

Henry, King of Scots: An Analysis of Royal Authority and Diplomatic Influence – Evidence from the National Archives of Denmark

Cynthia Fry

IN August 1565 a letter was dispatched from Scotland addressed to King Frederik II of Denmark-Norway.¹ It bore only one signature, that of Henry R, King of Scots. King Henry, also known as Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, was the king consort of Mary Queen of Scots from 1565 to 1567.² The letter appears to be unique amongst the extant record of King Henry's correspondence in that it does not also bear the signature of his wife.³ That this letter was addressed to another monarch is noteworthy; although Henry Stewart had been proclaimed king of Scotland on 28 July 1565, he was never given the crown matrimonial and he had no explicit autonomous authority to engage in diplomatic activities. The letter to Frederik is fairly insignificant as far as its content is concerned. Henry asked Frederik II to assist the families of two Scottish soldiers who had answered the call to join the Danish levy the previous year and died in Danish service. He specifically requested that if the

-
- 1 Thanks to Professor Steve Murdoch for bringing this letter to my attention, and to Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart for his transcription and translation from the Latin. I would also like to thank Dr Alexia Grosjean and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and advice on this article.
 - 2 Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry, King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Letter (Edinburgh, August 28, 1565), Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv.
 - 3 No other letter has been located in the National Archives of Scotland, the National Archive at Kew or the Danish Rigsarkiv bearing solely Henry Stewart's signature where it is signed as King. Mary Queen of Scots wrote an exact copy of Henry's letter, and in October 1565 the couple jointly wrote to Frederik II on a separate issue. See: Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Letter, August 28, 1565, Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv; Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, "Mary Queen of Scots and Henry, King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Letter (Edinburgh, October 1, 1565), Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv. See Appendix for manuscripts and translations.

soldiers were due any wages Frederik would 'see to it that they might collect the money without harassment.'⁴

This seemingly innocuous letter may have been of greater significance as regards Scottish diplomatic policy than its text suggests. Henry's position as king was never clearly defined, nor even universally recognised, and his subsequent reputation and representation in historiography has been anything but regal.⁵ The insinuation behind this letter is that despite his questionable position of authority, King Henry was able to approach another king on equal terms, in order to protect the interests of two Scottish subjects - two of Henry's subjects.

Although contemporaries and near contemporaries referred to Lord Darnley as 'king' after June 1565, scholars writing in the last hundred years have chosen to solely refer to him as 'Lord Darnley'. Such terminology has reaffirmed historiography's perception of Henry as a nobleman who was married to a queen, and was not ever a king in his own right. Despite this scholarly tradition, it is important to highlight the fact that contemporary documents do refer to Henry Stewart as king after his marriage to Mary Queen of Scots.⁶ Frederik II received Henry's letter and it is filed amongst his royal

- 4 Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."; John Maxwell Herries, *Historical Memoirs of the reign of Mary queen of Scots: and a Portion of the reign of King James the Sixth*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1836) p. 70. The soldiers who had died in Denmark were Ensign Thomas Inglis and Second Lieutenant (*Subpraefectus cohortis*) Richard Strang. [Riis translates *Subpraefectus cohortis* as Lt. Col.]. Nothing more is known of either the soldiers or the fate of the family members who went to Denmark to claim compensation. Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations, C. 1450-1707* (Odense, 1988), vol. 2 pp. 104, 109.
- 5 That Lord Darnley was a lazy and incompetent ruler is a commonly held perception. See for example: Jane E. A. Dawson, "Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley, and Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," *The International History Review* 8, no. 1 (February 1, 1986): p. 22; Elaine Finnie Greig, "Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany [known as Lord Darnley] (1545/6–1567), second consort of Mary, queen of Scots," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), ed. B. Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew, Online ed. (Oxford, 2008).
- 6 England refused to acknowledge Henry's kingship; however, Spain approved of the match and even men like George Buchanan gave Henry the title of King regardless of their own personal opinions on the marriage. See: George Buchanan, *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena & tragica planè historia*. (London, 1571); Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain Preserved In the Archives of Simancas and Elsewhere* (Burlington, 2006), vol. 14 pp. 432-3 no. 300 [6 June 1565, Philip II to Guzman de Silva]. See also: David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson, 7 vols. (Burlington, 2006); John Row, *The history of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637* (Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 29, 31; John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland, 1655*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1851).

correspondence, suggesting that Henry's contemporaries more generally accepted his royal authority than is often realised.⁷ No response from Frederik survives, either in the form of a written reply or in the evidence of his providing the requested support to the Scots families.⁸ It is possible that Frederik chose to accept the letter as royal business whilst ignoring Henry's request. Henry and Mary would never have known if Frederik had chosen to treat Henry's request as coming from a commoner, nor would it have damaged diplomatic relations had he done so. However, filing the letter amongst Scottish royal correspondence indicates that Frederik was willing to accept Henry as a king, or at least not dispute the title.⁹

In 1564 Scoto-Danish relations were stable and positive, despite Scotland's position as a non-privileged kingdom in regards to Denmark's trading customs and taxes.¹⁰ The Danish house of Oldenburg controlled the Sound, and thus was one of the most powerful and important players in European trade.¹¹ This changed in 1563 when Sweden and Denmark-Norway went to war. The 'Nordic Seven Years War' resulted in a significant decline in Danish dominance over northern trade.¹² Frederik sought assistance from both Scotland and England in his war against Sweden. In May 1564 a Danish ambassador arrived in Scotland requesting that Mary prevent any more Scots from trading with or entering the service of the Swedish king. According to

7 Henry's letter is included in the Danish Archives' *Skotland 1 & 2* collections (crown business), not the *Skotland 3 & 4* collections (non-crown business), implying that it is viewed as royal correspondence. This is according to the information provided by the Danish National Archive website: <http://www.sa.dk/>. According to archivist Leon Jespersen this division is more recent, but nonetheless the location is indicative of royal acceptance.

8 This is true for Mary's identical letter as well as Henry's.

9 Confirmation that the current filing of these documents is historic, and not a recent distinction by archivists, has been sought but not yet obtained from the Danish Rigsarkiv.

10 In 1589 when James VI was seeking a marriage alliance with Denmark-Norway, the Scots sought to have equal rights with the Danes and Norwegians, however they were told that they already possessed these rights, and therefore they did not need to be added to the marriage treaty. See: Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2000), p. 23. In 1564 Mary sent William Douglas to try and conclude an alliance treaty whereby the 1549 *ad valorum* duty on Scottish goods passing through the Sound would be repealed, but the issue of control over the Northern Isles kept the treaty from ever coming to fruition. Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 1 p. 33; Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 70. See also: Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559-1596* (Leiden, 2004), p. 41.

