to me the warm reception that she would have desired in honour of His Holiness; being situated as she was in that castle, with the infant queen, her daughter, and the Cardinal, the kingdom not only divided between her and some of the nobles, but also divided on account of the Lutherans, whose errors had become disseminated throughout almost the whole country since the death of the King, her husband, and the confinement of the Most Reverend Cardinal. In addition to all this, she declared that the King of England, by means of some Scottish nobles, did not cease to harass her more than her strength could bear. And that, had it not been for the Cardinal, who liberated her a few months before, she and her daughter would ere now have been in the hands of the King of England, with the certain loss of the kingdom. Being reduced to such extremities she knew no other course to take in regard to her affairs than to commend herself to God, to His Holiness the Pope, and to the Most Christian King. I strove to console her the best way I could, exhorting her to

¹ 'At one hour of the night' literally. In Italy the night begins at the hour when the Ave Maria is rung, *i.e.* a variable hour according to season (from 5 p.m. in winter to 8 p.m. in summer).

bear this adversity with good courage, because God by this means ordained that her virtue and prudence should be manifested, and I reminded her that she ought to hope that the affairs of this realm shall, by the help of God, have a more favourable issue than events seem to portend. Nor was it very difficult to reassure her, as she is intelligent and of a cheerful disposition, and it seemed that she felt calmed, looking upon my coming here in the name of His Holiness as of good augury. Our conversation lasted for more than an hour, I then took leave of Her Majesty, and the Cardinal taking me by the hand led me into another room, where I repeated to His Eminence all that I had said to the Queen, stating that our Lord the Pope had sent me here to promote the welfare of the realm, especially with a view to the liberation of his person, amplifying the discourse in general terms, according as it seemed to me suitable. The Cardinal, after having expressed his gratitude to the Holy Father, briefly recounted to me his labours and anxieties, as well as all that he had suffered in the past and all that he feared in the future, on account of the dissensions that were fostered among the Scottish nobles; he complained to me of his many adversities and of the enormous expense he had been called upon to bear, affirming that since the death of the King he found that he had spent 30,000 *scudi*,¹ besides all his own income, and that he would pay 20,000 more to find himself with me in France. He warned me not to trust the people here, neither in small matters nor in great, and said that he himself knew not against whom to guard. Finally, as the hour was late, I left His Eminence with orders to return and to present the letters (*brevi*) in public so soon as my retinue had arrived. All that follows I will narrate in a future letter.

To your Most Reverend Lordship I commend myself.

Your most humble servant,

M., Patriarch of Aquilea.

From Stirling on the 15th of October, 1543.

On the back—

To the Most Reverend, Illustrious and Honourable, the LORD
CARDINAL FARNESE.

State Archives in Naples, Farnesian Papers, Bundle 709.

¹ *Scudo* is equal to $5\frac{3}{8}$ lire, or about four shillings and sixpence in modern money.

LETTER V.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord,

As I wrote to your Eminence on the 27th, I left St. Andrews, having been made much of and honoured by all from the first day to the last. And the Bishop of Whithorn and another brother of the Reverend Cardinal, who have kept me company all along, still desired to escort me after I set out from Stirling, both for the sake of doing me honour and of ensuring my safety, and all by order of the Cardinal, who certainly never fails to treat me in the kindest possible way.

On my arrival here in Edinburgh, I learned that on Monday last an immense number of New Testaments and books calculated to promote heresy were burned in the public square, and the men of Leith (either from fear lest something should happen, similar to what befell the inhabitants of Dundee, or perhaps through Divine inspiration) have indeed made great changes, so that it is to be hoped that they may be led into the right path. And as I passed yesterday by the said town of Leith I was very well received—a month ago this probably would not have been the case. May it please God to enlighten their minds and to confirm them more and more in all good!

The Queen has written to me to-day to tell me that she will be here on Sunday without fail with the Governor and the Cardinal, and she has sent me the enclosed, addressed to His Holiness, begging me to put it into my packet and thus immensely oblige her. The fact that she does not write to me of anything else makes me think that the messenger she now sends to France shall no longer have to proceed to Rome, as she informed me was her wish.

If this vessel, which is now ready to cross over to France, should be delayed, I will relate all that takes place in the meeting and despatch the letters as I now do by express messenger to Dundee, where the ship is lying. And to your Most Reverend Lordship I humbly commend myself.

Your most humble servant,

M., Patriarch Legate.

From Edinburgh on the last day of November, 1543.

