Programme (provisional)

Wednesday, 9th July  
Arrive in Paris in time for dinner

Thursday, 10th July  
Visit Saint-Germain-en-Laye

Friday, 11th July  
After a morning of free time in Paris, possibly including a visit to the Scots College, travel by train to Gien/Aubigny-sur-Nère

Saturday, 12th July - Monday, 14th July  
Fête Franco-Écossaise in Aubigny-sur-Nère plus excursions to other attractions

Tuesday, 15th July  
Return to the UK

This programme may be changed when the programme for the festival in Aubigny is published.

In any event, the programme is flexible. Some people may not want to visit Saint-Germain, for example, and may prefer to go directly to Aubigny. Returning on the Monday, however, is probably not a good idea, as this is France's most important public holiday.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, a suburb of Paris, was the site of the Jacobite court in exile from 1688 until 1718.

James II of England and VII of Scotland fled there in December 1688, following the successful invasion of England by William of Orange, and was deemed to have abdicated his throne. In March 1689 he made an attempt to recover the English throne, landing in Ireland with a largely French army. After his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, however, he returned to Saint-Germain, where he spent the rest of his life. He died there on 16th September 1701. His wife, Queen Mary of Modena, continued to live at Saint-Germain until her death in 1718.

His son, Prince James Francis Edward Stuart ("The Old Pretender") was declared King James VIII of Scotland and III of England at Saint-Germain upon the death of his father. Apart from an abortive foray to reclaim the English throne in 1708, James remained at Saint-Germain until 1713, when he was forced to move to Bar-le-Duc, then in the independent Duchy of Lorraine, as the result of the peace treaty between France and England (and Spain) signed by Louis XIV at the Congress of Utrecht. After the failure of the 1715 Rising, he moved to Avignon, then governed by the Pope. In 1717 he departed...
to Italy, living initially at Urbino and then in Rome, where his son Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) was born in 1720 and where James died in 1766.

The Jacobite court at Saint-Germain was a significant one. Nicolas Maclean-Bristol in *Castor and Pollux* estimates that the court probably numbered about 1,000 people, although the majority of these were English. In 1696 the household servants alone numbered 225 people. There were significant numbers of Italians in the household of the Queen, together with small groups of Scots and Irish. Saint-Germain was an important political centre, certainly capable of holding its own with the French court at Versailles. It also became an important centre of English and Italian culture. The famous French composer François Couperin worked extensively at the court during 1691-1712. Alexis Simon Belle was the court's portrait painter.

The 20th Chief of the Clan Maclean, Sir John Maclean, 4th Baronet, lived there from 1692, after the surrender of the Jacobite clans to the Government (and after surrendering Duart Castle), until November 1703. Another illustrious Maclean, Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter, was also intermittently a member of the court.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye was founded in about 1020 by King Robert the Pious, who established a convent on the site of the present Church of Saint-Germain. It was named in honour of Saint Germain of Paris (c 496-576), who was a bishop of Paris and who was canonized in 754.

The Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which was the seat of the Jacobite court, had been the residence of several French monarchs. The original castle was built by Louis VI in around 1122 and expanded by Louis IX in 1238. Charles V (1338-1380) demolished this and built another chateau on the same site in 1348. This château was restored by Francois I (1494-1547) in the early 16th century. Louis XIV (1638-1715), the Sun King, was born in the château and established Saint-Germain-en-Laye as his principal residence from 1661 to 1681. He turned over the château to James, who was his cousin, in 1688. It was turned into a museum by the Emperor Napoléon II in 1862 and is now the National Museum of Archaeology.

James and his wife and daughter Princess Louise-Marie were all buried in the parish church, which contains a magnificent funerary chapel with numerous monuments devoted to the King and his family.

**Useful websites**

- [http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/France/SaintGermain.htm](http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/France/SaintGermain.htm) - mainly about the parish church where James II and his wife and daughter are buried
Scots College, Paris

The Scots College (Collège des Écossais), located at 65 rue du Cardinal-Lemoine in the Latin Quarter on the Left Bank, was for centuries the centre of Scottish Catholic life in Paris. Until 1793 the College was part of the University of Paris. Today it is a Dominican Convent and private primary school, the École Sainte Geneviève. On the second floor of the college the chapel, whose high altar is dominated by a painting of the martyrdom of St. Andrew (pictured), contains a number of funerary monuments of Jacobite interest, including monuments to James II, his wife and his daughter.