11 Walther Kirchner, "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," *The Journal of Modern History* 17, no. 1 (March 1, 1945): pp. 2-3.

12 Lockhart, *Frederik II*, pp. 39-40; Kirchner, "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," p. 4; Jón Stefánsson, *Denmark and Sweden: With Iceland and Finland*, The story of the nations (London, 1916), pp. 73-7.

Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, Mary used Frederik's need for support to gain compensation for 'certain injuries done to her subjects of late'.¹³ The injuries referred to by Randolph were, according to John Herries, the recent imposition of customs charges on Scottish traders. William Douglas of Whyttingham was sent to Denmark by Mary to seek redress for the customs charge after Frederik's ambassador arrived in Scotland.¹⁴ Herries also recorded that the Danish ambassador made a request to raise a levy for three hundred men and horses, but this is not mentioned in Randolph's report to Cecil.¹⁵

Despite facing her own domestic disturbances in 1565, when another Danish ambassador sought an audience with Mary asking to be allowed to make another levy, this time of two thousand men and four hundred sailors, the Queen assented.¹⁶ Frederik II had considered a marriage alliance with Mary Queen of Scots in 1560, and it was still thought to be a possibility in 1564, a sign of continued amity between the two kingdoms.¹⁷ Such an alliance would have strengthened relations between the two countries, and also brought Denmark closer to France via Scotland, both crucial allies for Denmark as their enemy, Sweden, was actively courting English support.¹⁸ The war between Denmark and Sweden was beneficial for England in counterbalancing Danish power and control of the Sound. It is not surprising then, that in contrast to the relative success that Frederik had in raising levies in Scotland, his attempts to do so in England were denied, under the pretence that the sailors requested were needed for the domestic fishing trade.¹⁹ In reality, Elizabeth was supporting Sweden against Denmark-Norway by not aiding Frederik, because Swedish

13 Thomas Randolph, "Randolph to Cecil," Letter, May 22, 1564, SP52/9 f.77, State Papers Online.

14 Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 70.

15 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547-1603* (Burlington, 2005), vol. 2 p. 128 [27 February 1565, Randolph to Cecil]; Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 70.

16 This levy was not as successful as the 1564 levy; however, it was not due to lack of royal support. Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 1 pp. 86-8. See also: Thomas Randolph, "Randolph to Cecil," Letter, February 27, 1565, SP52/10 f.30, State Papers Online.

17 Lockhard, *Frederik II*, p. 89.

18 Kirchner, "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," pp. 2, 5.

19 Kirchner, "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," p. 5; Elizabeth I, "The Queen to Frederic II., King of Denmark," Letter (Westminster, January 19, 1566), SP70/82 f.23, State Papers Online. Frederik also made a request for 200 un-dyed cloths to be exported without customs for Danish soldiers, but there is no record as to whether this request was granted or not. Frederik II of Denmark, "Frederic II of Denmark to the Queen," Letter, February 6, 1564, SP70/68 f.12, State Papers Online.

competition in trade benefited England.²⁰ Frederick II sought to improve his position through better relations with France and Scotland after being rebuffed by Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's primarily economic reasons for siding against Denmark-Norway contrasted greatly with the more complex reasons for her poor relations with Scotland. Anglo-Scottish relations had initially remained amicable after Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, although by 1565 this was no longer the 'automatic policy'.²¹ Mary Queen of Scots' union with Henry Stewart had a significant impact on diplomatic relations.²² As far as Elizabeth Tudor was concerned, the match posed a serious threat, not only to Anglo-Scottish relations, but also to the English succession.²³ Henry was a descendant of Matthew Stewart, fourth earl of Lennox, who had been exiled from Scotland for treason in 1545.²⁴ The Lennoxes had been restored to their Scottish holdings in 1564, after pressuring Elizabeth to request that Mary reinstate them.²⁵ The Earl of Lennox, Henry's father, was allowed to return to Scotland in September 1564. In February 1565 Henry was given leave to join him; meanwhile, Henry's mother remained in Elizabeth's custody to ensure that Lennox and Darnley would return to England if so ordered.²⁶ Darnley was initially considered by Mary's councillors to be an improved match from Elizabeth's initial suggestion of her Master of the Horse, Lord Robert Dudley.²⁷ This was not the intended case, for as much as Elizabeth desired a

20 Kirchner, "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," p. 5.

21 Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 3.

22 Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England," *The Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (July 2002): pp. 280-1; Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983), p. 70; Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 3.

23 McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England," pp. 280-1; Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," pp. 4, 14, 22-3.

24 Greig, "DNB-Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.;" John Knox, *The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland Containing Five Books: Together with Some Treatises Conducing to the History* (London: Printed by John Raworth for George Thomason and Octavian Pullen, 1644), p. 415.

25 Sarah Macauley has done extensive work on Elizabeth's changing attitudes towards the Lennox Restoration and the Darnley match. See: Sarah Jayne Macauley, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox and the politics of Britain, c.1543-1571" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2006), pp. 130-178.

26 Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 7; Caroline Bingham, *Darnley: A Life of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, Consort of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1995), pp. 83-4, 88; Calderwood, *Calderwood*, vol. 1 p. 285.

27 Secretary William Maitland of Lethington was among those who disapproved of the Lennox match. Macauley, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox," p. 134.

pro-English match for Mary, Darnley's claim to the English throne put Mary in a dangerously powerful position.²⁸

Darnley was a claimant in line to both the Scottish and English thrones, being a descendant of not only James II of Scotland but also of Henry IV of England. This made him both an acceptable match to a queen in her own right and a potential contender to succeed Elizabeth. William Cecil feared that the match would not only encourage loyal English and Scottish Catholics to support Mary over Elizabeth, but also that, because Mary was a married queen who might produce an heir, the English Protestants might also come to support the Scottish queen over their current ruler for an assured succession.²⁹

After the wedding, Henry and Mary made some effort to reconcile with Elizabeth, if only half-heartedly, claiming ignorance that their marriage would grieve her so.³⁰ Mary had disregarded Elizabeth's advice, and had married an English subject with a strong claim to the English throne.³¹ Although Mary sought support from the royal houses of both France and Spain for her marriage, only Philip II was openly supportive of a Stewart match. Whilst Catherine de Medici informed Mary's ambassador that she was in favour of the match, the Queen Regent then declared to Elizabeth that the house of Valois would not support it.³² Although Frederik II had been entertaining the possibility of a marriage alliance with Scotland there is no record to suggest

28 There is some debate regarding whether or not Elizabeth ever intended Darnley as a potential suitor for Mary. For more on this debate see: J. A Guy, *"My Heart Is My Own": The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 2004), pp. 185-215; Macauley, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox," pp. 130-42.