State Archives in Naples, Farnesian Correspondence, Bundle 709.

LETTER VI.

Very Reverend and Illustrious, my Most Honoured Lord,

The weather has been so threatening for many days that it has not been possible for the ship (by which my servant and the messenger from the Queen and the Cardinal are to cross over to France) to leave the port, and for this reason it has seemed good to me to write to your Eminence of what has taken place since my last letters of the 27th and 30th November.

The Queen, the Governor, and the Cardinal, all together, and then each one separately, have besought me again to beg in their name our Lord the Pope to come to their aid, as their trust in His Holiness leads them to expect, so that they may be enabled to preserve this kingdom in its allegiance to the Apostolic See. I told them that I had already executed this mission, and that I would not fail to repeat it again, and so in order not to come short I beg your Most Reverend Lordship to be sure to use your strongest influence with His Holiness, for truly their need is great.

The Cardinal has communicated to me one of his desires, appearing to be moved therein rather for the service of our Lord the Pope and the Apostolic See and for the welfare of the kingdom than for his private advantage; and this desire is that His Holiness would graciously bestow upon him the legation to this realm, which office he would fulfil as faithfully and with as much regard to the honour and satisfaction of the Holy Father and of the kingdom as any other devoted servant and follower of His Holiness could do—for such is the reputation of the Cardinal—and he urgently requested me to write to your Eminence on the subject. The Governor also has spoken of the matter to me, evincing his desire that the Holy Father should grant this honour to the Cardinal for the sake of maintaining this kingdom more securely in its devotion to the Apostolic See. Your Eminence knows something of the merits of the Cardinal, and I pray you to use such influence with the Holy Father as you in your wisdom may think proper.

I have not failed on every forthcoming opportunity to serve the Most Christian King, and besides those offices which I have performed in private, I also made public demonstration of my duty yesterday in the audience I had with this Parliament or meeting where were assembled many prelates and other lords with

the Governor and Cardinal. I spoke frankly, exhorting them to peace and harmony among themselves, and to the confirmation of the alliance with France. Not fully satisfied with this, however, knowing that all could not thoroughly understand me, I presented two documents, alike in substance, but the one written in Latin, the other in the Scottish language, in which I amply made known my good feeling towards this country, as your Eminence will see by means of the copy here enclosed. The Scottish version was read aloud, so that all could understand, and I believe that everyone was well pleased with it, and to-day some of these nobles came to my house to thank me for the gracious counsels and words of friendship that I offered to them yesterday in speech and by letter.

As regards the alliance with France, I hope that all will turn out favourably, because these nobles really seem to be fairly well disposed, thus may it please God to bring about peace among them! And may God pardon the French ambassadors who have endeavoured to disturb it and continue to do so to the extent of their power, taking every pains to create discord between the Queen, the Cardinal, and the Regent! In order the better to understand me your Eminence must know that the ambassadors have counselled the Queen to use every effort to secure the government to herself alone, and to seek to dismiss the Regent, promising, should the attempt be successful, to give assistance and protection in the name of their King. Naturally everyone has the desire to rule, and it appears that the Queen has given ear to the words of the ambassadors, who afterwards conferred with the Cardinal and exhorted him also to abandon the Regent and to give all his support to the Queen. The Cardinal, in reply, explained to them that this kingdom, on the death of its King, has always been ruled by a Regent, and to make a new law now would be too serious a matter, especially in these so pernicious times, and that disorders might ensue such as would lead to the ruin of the country. The ambassadors transmitted the reply of the Cardinal to the Queen, representing it in such a manner that the Queen complained to His Eminence, who, not a little roused by their action, went so far as to desire that the ambassadors should repeat in his presence and in that of the Queen all that had passed between them. But Her Majesty did not consent, not wishing to add fuel to the fire. The Cardinal has related to me the above account, complaining bitterly of the ambassadors, and I believe that this may be one of his reasons for now sending

his agent to France. I think the ambassadors entered into this intrigue for the sake of exalting the Earl of Lennox, but I, for my part, believe that their design will not be successful, and God grant that these negotiations may bring about a good result!

Yesterday at the meeting of Parliament I asked leave to depart, and I believe that all with the exception of three personages greatly regret my departure, and truly they appear to be sorry, nevertheless I shall avail myself of the first opportunity that occurs for my journey to France, and I shall endeavour to travel by that route that God will open up to me, reserving to the very last, as desperate, the way through England. I well know what must be the danger in putting out to sea at this season or in passing through England, yet I esteem my departure less of an evil than that of remaining here. Your Eminence can imagine to what straits I am reduced! When, by the help of God, I shall have returned to you, I will tell you everything; this for obvious reasons is not possible now.