James Beaton (1517-1603), Archbishop of Glasgow, who lived in Paris for forty-three years and was the Scottish ambassador to five successive kings of France, bequeathed the archives of the Diocese of Glasgow and a great mass of important correspondence to the College and is commemorated (as 'Jacobus de Bethun') on a plaque (pictured) in the chapel. (The Beatons are a sept of the Clan Maclean.)

Useful websites
- [http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Canada/Quebec/ParisScotsCollege.htm](http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Canada/Quebec/ParisScotsCollege.htm) - more from the Jacobite Gazetteer (but note that the College is no longer the home of the Association Franco-Ecossaise, as stated on the webpage)

Aubigny-sur-Nère

For 25 years the town of Aubigny-sur-Nère, about one and a half hours south of Paris by train, has been host to an annual festival celebrating the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France. This year for the first time the Clan Maclean Association of England and Wales, following its previous highly successful and enjoyable overseas trips to Waterloo (2011) and Sweden (2013), is linking up with the Clan Maclean Association of France to join the celebrations.

There is no specific Maclean connection with Aubigny, which was actually given to the Stuarts in 1422 and owned by them, off and on, for the next 400 years (see Annex I). It is certainly appropriate, however, for Macleans to participate in a festival celebrating the Auld Alliance, the alliance between Scotland and France that dates back to 1295, in whose history Macleans played a prominent role (see Annex II).
No detailed programme for the festival has yet been published. In previous years, however, the festivities have included parades of Scottish pipe bands, a Highland Games to celebrate Bastille Day, a costumed pageant and a vast son et lumière [sound and light] portraying Aubigny’s history. There will also be a clan tent, in which the Macleans will have a stall.

Aubigny itself is a wonderfully picturesque town, characterised by half-timbered houses that in many cases date back to the early 16th century. In 1512 most of Aubigny was devastated by fire and the then Stuart incumbent, Robert, allowed trees from his estate to be used in the rebuilding. Other attractions include:

- Château d’Aubigny-sur-Nère, the castle built by the Stuarts in the 15th century and now the Town Hall
- Eglise Saint-Martin (the Church of St Martin), which dates back to the 13th century
- Château de la Verrerie, a glorious Renaissance castle built in the 16th century, now a hotel (but open to the public, with lots to see - see website link below)
- Museum of the Auld Alliance, housed in the Town Hall (see above)
- The older half-timbered house such as the Maison François I (next to the church), the Maison Pont des Foulons (House of the Fullers and the only one that survived the 1512 fire), Maison du Bailli (House of the Bailiff) and the Maison Saint-Jean
- Château de Blancafort (the 'castle of scents', 9 km outside Aubigny - see website link below)
- Musée de la Sorcellerie (Museum of Sorcery) at Concreussault, about 15 km from Aubigny, ideal for children - see website link below

There is also a splendid brocante [flea market] in Aubigny on Saturday mornings.

Of course, being in France, the food and the wine are also important attractions. Aubigny and its environs have several good restaurants and not far away is Sancerre, famous not only for its wine but also for its ham, its beer and its Crottin de Chavignol goats' cheese.

Useful websites
Travel and accommodation

Given the flexibility of the programme, we are leaving it up to anyone who wishes to join this trip to make their own travel and accommodation arrangements. We do however plan to travel together and to meet as a group for meals as far as possible. The visits to Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the Scots College in Paris will also be undertaken as a group. Anyone wishing to join this trip should therefore register their interest with the Secretary (see below). We will then liaise regarding which trains to catch, where and when we shall be meeting etc.

We shall travel to and from Saint-Germain-en-Laye by RER, which takes about 30 minutes from the centre of Paris.

For Aubigny, we shall travel by Intercity train from the Gare de Bercy to Gien, which takes about 1½ hours. From Gien to Aubigny takes approximately 25 minutes by taxi. This should be booked in advance. Otherwise, it is possible to hire a car, which may be the best option for those who have accommodation outside Aubigny and/or who want to visit some of the attractions outside Aubigny.