29 Greig, "DNB-Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley"; Macauley, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox," pp. 166-7.

30 Mary Queen of Scots and H Stewart, "Offers by Henry and Mary to Elizabeth," Letter, August 13, 1565, SP52/11 f.25, State Papers Online. John Guy and Mark Loughlin argue that Mary had chosen to disregard Elizabeth's wishes before she married Henry, although Loughlin admits that there was at least an initial possibility that Elizabeth would be amenable to the match, and thus, Henry and Mary never made any serious attempts to repair this relationship. Mary's attempts to gain support from the continent, in the forms of France and Spain, were a countermeasure to the damaged relations she knew she would incur with England. Guy, *"My Heart Is My Own,"* pp. 208-9; Mark Loughlin, "The Career of Maitland of Lethington c.1526-1573" (PhD Thesis, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 195-200.

31 Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," pp. 4, 14.

32 Catherine de Medici knew that should Scotland alienate Elizabeth, the English queen would have required closer relations with France, a position that would strengthen Medici's position. Guy, *"My Heart Is My Own,"* p. 209; CSPSc, vol. 2 pp. 196-8 no. 237 [27 August 1565, Randolph to Cecil].

that Mary's union with Henry damaged relations.³³ Frederik had received soldiers from Scotland to support his war against Sweden, and perhaps this, along with Danish desire to not alienate any potential friends whilst at war, preserved the existing good relations. On 28 July 1565, the day before the wedding, royal heralds read a proclamation issued by Queen Mary at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland in the following days:

We do you to wit, forsamekill as proclamatioun we maid at this croce, upoun the xxviii day of Julii instant, be vertew and at command of the Quenis Majestie oure Soverane Ladiis lettres, makand mentioun that forsamekill as hir Heines, at the will and plesour of God, intendit to solemprizat and compleit the band of matrimony in face of haliekirk, with the rycht nobill and illustir Prince Henry, than Duke of Albany, etc. And in respect of the said marriage, and during the tyme thair of, hir Majestie will, ordanit, and consentit that he sould be namit and stylit King of this kingdom, and ... we command and charge, in the name and autoritie of thair majesties, that all lettres quhilk heireftir salbe direct and set forth be in the names of bayth thair Majesties, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie; and heirof presentlie we mak intimatioun and publicatioun to you, and all sindry, thair Heinessis lieges and subdittis.³⁴

This declaration of kingship was a strong public statement regarding Henry's status, but it was not the bestowment of the crown matrimonial, a key distinction when considering the letter that Henry wrote to Frederik II just two months later. The crown matrimonial was a special designation that had to be ratified by Parliament. It meant that should Mary die, Henry

33 Frederik II had by this point in time declared that his wife would not be allowed to practice Catholicism, thus permanently ending any discussions of a Habsburg or Lorraine match, which had been the most likely choices. As an alternative, Frederik's brother-in-law, Elector August of Savoy, encouraged Frederik to look into other possible matches, and Mary Queen of Scots was high on this list, however, as she was also a Catholic who had maintained her religion after returning to Scotland in 1560, her religion might have become an issue had marriage discussions ever actually taken place. They did not, and the potential match was never actually pursued. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, p. 72; Alexander S Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542-1600* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 61-2; Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 1 pp. 86-8; Lockhart, *Frederik II*, p. 89.

34 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Burlington, 2004), vol. 1 p. 346 [28 July 1565, Edinburgh]. Queen Mary's directive to the heralds and messengers is on pp. 345-6. Calderwood later reports that many nobles were offended by this proclamation, and felt that Parliament ought to have authorised Henry's position as king. *Calderwood*, vol. 2 p. 292. The fact that many nobles went into rebellion directly after the wedding, and that Parliament was not held in 1565, supports Calderwood's account of a dissatisfied nobility. RPCS, vol. 1 pp. 348-50; Keith M. Brown, ed., *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 2007, <http://www.rps.ac.uk>.

would continue to be king, and should Henry remarry and have a son by his second wife, that child would take precedence over any daughters born to Mary and Henry.³⁵ Historians have debated whether or not Mary ever intended to grant Henry this honour; for example, Caroline Bingham believes that Mary did, whilst Jane Dawson is confident that this was not the case.³⁶ John Guy has argued that Mary only named Henry as king to indulge him, as she knew prior to the wedding that the match was not wise, but felt obliged to salvage her reputation and show her independence from Elizabeth. If this were the case, Mary's attempts to stress Henry's kingship after the marriage can be interpreted as her continued assertion of independence from England, following her initial break by marrying without Elizabeth's approval.³⁷

Within Scotland, as well as in England, there was strong opposition to the match. In order to obtain even token consent from her nobility when the match was first discussed, Mary had asked only those nobles whom she thought would assent.³⁸ Considering that Parliament was not allowed to meet in June 1565, lest it create a public forum to show disapproval of Mary's marriage to Darnley, it would have been almost impossible to convince them to grant Darnley the crown matrimonial that summer, even if Mary had wanted to.³⁹ Henry continued to seek assurance of this power throughout his reign,

35 William Fraser, *The Lennox: Memoirs and Muniments* (Burlington, 2006) vol. 1 pp. 180-1.

36 Bingham, *Darnley*, p. 111; Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 22. Mary's first husband had been given the Crown Matrimonial, but this was due to strong pressure from Mary of Guise rather than overwhelming Parliamentary support. Bingham has argued that Mary did intend to give the same honour to Henry in due course. See also: Loughlin, "The Career of Maitland of Lethington c.1526-1573," pp. 195-215. John Guy argued that Mary succumbed to Darnley's insistence over the title, and that she instantly regretted this, however he does not take these letters or the later re-ordering of titles into account in his argument. Guy, "My Heart Is My Own," pp. 211-8.

37 Guy, "My Heart Is My Own," pp. 214-5.

38 There was some dispute amongst Scottish nobles about whether Mary had a right to marry again, as did all other women, but those who thought not argued 'the case was not like, because in choosing herself a husband she choosed also a king to the realme; and that it was more equitable that the people should choose a husband to one woman, than one woman king to all the subjects.' George Buchanan, *The history of Scotland. Written in Latin by George Buchanan. Faithfully rendered into English.*, trans. Robert White (London, 1690), bk. 17 pp. 173-4. See also: Macauley, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox," pp. 152-3.