The other evening there came to me the brothers and many relatives of the Rev. Master Robert, the Scottish Doctor. They had received letters from him directing them to place themselves at my disposal for any service or favour, and truly I ought to be extremely obliged for this his great friendliness. In conversation with them I learned that hardly a year had passed since the death of the father of this Master Robert, and that before his death he had seen a hundred descendants, his own and those of his children. For this alone, in my opinion, he has been most happy, and especially as this family is really honourable, and has been provided, according to the manners of the country, with ample means. I have never before heard in our times of such a family, and since it is a rare example I wished to record it to your Eminence, I know full well that if there were found in one of our Italian cities such a family as this, making so powerful a group, it would be regarded with suspicion.

Having nothing further to communicate to your Eminence I humbly commend myself.

As to the matters discussed in the meeting, no decision has been arrived at up to this date; many of these lords have not appeared. In every way in which it is possible I will most heartily exert myself to bring about peace among them.

Since writing the above, the Governor has sent me, by his secretary, some letters directed to His Holiness and to your Most Reverend Lordship, together with a memorial praying me

also to write with them to your Eminence ; I send the memorial itself so that you may see everything, and to your kind favour I recommend myself.

Your most humble servant,

M., Patriarch Legate.

From Edinburgh on the 11th of November,¹ 1543.

On the back—

To the Most Reverend, Illustrious and Honourable, the LORD
CARDINAL FARNESE.

State Archives in Naples, Farnesian Papers, Bundle 709.

The Editor of the Scottish Historical Review was indebted to the Rev. Father Pollen, S.J., for the letters which are printed above, and he has also to thank him for the following note. The translation of the letters, which were in Italian, is by Miss Louisa S. MacLehose.

The *Carte Farnesiane* in the Archivio di Stato in Naples came there (if I mistake not) in consequence of the 'War of Succession,' about 1736 ; when the Duchy of Parma, the seat of the Farnese family, was ceded to Austria ; and the representative of that family (who was afterwards Charles III. of Spain) succeeded to the throne of Naples. The papers were packed in sacks, or tied up in large fascios, and slung over the backs of mules. Thus carried across Italy they were deposited in their new home, and in these same huge bundles they still remain, perhaps the largest unsorted archive in Europe, which is also of European interest.

But these Grimani papers were not originally sent (as their addresses show) to Parma, but to Rome, at a time when a Farnese

¹ The correct date of this letter is the 11th of *December*, as is shown by the first paragraph, and the fact that Grimani had audience of the Council on the 10th of December (*Henry VIII., Letters, etc.*, xviii. 2, 482).

pope, Paul III., sat on the throne, and had, as his Cardinal Secretary of State, a young nephew, Alexander Farnese, who lived to be Dean of the Sacred College. His correspondence (as was usual in those unofficial days) became deposited partly at the Vatican, partly at the Palazzo Farnese, and this latter portion was after his death, or after that of his nephew, Cardinal Edward Farnese, taken to Parma, whence, as we have seen, it was carried later to Naples. But such summary transportations are seldom very carefully done, and in this case a great deal of correspondence remains at Parma, where it is now in very good order.

This will suffice to show how the Grimani papers, now published, came to Naples, and have long lain there unknown. My bad memory unfortunately prevents my recollecting how attention was first attracted to them. I had a casual look at fascio No. 709, when I was at Naples in 1890, but did not note these documents, though I did others relating to Scotland. Probably some friend told me or Mr. Andrew Lang about them, and I got them copied for him, as he was then at work on that period of his *History of Scotland*, or thought they might have served him for some other publication, and I added a couple of papers from the Vatican Archives. I do not think that either he or I adverted to the publication then in progress of the other Grimani dispatches in the great series of *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, and this may perhaps account for his not having seen his way to reconstruct from them the history of the legation, as Mr. Hannay has now so skilfully done.

It will be seen that while the Vatican collection has only two letters from Scotland, the *Carte Farnesiane* have yielded four, and they of greater importance. Even so, as we look to the references given in the correspondence to letters sent previously, we notice that many are still not forthcoming. One of the R.O. papers is an original, evidently intercepted by Henry's spies.

J. H. POLLEN, S.J.