Aubigny is a small town, with only 6,000 inhabitants, which makes it very easy to walk about. It does however mean that accommodation is limited and gets booked up very quickly. Anyone who wants to join this trip is strongly advised to book accommodation as quickly as possible. For hardy souls, there are also camp-sites.

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Aubigny-sur-Nère and the Stuart line

Introduction
The year 1415 saw the French in dire straits. The army of Henry V of England had defeated the French at Agincourt and the French nobility was decimated. English troops occupied Northern France, and the Treaty of Troyes (1420) was imposed on the French king Charles VI and his divided court. The treaty provided for the marriage of Henry V to Charles VI's daughter and the accession of Henry V to the French throne upon the death of Charles VI, passing over the Dauphin Charles, son of Charles VI.

Earlier, in June 1419, the Dauphin had escaped Paris and taken refuge in Bourges. There, invoking the Auld Alliance (see Annex II), he summoned the Scots to his help. A contingent of 6,000 soldiers duly arrived from Scotland, led by the Duke of Albany, the Earl of Douglas and Sir John Stuart, lord of Darnley. For the next five years the Scots provided crucial support to the Dauphin, who assumed the name of Charles VII on the death of his father in 1422. They allowed the party of Charles VII to resist the English, until fortune changed sides with the counter-offensive led by Joan of Arc in 1429-31. In particular, a stunning victory was achieved at Baugé in 1421, during which the Duke of Clarence, brother of the English king, was killed. The Scottish troops were heavily defeated at Cravant in 1423 and at Verneuil in 1424, and again trying to relieve the besieged town of Orléans in 1429. Orléans was however relieved later that year by Joan of Arc, and Paris and Normandy were retaken in 1436. The remnants of the Scottish force stayed in the service of the king of France, reorganized as the Gardes Écossaises when a permanent French army was formed in 1475, and remained the premier corps of the King's Household Troops until the Revolution. The captainship of these troops remained hereditary in the Stuart of Darnley family until the 17th century.

Charles VII had little money with which to reward his supporters. One way to express his gratitude was to bestow honours; and giving fiefs was a way to help them support the costs of war far from home.

The Stuarts of Darnley, Lords of Aubigny
After the battle of Baugé, Sir John Stuart, lord of Darnley, was given the lordship of Concessault in Berry and later, in 1422 or 1424 (sources vary), the nearby lordship of Aubigny-sur-Nère, for himself and his male heirs. As was customary with grants of royal estates, Aubigny was to return to the crown upon extinction of the male line of the grantee.

John Stuart was captured by the English during the battle of Cravant and thus missed the defeat at Verneuil, at which both the Earl of Buchan and the Earl of Douglas were killed. Charles VII obtained his release by the payment of a ransom and Sir John Stuart took over as commander of the remaining Scottish troops. In 1426 he
took part in a victory over the English at Mont St. Michel, which won him the right to quarter his own arms with the French royal arms. In 1427 he was made count of Evreux.

Sir John Stuart, 1st Lord of Aubigny, was killed in battle in February 1429, trying to relieve Orléans, and was buried in the cathedral church there. His eldest son Alan inherited the lands in Scotland, and his second son John inherited Aubigny as the 2nd Lord.

John (d. 1482) was succeeded by his son Bernard (c1452-1508), 3rd Lord of Aubigny, who among other things commanded the French troops that helped the Earl of Richmond to defeat Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485 and become King Henry VII of England. Bernard's daughter Anne married her cousin Robert Stuart (c1470-1544), grandson of Alan and son of another John; a Marshal of France, he became the 4th Lord of Aubigny. After Robert, Aubigny went to another younger son of the elder branch, John Stuart (c1519-1567), 5th Lord of Aubigny. He was succeeded by his son Esmé Stuart (1542-1583), 6th Lord of Aubigny; his younger son, also Esmé (1579-1624), 7th Lord of Aubigny; the younger Esmé's son Henry (1616-1632), 8th Lord of Aubigny; Henry's younger brother George (1618-1642), 9th Lord of Aubigny; George's younger brother Ludovic (1619-1665), 10th Lord of Aubigny; and then George's son Charles Stuart (1639-1672), 11th Lord of Aubigny, who died without issue.