39 The first Parliament held after Henry and Mary's wedding was reportedly on 7 March 1566. The Parliament was ended on 10 March by 'Henry Stewart, lord Darnley after the coup and murder of David Riccio.' *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland, 2007*, A1564/12/1, <http://www.rps.ac.uk>. See also: Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 151; Fraser, *The Lennox*, vol. 1 pp. 480-1; Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 71. The noble rebellion, which occurred just after the royal wedding, was partially due to the shift in power at court as a result of Darnley's promotion - something that did not sit well with many of the Scottish nobility. Buchanan, *The history of Scotland.*, bk. 17 pp. 175-7; Bingham, *Darnley*, p. 108; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, p. 72.

going so far as to forge alliances with some of the Protestant lords who had rebelled against him and Mary in 1565 in an attempt to achieve the ultimate designation of kingship.⁴⁰

Without the crown matrimonial, Henry still had considerable power, but how far it actually extended is matter of interpretation. Bingham has argued that because Henry's name and regnal year came before Mary's on the coinage, this was a sign that the King superseded the Queen.⁴¹ The importance awarded to symbolism and precedence in this period lends much support to Bingham's argument. In 1554, when Mary I of England married Philip II of Spain, great attention was placed on the symbolism of the wedding. Mary was always located on the right, in the larger chair, and her vestments were in the colours and styles traditionally associated with kings, visually asserting her supremacy over Philip. That being said, in both the reigns of Mary I and Phillip II, and for Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, the names of the kings were always placed before that of their wives, in proclamations, letters and coinage.⁴² This symbolically put them above the queens, despite their lacking the full authority of the crown.⁴³ Mary's first marriage to Francois II took place in France in 1558, not Scotland, and the symbolism within the wedding gave the Dauphin the dominant position in the proceedings as both the native ruler and the dominant partner. Their marriage agreement, like that of Philip II and Mary I, maintained the distinctiveness of both kingdoms, but unlike the Anglo-Spanish match, Francois did obtain the crown matrimonial,

40 Moray and other Protestant lords who had rebelled against Mary in 1565 signed a bond with Darnley in March 1566, swearing to support him in Parliament for the Crown Matrimonial if he would help them in their case. Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London, 1988, p. 158; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, p. 78; Thomas Randolph and Earl of Bedford, "Bedford and Randolph to Cecil," Letter (Berwick, March 6, 1566), SP52/12 f.28, State Papers Online.

41 The first coins, silver ryals worth thirty shillings, were minted with portraits of Henry and Mary facing each other, and Henry's name preceding Mary's. These were recalled in December 1565, and replaced with an image of yew tree, and Mary's name preceding Henry's. The initial style of ryal is now incredibly rare. See: Bingham, *Darnley*, p. 108; Greig, "DNB-Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.," J. D Bateson, *Coinage in Scotland* (London, 1997), pp. 108-9; Adam B. Richardson, ed., *Scottish Coins*, New ed. [i.e. 1st ed. reprinted]. (London, 1977), pp. 238-41; I.H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955), pp.89-90.

42 Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (October 1, 2005): pp. 762-7; Glyn Redworth, "Philip [Philip II of Spain, Felipe II] (1527-1598), king of England and Ireland, consort of Mary I, and king of Spain," in *DNB*.

43 Bingham, *Darnley*, p. 108.

and any children the match produced would rule both kingdoms.⁴⁴ This was due to France's much more powerful position within Scottish politics than that held by Spain with regard to England in the reign of Mary I.

Although Philip II was king apparent in his own right, whereas Darnley was only of the nobility, their situations were not that dissimilar. Both were foreigners who married into a dynasty that each kingdom wanted to remain as it was, rather than passing into foreign hands. Neither man retained the right to the kingship if he outlived his wife, and both were denied executive power over the government.⁴⁵ There were also obvious differences between the two. The actual authority held by Philip II was much more apparent than that held by King Henry. Philip and Mary's marriage treaty ran to twenty-seven pages, whereas Henry was only given two public declarations and the personal statements of his wife.⁴⁶

According to the English ambassador in Scotland Mary Queen of Scots did her best to show that Henry was not simply king in name, but also in authority.⁴⁷ Her insistence that all letters be signed in both their names linked him to the authority of the crown, and, despite any controversy surrounding

44 There was a distinction made regarding male and female heirs. Due to Salic law in France, the royal line had to pass to a male, and thus if there was no male issue, the female heir would inherit Scotland, but France would go to the nearest male relative of Francois II. Mary also secretly signed over the inheritance of Scotland to France should she die without any issue, thus giving France much more power over Scotland than Spain ever obtained over England in the marriage of Philip II and Mary I. The terms of Mary and Francois's marriage treaty were quite generous to France, acting as the culmination of Marie de Guise and Henri II's foreign policies. There was a backlash to this treaty and the general policy of French influence in Scotland, and the Treaty of Edinburgh of 1560 marked a change. See Julian Goodare, "Mary Stewart (1542–1587), queen of Scots," ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, *DNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18248>; Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542-1600*, p. 19.

45 William II & III is another example of a foreign prince who was made a king with limitations; significantly, he was granted the full executive power of the crown, with all powers save those of passing the dynasty into foreign hands. Tony Claydon, "William III and II (1650–1702), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and prince of Orange," in *DNB*.

46 For the Marriage Treaty of Philip and Mary see Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, Et Cujuscunq[ue] Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae Et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices Principes, Vel, Communitates Habita Aut Tractata* (Burlington, 2006), vol. 15 pp. 393-9; Redworth, "DNB-Phillip II of Spain." For an account of the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Francois II see: Jean Baptiste Alexandre Théodore Teulet, *Papiers D'état, Pièces Et Documents Inédits Ou Peu Connus, relatifs a L'histoire De l'Écosse Au XVIe Siècle, Tirés Des Bibliothèques Et Des Archives De France, Et Publiés Pour Le Bannatyne Club d'Edimbourg* (Burlington, 2009), vol. 1 pp. 292-303. Henry was declared King at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh on 28 and 30 July 1565. See: Bingham, *Darnley*, p. 108; Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 71.

47 Bingham, *Darnley*, pp. 109-10.

Henry Stewart's kingship, that his authority and position were to be accepted.⁴⁸ The first communication that Frederik received from Henry was the letter he sent on 28 August 1565 signed by him alone. His wife's absent signature is understood, given that she wrote the exact same letter to Frederik on the same day, however this brings forward an interesting point.⁴⁹ Why did Henry and Mary write two separate letters rather than a joint one? Mary must have known of Henry's letter, otherwise she would have presumably added his signature to her own, as at this point all correspondence ought to have been conjointly dispatched.⁵⁰ A logical conclusion is that Mary knew of Henry's letter, and was using this as an opportunity to test foreign acceptance of Henry's authority. If his letter was rejected, its contents were still addressed in her own letter, but if it was accepted, then an argument could be made that it was Henry's request that was honoured, and therefore his authority that was recognised. The nature of the request meant that it would be difficult to know whether or not it had been accepted, again allowing Henry and Mary to promote Henry's authority without causing a diplomatic incident.

Scottish contemporaries and subsequent histories refer to Henry as king only after July 1565, whether they approved of him or not.⁵¹ The King of Denmark accepted the letters and ambassadors sent by the royal couple and, in February 1566, the King of France ordered his ambassador in Scotland, M. Rambeveult, to honour Henry with a knighthood of the Order of St

48 For example, in October 1565 both Mary's and Henry's signatures appear on another letter to the King of Denmark. See: Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, "Henry and Mary to Frederik II, 1 October 1565." [Thanks to Professor Murdoch for bringing this to my attention, and to Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart for his translation]. In August 1565 a letter was sent to Lord Maxwell, again bearing both royal signatures. See: *CSPSc*, vol. 02 p. 196 no. 236 [23 August 1565, The Queen and King to Maxwell].

49 These letters are in the same hand as well, meaning that the same secretary prepared both letters. Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."; Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry to Frederik II, 28 August 1565." Both of these letters are reproduced in the original and in translation, thanks to Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart, at the end of this article.

50 After the royal marriage began to break down in December 1565, Mary began to sign some letters without Henry's signature. See for example: Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 14 April 1566," Charter (Edinburgh, April 14, 1566), Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv; Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 20 April 1566," Letter (Edinburgh, April 20, 1566), Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv; Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 3 June 1566," Letter (Edinburgh, June 3, 1566), Skotland, AI, Danish Rigsarkiv.

51 In November 1565 the Earl of Argyll, then in rebellion, sought to reconcile with the royal couple and explicitly acknowledged Henry as 'beinge lawfully chosen and admitted kynge'. See: *CSPSc*, vol. 02 p. 238 no. 302.

Michael.⁵² Henry Stewart had apparently gone from being an English lord of Scottish descent to the King of Scots, and this was recognised and accepted by everyone; everyone that is, except Elizabeth Tudor and her government. Elizabeth still considered Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, to be her subject, and at Cecil's advice, absolutely refused to acknowledge his kingship.⁵³ As an English subject, Henry Stewart ought to have owed full allegiance to Elizabeth. Although Henry abjured his English loyalties when he took an oath of fealty in return for a Scottish earldom on 15 May 1565, Elizabeth never recognised this or relinquished Henry Stewart as an English subject.⁵⁴

The English ambassador, John Thomworth, was given strict instructions to only refer to Henry as Lord Darnley, 'for so shall you name hym and not otherwise'.⁵⁵ When Tamworth prepared to leave Scotland he refused to accept the passport signed by King Henry as this would be an acknowledgement of his kingship. Thomas Randolph, another English ambassador, met privately with Queen Mary to discuss the issue and Mary eventually, though begrudgingly, allowed Tamworth to leave without the King's passport. Nevertheless, she made it quite clear to Randolph, and thus to Elizabeth, that Henry was 'now a kyngé', and she expected him to be treated as one.⁵⁶ Mary also made this state of affairs clear to her nobility when, in October of 1565, a noble rebellion, initiated in part in reaction to the Queen's marriage, was put down and the nobility brought back under royal control or exiled into England.⁵⁷

Due to their vested interest in both Scotland and England, and the prestige that would come from orchestrating the reconciliation of two kingdoms, the Valois sought to reconcile Elizabeth and Mary in order to avoid a war or diplomatic incident which would have negative effects on France. In the autumn of 1565, M. Mauvissier was sent to Scotland by Charles IX – with Elizabeth's approval – to attempt the reconciliation. According to William Cecil's instructions to Randolph, the French proposal for compromise was:

52 Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 73; Fraser, *The Lennox*, vol. 1 p. 486; Bingham, *Darnley*, pp. 128-9.

53 Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 21.

54 Darnley was made the Earl of Ross, a title normally given to the younger brothers of Scottish kings. Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 150; Knox, *The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland Containing Five Books*, p. 415. Darnley had also been made Duke of Albany on 20 July 1565; see Fraser, *The Lennox: Memoirs and Muniments* (Burlington, 2006), vol. 1 p. 482.

55 CSPSc, vol. 02 pp. 185-7 no. 220 [30 July 1565, Elizabeth to Thomworth].

56 *Ibid.*, vol. 02 p. 197 no. 237 [27 August 1565, Randolph to Cecil].

57 This is often referred to as the 'Chaseabout Rebellion'. Loughlin, "The Career of Maitland of Lethington c.1526-1573," p. 206.

That the naming of her husband “kyng, is not, nor shall gyve hym any authorite to doo any thyng, but only to be so entitled joyntly with the Quene in all wrytings, and to enjoy the same only durying the tyme of the mariadg, whylest he and the sayd quene shall lyve together; and not after, otherwise than shall be accorded by the iij estates of the realm”⁵⁸

No record exists to indicate that the Privy Council ever discussed Mauvissier’s proposal, nor does the *Calendar of State Papers* indicate that Mary ever entertained the idea; however, the French offer to intercede in this matter reveals that Henry was recognised internationally as a king, even if the details of his authority and position were not entirely clear.⁵⁹ This is crucial for understanding why the King’s signature alone appears on a personal letter to Frederik II. Henry might not have had the crown matrimonial, but in the latter half of 1565 it would appear that he was considered authoritative enough to sign letters on his own. The proclamation at the Mercat Cross was not only of Henry’s new title, but also a declaration that Henry was to be ‘associated with [Mary] in the government.’⁶⁰ Mary had made a very public effort to ensure her new husband was treated not as a titular king, but as an actual ruler, an effort that proved successful to a degree.⁶¹

Mary’s support for her husband’s position did not last long. The royal marriage began to break down, and it was later reported (erroneously) that Mary was ignorant of the letters sent by her husband without her signature, and that she found this presumptuous for ‘although she had made her husband partner in the government, she had not given the power absolutlie in his hands’.⁶² This indicates that Henry’s letter to Frederik was not the only one he sent with a single signature, but no other examples of these alleged documents survive. It is possible that Henry had continued to correspond on his own as King of Scots after August 1565 without Mary’s knowledge or consent and that these are the letters referred to in the report. In December 1565 Randolph reported to Elizabeth that whereas previously announcements by the royal couple had contained the King’s name first the order was now

58 CSPSc, vol. 02 p. 215-6 no. 271 [September 1565, Instructions to Randolph].

59 The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland does not include Henry on any of the sederunts for this period, indicating that Henry was not active in the daily business of governing, as a king with the dominant authority would have been.