**Lennoxes, Dukes of Aubigny**

Meanwhile, the elder branch of the Stuarts of Darnley had acquired royal status. Mary Queen of Scots (herself of course a Stuart) had married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, her first cousin, and their son became James VI of Scotland and I of England. Thus, when Charles Stuart, 11th Lord of Aubigny, died in 1672, the heir to Aubigny was the king of England and Scotland, Charles II, the grandson of James VI. Louis XIV, however, baulked at having a foreign sovereign as an owner of fiefs in France, and he refused to acknowledge the inheritance. In January 1673 an arrêt du conseil pronounced the reversion of Aubigny to the crown.

In December 1673, however, Louis XIV agreed to give the fief of Aubigny to Charles II's mistress Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, with reversion to an illegitimate son of hers, of Charles II's choosing, and his heirs males\(^1\). By Letters Patent of January 1684, the fief of Aubigny was created a duchy-peerage, on the same terms. The letters patent were not however registered by Parliament within the time permitted. Although therefore the property and the Lordship could continue to be held by Louise de Kéroualle's male heirs, the dukedom became (temporarily) extinct on her death in 1734. She spent most of her last years, after the death of Charles II in 1685, at the Château de la Verrerie in Aubigny.

\(^1\) In fact Louise had only one son, Charles Lennox, born in 1672. By birth a Stuart, he was given the surname Lennox, after Charles II's Stuart ancestors, the Dukes of Lennox (in the first creation - see below).
The Lordship and the property were sequestered during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) but returned to its owner pursuant to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

On the Duchess of Portsmouth's death in 1734 the Lordship of Aubigny passed to her grandson, Charles Lennox (1701-1750), 2nd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, her son, the 1st Duke\(^2\), having predeceased her. He was succeeded as Lord of Aubigny by his son, also Charles Lennox (1734-1806), 3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox. In 1777, however Louis XVI issued *lettres de surannation* which in effect gave renewed force to the original letters patent. These letters patent were registered by Parliament later in the same year. The Dukedom of Aubigny was thus restored to the 3rd Duke of Richmond and made hereditary.


Meanwhile the property at Aubigny was sequestered again in 1792 at the start of the French Revolutionary Wars but returned to its owner, the 3rd Duke of Richmond, after the peace of Amiens in 1802. Sequestered once more in 1803 when war broke out again, it was confiscated as property of a British subject by a decree of 21 November 1806.

The treaty of Paris of 30 May 1814, which called for the return of all sequestered property, included a separate, secret and unpublished clause, which specified that "the sequester on the duchy of Aubigny and its appurtenances shall be removed, and the duke of Richmond shall be given possession of these estates in their present state." A royal *ordonnance* of 8th July 1814 and an *arrêt* of the prefect of the Cher department of 3rd August 1814 put this into effect. On 30th November 1814, the 4th Duke, who had succeeded his uncle as Duke of Aubigny in 1806, recovered his property. He was even given an indemnity for the portions of the estates that had been sold and for the foregone income. He

\(^2\) by the second creation of this Dukedom. The Dukedom was first created for Esmé Stuart, Earl of Lennox and 6th Lord of Aubigny, in 1581. His elder son, Ludovic (1574-1624), the second Duke, was additionally made Duke of Richmond; at his death, the dukedom of Richmond became extinct. James Stuart (1612-1655), the fourth Duke of Lennox, was also created Duke of Richmond. At the death of Charles Stuart (1639-1672), the sixth Duke and 11th Lord of Aubigny, both the dukedoms became extinct. The Dukedom of Richmond and one month later that of Lennox were re-created in 1675 for Charles Lennox, the natural (illegitimate) son of Charles II by Louise de Kéroualle.
died in 1819, and his son the 5th Duke inherited Aubigny.

The 5th Duke of Richmond faced one difficulty. A law of 14 ventôse 7 (1799) had provided that owners of property subject to a reversion clause to the crown had to pay a quarter of the value of their property in order to retain full ownership. The duke claimed to be exempt from that law, but the courts ruled against him (court of Sancerre, 1836; appeals court of Bourges, 1837; Court of Cassation, 1840).

In addition, in 1834 he was sued by the sisters of the 3rd Duke. They claimed that under post-Revolutionary French law the estate should have been shared at the death of the 3rd Duke between all heirs equally. The sisters demanded four-fifths of the estate. The Duke argued that the clause of the treaty of 1814 created an exception to that law in his favour, and that the courts were incompetent to interpret or alter an international treaty. He lost in the court of Sancerre in 1834, but won on appeal to the court of Bourges in 1835. The Court of Cassation overturned the appeal on 24 June 1839, saying that there was no reason to suppose that the said clause was intended to create such an exception to general French law.

As the result, in 1840 the Duke of Richmond sold his entire property holdings in Berry. He did however retain the title of Duke of Aubigny, which the current Duke still holds.

Sources and related websites

- http://www.heraldica.org/topics/france/scotfr.htm
- http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/people_stewart_john_darnley_1429.html
- http://archive.org/details/someaccountstua00custgoog - an online version of Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny, in France (1422-1672) by Lady Elizabeth Cust, privately printed at the Chiswick Press (1891)
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duke_of_Lennox - Wikipedia article on the Dukes of Lennox. All the Lennox Dukes of Aubigny have their own Wikipedia articles, which can be accessed through the Wikipedia website concerning the Dukes of Aubigny (see above)
- http://carnetsdaubigny.canalblog.com/ - an extensive website (in French) on Aubigny and the Stuart connections
- http://www.goodwood.co.uk/goodwood-house/the-history/the-family-the-beginnings.aspx - the website of the family of the Duke of Richmond, Lennox, Gordon and Aubigny
Auld Alliance

Introduction

The Auld Alliance is the name given to the long-standing mutual defence pact between Scotland and France, described (with calculated appeal but dubious historical accuracy) by Général de Gaulle in 1942 as the oldest alliance in the world\(^1\). Although one-sided in purely military terms, the Alliance played an important role in the relations between Scotland, France and England from its beginning in 1295 until the 1560 Treaty of Edinburgh. It was renewed by all the French and Scottish monarchs of that period except for Louis XI. By the late 14th century, the renewal occurred regardless of whether either kingdom was involved in a conflict with England.

Origins

Although there was certainly military cooperation between the two countries in the 12th and early 13th centuries - for example, the invasion of England in 1215 led by Alexander II of Scotland in support of Robert FitzWalter and the Dauphin Louis, during the First Barons' War - the Auld Alliance is normally considered to have begun with the Treaty of Paris in October 1295.

At the time, Philippe IV of France (1285-1314)\(^2\) had declared his intention of recovering Gascony, then in the possession of England, while Edward I of England (1272-1307) was determined to subjugate Scotland, whose King, John Balliol, had been placed on the Scottish throne by Edward and had sworn allegiance to him, against the wishes of the Scots barons.

The treaty was not evenly balanced and indeed, in purely military terms, the French benefitted from the Auld Alliance more than the Scots throughout its history. Under the original treaty, the French agreed only to continue the fight against the English in Gascony. The Scots on the other hand agreed to come to the aid of the French by waging war on the English. The treaty was however important for Scotland in terms of securing an alliance with one of the major powers in Europe.

The treaty was of little immediate benefit. In 1296 Edward I invaded Scotland and all but conquered it. The French provided no help to the Scots; on the contrary, in 1299 they concluded hostilities with the English under the Treaty of Montreuil and cemented this with the Treaty of Paris in 1303. This allowed Edward to devote all his resources towards the war with Scotland. Scotland's survival was due to the success of Robert the Bruce (1306-1329), most notably in 1314 at the Battle of Bannockburn, in which the Macleans participated and whose anniversary we are celebrating this year.

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\(^1\) It is generally held that the oldest alliance in the world is the one between England and Portugal that was ratified by the Treaty of Windsor in May 1386 and remains in force today.