60 RPCS, vol. 1 p. 346 [28 July 1565, Edinburgh].

61 For the fact that only ‘England’ never accepted Henry as King see Bingham, *Darnley*, pp. 109-10.

62 Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 73.

inverted, and Henry was demoted in common reference from 'King' to "Queenes Howsbonde".⁶³

Such a public declaration of Henry's loss of standing emphasises just how much power he was perceived to have had prior to December 1565. In reversing the order, Mary was making clear that 'the royal authority might be known to belong unto herself wholly'.⁶⁴ The silver ryal bearing both their portraits and presenting Henry first was recalled, and it was soon declared that a cachet would be used instead of waiting for Henry's signature on documents, as this was causing a delay in royal business.⁶⁵ Significantly, documents containing both Henry and Mary's signature throughout their marriage universally read, 'Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scots'. When their signatures are present, which is rare, Mary's always comes before Henry's. This indicates that although Mary declared that her name should go first after December 1566, the traditional practice and form remained in the text of charters and other government documents.⁶⁶ The order of signatures is not significant, for even the joint letters to Frederik have Mary's signature coming first, although her name follows Henry's in the text. Relations between the royal couple continued to deteriorate, and whilst Henry increasingly pressed for independent royal authority Mary now sought to curb his appetite for power.⁶⁷

Whilst this was the state of affairs from December 1565 onwards, it must be remembered that Henry's letter to Frederik II was sent in August, at a time when both Mary and Henry were keen to assert his authority as king. It is curious that they had not sent a joint letter, as they would do in October, but

63 CSPSc, vol. 02 p. 247-8 no.319 [25 December 1565, Randolph to Cecil]. The *Register of the Privy Seal* continues to record the titles as 'Henricus et Maria' and 'rex et regina' after December 1565, but this could simply have to do with the formulaic nature of the documents recorded in the Register. Matthew Livingstone et al., eds., *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland* (Burlington, 2004), vols. 5.1 and 5.2.

64 Spottiswoode, p. 35.

65 CSPSc, vol. 02 p. 247-8 no.319 [25 December 1565, Randolph to Cecil]; *Calderwood*, vol. 2 pp. 310-1.

66 See for example: Livingstone et al., *RPS* vol. 5; NAS documents: Letter of Licence, 1565, B30/21/60; Grant of Land, 24 August 1565, GD3/1/1/79/1; Crown Charter, 28 September 1565, GD1/17/14; Warrant, 20 October 1565, SP13/89; Letter to Provost of Edinburgh, 24 October 1565, GD268/1025; Charter of Resignation, 8 November 1565, GD3/1/1/20/13; Letter, 17 November 1565, GD220/1/F/6/6/2; Land Precept, 4 April 1566, GD3/1/1/55/3; Warrant, 16 May 1566, SP13/93; Sasine, 23 May 1566, GD33/42/3; Charter, 2 July 1566, GD4/63; Order for Taxation, 2 October 1566, GD160/136/13.

67 Dawson, "Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," p. 22; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, p. 78; Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 158.

instead sent separate yet identical letters signed individually.⁶⁸ Perhaps the reason behind this was the business at hand. In August both Henry and Mary wrote as individuals and monarchs to another monarch, to ask that he assist some of their subjects in their personal business.⁶⁹ In October 1565 the letter, signed by both Mary and Henry, requested safe passage for John Udward, who had been commissioned with official royal business.⁷⁰ The October letter was more formal, and hence it would be expected that the format would rather conform to Mary's proclamations than to a personal request from one monarch to another concerning individual subjects. Both letters containing Henry's signature served as diplomatic strategies to promote the new king's status; the difference between joint and sole signatures was probably due to the type of business that each letter dealt with.

In the months directly following Henry's marriage, great effort was made in the form of proclamations and coinage, the joint signatures of all royal correspondence and passports, to show that Henry was an actual ruler rather than a named husband. His initially sole contact with Frederik II appears to have been a diplomatic strategy of both Mary and Henry to assert his new position in a way that would involve the best chance of success. Given Scotland's good relations with Denmark-Norway, and the relatively insignificant content of the letter, Henry's advances would most likely be accepted. If they were not, the issue was still addressed in Mary's identical letter, showing that she supported not only Henry, but also his request. When, in October 1565, the couple wrote again to the Danish king, this time jointly, they displayed their equal power as rulers and their joint interest in ensuring that their agent was protected by Frederik, their 'kinsman'.

The appearance of Henry as sole signatory on his initial letter to the Danish monarch implies that Mary had, at least initially, intended for Henry to be treated as an actual, rather than a titular, ruler. As a king, Henry Stewart used the royal authority, which it would appear he was intended to have, to advocate for his subjects on personal matters that involved foreign powers. As is well known to history, Henry's royal dignity, such as it was, did not last for long. Despite royal reticence from France to fully support Henry's position, and Elizabeth's outright denial of the event, the letters under discussion, and

68 Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."; Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."; Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, "Henry and Mary to Frederik II, 1 October 1565."

69 Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."; Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."

70 Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, "Henry and Mary to Frederik II, 1 October 1565." This letter is reproduced in the original and in translation, thanks to Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart, at the end of this article.

their treatment by a foreign court, highlight that, unlike recent historiography, which resigned Henry to the title of 'Lord Darnley', he was in his lifetime and for many years thereafter considered a king – indeed Henry King of Scots.

Cynthia Fry is a PhD candidate at the University of St Andrews. She is currently working on a thesis concerning Jacobean diplomacy in the period leading up to the Union of Crowns as part of the *Scotland and the Wider World Project*.

APPENDIX I – LETTERS

1. Henry King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 28 August 1565⁷¹

Henricus Dei gratia rex Scotorum etc. serenissimo principi Friderico Dei gratia Danorum etc. regi fratri consanguineo et considerato nostro charissimo, salutem et felices rerum successus. Serenissime princeps: Ex iis civibus nostris qui militatum hinc profecti sunt ad tuam serenitatem audimus decessisse Richardum Strang, subpraefectum cohortis, et Thomam Inglis, signiferum, quorum ut mors nobis est molesta ita illud ineundum sint quod acceperimus tuam serenitatem eorum forti fidelique usam opera. Eorum propinqui nempe Petrus Inglis alterius frater alterius liberorum tutores Thomam Wigholm et Cuthbertus Blyth quum eo proficiscerentur non potuimus negare iustis eorum precibus nostris ad tuam serenitatem literas quibus rogaremus ut si quid aut de stipendiis superioris temporis aut ulla alia de causa eis deberetur tua serenitas curaret ut sine molestia eam pecunima colligerent. Id si fecerit et alios ad subeunda pericula paratiores habebit et nobis rem gratam suaque serenitate dignam et in vulgus militum magnopere iocundum fieret. Tuam serenitatem servet Deus Optimus Maximus.

Datum Edinburgi vicesimo octavo die mensis Augusti anno 1565 et regni nostri primo.

Serenitatis tui frater et consanguineus Henricus R.

Henry, by the grace of God King of Scots, etc. to the most serene prince, Frederick, by the grace of God King of the Danes etc., our dearest brother, kinsman, and ally: greeting, happiness, and success. Most serene Prince, from those, our citizens, who set out from here to your Serenity to serve as soldiers,

71 Transcribed and translated by Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart. Henry Stewart, King of Scots, "Henry to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."

we hear that Richard Strang, second lieutenant⁷² and Thomas Inglis, standard-bearer, have died and while we are distressed by their death, it is agreeable to have heard that your Serenity made use of their brave, loyal effort. Of course, when their relatives, Peter Inglis, brother of Thomas, and Thomas Wigholm and Cuthbert Blyth, guardians of Thomas 's children, were setting out there, we could not say no to their just entreaties that [in] our letter to your Serenity we should ask that if any remuneration was owed for the previous year or for any other reason, your Serenity would see to it that they might collect the money without harassment. If your Serenity were to do this, you will have other men more prepared to undergo dangers, and you will do something pleasing to us, worthy of yourself and extremely agreeable to the generality of soldiers.

May Almighty God keep your Serenity. Given at Edinburgh, 28th August, 1565, the first year of our reign.

Your Serenity's brother and kinsman,
Henry R.

2. *Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 28 August 1565*⁷³

Maria Dei gratia regina Scotorum etc. serenissimo principi Friderico Dei gratia Danorum etc. regi fratri consanguineo et considerato nostro charissimo, salutem et felices rerum successus. Serenissime princeps: Ex iis civibus nostris qui militatum hinc profecti sunt ad tuam serenitatem audimus decessisse Richardum Strang, subpraefectum cohortis, et Thomam Inglis, signiferum, quorum ut mors nobis est molesta ita illud ineundum sint quod acceperimus tuam serenitatem eorum forti fidelique usam opera. Eorum propinqui nempe Petrus Inglis alterius frater alterius liberorum tutores Thomam Wigholm et Cuthbertus Blyth quum eo proficiscerentur non potuimus negare iustis eorum precibus nostris ad tuam serenitatem literas quibus rogaremus ut si quid aut de stipendiis superioris temporis aut ulla alia de causa eis deberetur tua serenitas curaret ut sine molestia eam pecunima colligerent. Id si fecerit et alios ad subeunda pericula paratiores habebit et nobis rem gratam suaque serenitate dignam et in vulgus militum magnopere iocundum fieret. Tuam serenitatem servet Deus Optimus Maximus.

Datum Edinburgi vicesimo octavo die mensis Augusti anno 1565 et regni nostri vicesimotertio.

Serenitatis tui soror et consanguinea, Marie R.

72 *Subpraefectus cohortis* [Thomas Riis translates this as Lt Col (?)] See: Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 2 p. 109.

73 Transcribed and translated by Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart. Mary Queen of Scots, "Mary to Frederik II, 28 August 1565."

Mary, by the grace of God Queen of Scots, etc. to the most serene prince, Frederick, by the grace of God King of the Danes etc., our dearest brother, kinsman, and ally: greeting, happiness, and success. Most serene Prince, from those, our citizens, who set out from here to your Serenity to serve as soldiers, we hear that Richard Strang, second lieutenant⁷⁴ and Thomas Inglis, standard-bearer, have died and while we are distressed by their death, it is agreeable to have heard that your Serenity made use of their brave, loyal effort. Of course, when their relatives, Peter Inglis, brother of Thomas, and Thomas Wigholm and Cuthbert Blyth, guardians of Thomas 's children, were setting out there, we could not say no to their just entreaties that [in] our letter to your Serenity we should ask that if any remuneration was owed for the previous year or for any other reason, your Serenity would see to it that they might collect the money without harassment. If your Serenity were to do this, you will have other men more prepared to undergo dangers, and you will do something pleasing to us, worthy of yourself and extremely agreeable to the generality of soldiers. May Almighty God keep your Serenity. Given at Edinburgh, 28th August, 1565, the twenty-third year of our reign.

Your Serenity's sister and kinswoman,
Mary R.

3. Mary Queen of Scots and Henry King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway, 1 October 1565⁷⁵

Henricus et Maria Dei gratia Scotorum rex et regina serenissimo principi Friderico eadem gratia Danorum regi, fratri et consanguineo nostro charissimo, salutem et faelices rereum successus. Serenissime princeps: Superioribus diebus Jacobum Loury et Joannem Udward mercatores Edinburgenses subditos nostros, nervam (?) obligavimus cum mandatis ut merces quasdam ad nostros usus necessaries nobis inde compararent. Quod quo tutius ac ab omni metu et periculo immunes perficere possent eos literis nostris munivimus quibus eorum conditio, fides et probitas extraneis abunde nota esse posset. Quos nihilominus peracto negotio per Suecorum regis milites interceptos et rivaliam perductos ac postea navem subditorum nostrorum mercibus onustam cum reliquis qui in navi superessent hominibus vi captam, bonis cum omnibus atque instrumentis navalibus ablati, mercatores captivos factos

74 *Subpraefectus cohortis* [Thomas Riis translates this as Lt Col (?)] ee: Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 2 p. 109.

75 Transcribed and translated by Dr Peter Maxwell-Stuart. Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, "Henry and Mary to Frederik II, 1 October 1565."

accepimus. Misimus igitur praesentium laterem Robertum Fyffe cum literis nostris praefato Suecorum regi, navis et captivorum procurandae libertatis causa. Quod si forte ipsum Robertum in portus navalia stationes oppida castrave ditionum vestrarum appulere contigerit serenitatem vestram obnixè rogamus quatenus iter tutum et liberum concedet, stricteque mandet ne ullum impedimentum per milites et subditos vestros sibi obiiciatur quominus libere uti posset vestris portibus urbibus aliisque locis ac pro suo arbitrio ingredi et congregi quoties res eius postulabunt. Id si feceris rem per se aequam facies et nobis imprimis gratam. Deus Optimus Maximus serenitatem vestram diu servet incolumem. Datum ex regia nostra Edinburgensi, Kalendae Octobris anno 1565 et regnorum nostrorum annis primo et vicesimotertio.