\(^2\) All dates for kings are the dates of their reigns.
**Treaty renewals**

In 1326 the alliance was formally renewed by the Treaty of Corbeil. Robert the Bruce was keen to buttress his own position, because both Edward II of England (1307-1327) and a large section of Scottish nobility refused to recognise him as king and were therefore unlikely to accept his son. Charles IV of France (1322-1328) was also facing a new war with the English. Again, the treaty was one-sided; the Scots were required to attack England in the event of a war with France, while the French only promised their ally 'aid and counsel' in peace and war. Nevertheless, it gave Robert the Bruce important political clout.

For a time the French stood aside from the struggle between the supporters of Edward Balliol and David II, the son of Robert the Bruce, for the Scottish throne. Eventually however Philippe VI of France (1328-1350) threw his weight behind the Bruce faction and by 1336 was planning to send troops to Scotland in support. When Philippe diverted his Mediterranean fleet to the Channel, Edward III of England (1327-1377) abandoned his support for Edward Balliol in order to concentrate his efforts on defeating the French. Thus in 1337 began the so-called Hundred Years War (1337-1453) between England and France, which for a time took the pressure off Scotland.

In 1346 the French army was virtually destroyed at the Battle of Crécy and, when David II of Scotland (1329-1371) invaded England in response to Philippe VI's call for help, he himself suffered a heavy defeat at the Battle of Neville's Cross and was taken prisoner. France and Scotland only survived because Edward III accepted French land instead of pushing his claim to the French throne, and accepted a ransom for David instead of nominating his own choice for the Scottish throne.

In 1371 the new Scottish king, Robert II (1371-1390), the first of the Stuart kings, renewed the alliance with the French by the Treaty of Vincennes. In 1383 he renewed this agreement again, promising to renew the war against England, where Richard II (1377-1399) was now on the throne, in return for money, equipment and troops. Accordingly, in 1385 2,000 French soldiers landed at Leith. This was not a success. The French loathed the comparative poverty of Scotland and helped themselves to provisions without payment. Their style of fighting was also very different to the 'hit and run' tactics of the Scots. They soon returned to France, although not before being forced to pay for all the provisions that they had appropriated.

The disaster at Agincourt in 1415 (see Annex I) forced the French to call for Scottish aid again and between 1419 and 1424 as many as 15,000 Scottish soldiers arrived in France. Many of them subsequently stayed and became French citizens. Although successive defeats at Cravant, Verneuil and Rouvray St Dennis almost annihilated the Scottish troops, they had given France valuable breathing-space and this ultimately ensured France's
In 1428 the alliance was renewed again between Charles VII of France (1422-1461) and James I of Scotland (1406-1437), and included an agreement that Charles' son Louis should marry James' daughter Margaret. This marriage, the first dynastic alliance in the history of the Auld Alliance, took place in June 1436.

Following the end of the Hundred Years War in 1453, Scotland under James III (1460-1488) began to move away from France towards England. This policy was however reversed by James IV (1488-1513), who renewed the Auld Alliance in 1491. Although he then concluded the Treaty of Perpetual Peace with Henry VII of England (1485-1509) in 1502, he refused Henry's request that he should break the league with France. Henry VIII (1509-1547) was more aggressive towards France and in 1513 James IV invaded England at the request of Louis XII of France (1498-1515), who invoked the Auld Alliance, only to meet death and disaster at the Battle of Flodden Field.

The later years
Neither Louis XII nor his successor, Francis I (1515-1547), had any regard for Scottish interests and after Flodden the Scots were reluctant to do anything to help the French, although John Stuart, Duke of Albany, did succeed in renewing the Auld Alliance in 1517, by the Treaty of Rouen.

Under James V (1513-1542), however, the links with France were strengthened, not least because of England's move to Protestantism under Henry VIII. James himself married first Francis' daughter, Madeleine de Valois, and then after her early death Mary of Guise-Lorraine. This prompted Henry VIII to declare war against Scotland. The outcome was disastrous for Scotland, with the Scottish army being routed at the Battle of Solway Moss in 1542. The French were too busy fighting the Hapsburgs to be of any help. James V died soon afterwards and was succeeded by his infant daughter Mary, Queen of Scots.