Serenitatis tui soror et consanguinea, Marie R.

Serenitatis tui frater et consanguineus, Henricus R.

Henry and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of Scots, to the most serene prince, Frederick, by the same grace King of the Danes, our dearest brother and kinsman: greeting, happiness, and success. Most serene Prince, within the last few days we commissioned James Lowry and John Udward, merchants of Edinburgh, our subjects, with instructions to furnish us thence certain monies necessary to our purposes. So that they might be able to do this more safely, and free from all fear and danger, we furnished them with our letter in which their situation, good faith, and trustworthiness could be made known amply to foreigners. Notwithstanding we have heard that once they had completed their business they were captured by the King of Sweden's soldiers and taken [*to Rival?*], that later on the ship laden with our subjects' money was captured by force, along with the rest of the men who remained in the ship, and all their belongings and ship's gear were removed. Therefore we have sent the bearer of these presents, Robert Fyffe, with our letter to the King of Sweden, to procure the liberty of the ship and prisoners. If by chance it happens that this Robert lands at the harbours, docks, anchorages, towns, or castles of your subjects, we humbly ask your Serenity to grant him safe and free passage, and to give strict instructions that no obstacle be put in his way by your soldiers and subjects, so that he can have free use of your harbours, cities, and other places, and enter and approach as he feels inclined [and] as often as his circumstances demand. If you do this, you will make the situation fair in itself and, above all, pleasing to us. May Almighty God keep your Serenity safe for a long time. Given at our palace of Edinburgh, 1st October, 1565, the first and twenty-third year of our reigns.

Your Serenity's sister and kinswoman, Mary R.

Your Serenity's brother and kinsman, Henry R.

Bibliography

Danish Rigsarkiv, Skotland, AI:

"Henry, King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Edinburgh, August 28, 1565; "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Edinburgh August 28, 1565; "Mary Queen of Scots and Henry, King of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Edinburgh, October 1, 1565; "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway" Edinburgh, April 14, 1566; "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway," Edinburgh, April 20, 1566; "Mary Queen of Scots to Frederik II of Denmark-Norway" Edinburgh, June 3, 1566.

National Archives of Scotland: B30/21/60; GD1/17/14; GD3/1/1/79/1; GD3/1/1/20/13; GD3/1/1/55/3; GD4/63; GD33/42/3; GD160/136/13; GD220/1/F/6/6/2; GD268/1025; SP13/89; SP13/93.

State Papers Online: SP70/82 f.23; SP70/68 f.12; SP52/11 f.25; ; SP52/10 f.30; SP52/11 f.25; SP52/12 f.28;

Bateson, J.D. (1997) *Coinage in Scotland* (London).

Bingham, Caroline (1995) *Darnley: A Life of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, Consort of Mary Queen of Scots* (London).

Boyd, W.K. et al. eds. (2005) *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547-1603* vol.2 (Burlington).

Brown, Keith M. ed., (2007) *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland*, <http://www.rps.ac.uk>.

Buchanan, George (1571) *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena & tragica planè historia.* (London).

Buchanan, George (1690) *The history of Scotland. Written in Latin by George Buchanan. Faithfully rendered into English.*, trans. Robert White book 17 (London).

Burton, John Hill, ed. (2004) *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* vol.1 (Burlington).

Calderwood, David (2006) *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson, 7 vols. (Burlington).

Claydon, Tony "William III and II (1650–1702), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and prince of Orange," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. B. Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew, Online ed. (Oxford).

Dawson, Jane E.A. (1986) "Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley, and Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," *The International History Review* 8, no. 1, February 1.

Donaldson, Gordon (1983) *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London).

Fraser, William (2006), *The Lennox: Memoirs and Muniments*, 2 vols. (Burlington).

Goodare, Julian (2004) "Mary Stewart (1542–1587), queen of Scots," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, (Online ed. Oxford).

Greig, Elaine Finnie (2008) "Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany [known as Lord Darnley] (1545/6–1567), second consort of Mary, queen of Scots," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. B. Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew, Online ed. (Oxford).

- Guy, J.A. (2004) *"My Heart Is My Own": The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London).
- Herries, John Maxwell (1836) *Historical Memoirs of the reign of Mary queen of Scots: and a Portion of the reign of King James the Sixth*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh).
- Kirchner, Walter (1945) "England and Denmark, 1558-1588," *The Journal of Modern History* 17, no. 1, March 1.
- Knox, John (1644) *The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland Containing Five Books: Together with Some Treatises Conducing to the History* (London: Printed by John Raworth for George Thomason and Octavian Pullen).
- Lockhart, Paul Douglas (2004) *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559-1596* (Leiden).
- Loughlin, Mark, "The Career of Maitland of Lethington c.1526-1573", PhD Thesis, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1991.
- Macauley, Sarah Jayne, "Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox and the politics of Britain, c.1543-1571", PhD Thesis, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2006.
- McLaren, Anne (2002) "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England," *The Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (July).
- Murdoch, Steve (2000) *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton).
- Redworth, Glyn (2008) "Philip [Philip II of Spain, Felipe II] (1527–1598), king of England and Ireland, consort of Mary I, and king of Spain," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. B. Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew, Online ed. (Oxford).
- Richardson, Adam B. ed., (1977) *Scottish Coins*, New ed. [i.e. 1st ed. reprinted]. (London).
- Riis, Thomas (1988) *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot: Scottish-Danish Relations, C. 1450-1707* 2 vols. (Odense).
- Stefánsson, Jón (1916) *Denmark and Sweden: With Iceland and Finland*, The story of the nations (London).
- Teulet, Jean Baptiste Alexandre Théodore (2009) *Papiers D'état, Pièces Et Documents Inédits Ou Peu Connus, relatifs a L'histoire De l'Écosse Au XVIe Siècle, Tirés Des Bibliothèques Et Des Archives De France, Et Publiés Pour Le Bannatyne Club d'Edimbourg* (Burlington).
- Wilkinson, Alexander S. (2004) *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542-1600* (Basingston).
- Wormald, Jenny (1988) *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London).