Henry VIII saw a marriage between Mary and his own son, Prince Edward, as a way of linking the two countries and separating Scotland and France. This suggestion was however rejected by the Scots, causing Henry to embark on the so-called War of Rough Wooing. Mary instead married the Dauphin Francis, the son and heir to Henry II of France (1547-1559) in 1558. Following this, Scotland offered Francis the crown matrimonial, effectively making him King of Scotland.

Increasing numbers of French arrived in Scotland as the result, to the extent that Scotland began to feel that France, rather than England, was the greater threat to their independence. At the same time, Protestantism was gaining

3 The extent of Maclean participation in this battle remains unclear - see http://www.maclean.org/heritage-trust/maclean-heritage-6.php
ground in Scotland – John Knox returned from the Calvinist stronghold of Geneva in May 1559 – leading eventually to the Protestant faction in Scotland calling upon Elizabeth I of England (1558-1603) for help in ejecting the French. Apart from the religious aspect, Elizabeth was concerned at the threat that Mary, who as a Catholic was regarded by many in Europe as the rightful Queen of England, presented to her own legitimacy. In 1560 therefore she entered into an alliance with the Scottish Protestants and in pursuance of this ordered an English army across the border to lay siege to the French in Leith. This ended with both the French and the English agreeing under the Treaty of Edinburgh to leave Scotland. With Francis II dying a few months later, this has generally been considered to mark the end of the Auld Alliance.

This has been disputed. Modern historians have argued that the Treaty of Edinburgh made no mention of ending the Auld Alliance and that even after the Act of Union in 1707 the alliance continued on the basis of trade. Also, as noted above, Louis XIV allowed his palace at Saint-Germain-en-Laye to be used by the Jacobite court in exile from 1688 until 1718, although after signing the Treaty of Utrecht with England in 1713 he forced James VIII (the Old Pretender) to leave the country. Similarly, James' son Prince Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender) was given temporary refuge in France but expelled when Louis XV signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with England in 1748. It is also suggested that France refused to accept Westminster’s abrogation of the Scottish side of the Auld Alliance in 1906, following the Entente Cordiale between Britain and France. So Général de Gaulle's assertion may not be too wide of the mark after all!

**Cui bono?**

Who benefited from the Alliance? In purely military terms France benefitted from Scottish military support at two crucial junctures in its history, the first following the Battle of Crécy in 1346 and the second following the French defeat at Agincourt in 1415. Although in the first case France's survival was as much due to Edward III of England's lack of political will as it was to the efforts of the Scots, the fact that Henry V of England did not succeed in his aim of becoming King of France (having been nominated as the heir to King Charles VI of France under the Treaty of Troyes in 1420) was almost entirely due to the Scots.

Prior to Crécy, Scotland undoubtedly benefited from the aid provided by Philippe VI of France, as the result of which Edward III abandoned his efforts to install Edward Balliol on the throne of Scotland and embarked instead on the Hundred Years War with France. Scotland however paid a high price for this relief, with heavy defeat at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 when David II invaded England at Philippe VI's request.

Two further wars with England prompted by the Alliance ended for Scotland with the disasters of Flodden Field in 1513 and Solway Moss in 1546. When France eventually did send forces to Scotland in 1523, the disillusioned Scots refused to take an active part in the fighting and the French withdrew.
In military terms, therefore, Scotland gained no real benefit from the Alliance. Indeed, its cost in terms of Scottish lives was very high. Moreover, the Alliance was never an effective deterrent; successive English kings never hesitated to go to war with France or Scotland in pursuit of their aims.

Scotland may be said to have benefited economically from trade with France and from the pay that Scots received for fighting with the French forces. Culturally, too, Scotland learned from France. Most of the scholars of the 16th century Scots Renaissance studied in France and Scottish domestic architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries clearly shows French influence.

Overall, however, it is hard to disagree with the verdict of the Scottish historian, J.B. Black: "The Scot['s...] love for their 'auld' ally had never been a positive sentiment nourished by community of culture, but an artificially created affection based on the negative basis of hatred of England, and merely for the benefits brought by the philosophical theory that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"."

Sources and related websites
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Auld_Alliance
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