

# Inheritance, war and antiquarianism: Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny et de Concessault 1429–37<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

*This article concerns the establishment in France of the Lennox-Stuart/Stewarts<sup>2</sup> of Darnley at the height of the Hundred Years' War in the 1420s. In time, they were to become possibly the single most important family involved in the politics and diplomacy of the monarchies and government in the kingdoms of Scotland, France and England during the entire 15th and 16th centuries. This research also concerns a re-evaluation of the works of those 18th- and 19th-century antiquarians who have been the principal authors of this family's Histories, by verifying their interpretations of sources, in particular their manuscript sources in the archives and libraries of all three ancient kingdoms.<sup>3</sup> This is in line with recent reviews of the works of antiquarians of all eras; but the works of the 18th-century antiquarians have been of particular interest.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the history of this family has relied, up until now, entirely on the works of antiquarians which, due to general pejorative views of their publications, have suffered a seeming distrust by modern professional historians. Finally, recent research into the private Stuart archives at the Château de La Verrerie demonstrates the rationale and legal mechanisms by which Charles VII intervened in 1437 regarding the inheritance of Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley's seigneuries d'Aubigny et de Concessault by his brother John. This document is important, as it set a precedence for later legal inheritance and transfer of the titles of the seigneuries in the family, and ultimately to transferring the lands and title to the Scottish Lennox-Stuarts/Stewarts and their descendants in the 16th century.*

1 I am grateful for a Research Fellowship awarded by Columbia University, New York, at their Institute for Scholars, Reid Hall, Paris, for the academic year 2007–8, which enabled me to undertake the research for this paper both in France and in Scotland. I am also grateful to Monsieur Béraud, comte de Vogüé, for giving me access to the private Stuart archive at his Château de La Verrerie. An early draft of this paper was presented at the Society for the Study of French History Conference at Cambridge University in July 2011. There has been some modernisation of 15th-century English and translation of French documents and texts, for which I take full responsibility.

2 Both forms of spelling are correct, but *Stewart* is the original Scottish spelling. *Stuart* is the French spelling deriving from the 1420s and the Hundred Years' War and the subsequent donation by Charles VII of the seigneurie d'Aubigny to 'Jean Stuart de Darnle' [John Stewart of Darnley] in 1423 (Archives Nationales, Paris [hereafter AN], Carton des Rois K 168, No 91). From

that time onwards, the English appear to have adopted the French form: Elizabeth Bonner, 'Scotland's "Auld Alliance" with France, 1295–1560' [hereafter Bonner, 'Auld Alliance'], *History* 84 (Jan 1999), p 16, n 51. In this present article, the nomination of the spelling *Stewart* or *Stuart* is dependent entirely upon the spelling given in the original manuscript. In references to the family in Scotland, however, *Stewart* is always used.

3 There are a number of others, but the principal authors are: Andrew Stuart, *Genealogical History of the Stuarts from the earliest period of their authentic history to the present times* [hereafter Stuart, *History of the Stuarts*] (London, 1798), and Elizabeth Cust, *Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France, 1422–1672* [hereafter Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*] (London, 1891).

4 For example, Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 2004).

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On 12 February 1429, Sir John Stewart of Darnley, seigneur d'Aubigny et de Concessault, comte d'Évreux and Constable of the Scottish army in France, was slain at the Battle of Rouvray, colloquially known as the Battle of the Herrings, when he and his brother, Sir William Stewart of Castlemilk, who was also slain, were attempting to relieve the Siege of Orléans. Thus the question of whether his eldest son and heir, Alan Stewart, inherited his father's French offices and titles in 1429 has created an historiographical problem for both French and British writers, genealogists and other commentators from the 18th to the 20th centuries. This question, arising as it does at a pivotal point of the Hundred Years' War, requires that it be placed within the context of the Franco-Scottish alliance against their mutual enemy, England.

The Lennox-Stuart/Stewart history forms a major and important part of the 'Auld Alliance', as the Scots referred to their relationship with France. The first Franco-Scottish treaty of which there remains documentary evidence is the one contracted between John Balliol, King of Scots, and Philippe IV (le Bel), which was signed at Paris on 23 October 1295.<sup>5</sup> It was a defensive and offensive alliance directed against England and the incursions of Edward I, who was pressing his claims to overlordship of the Scots. By the terms of the alliance, neither the French nor the Scots would make a separate peace with England. It was further strengthened by the proposed marriage of John Balliol's son, Edward, to Philippe IV's niece. Finally, and notably in this era, the French

requested that the treaty should be ratified not only by King John but also by the Scottish prelates, barons, knights and communities of the towns. Professor Nicholson says that 'the Scottish burgesses made their entry into high affairs of state when the seals of their six burghs were attached to the Scottish ratification at Dunfermline on 23 February 1296'.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, the 'Auld Alliance' was signed by every Scottish and French monarch (with the exception of Louis XI) from 1295 to the mid-16th century. By this time, however, fact had become enmeshed with the fable, engendered by early Scottish historians, of the alliance with Charlemagne and the ancient Scottish kings. This fabulous story was shown to be without foundation by Father Thomas Innes in the 18th century; but, from the 15th century until then, Scots and French alike firmly believed in the antiquity of their alliance with Charlemagne.<sup>7</sup>

In France, by the beginning of the 15th century, the renewal of the 'Auld Alliance' after the accession of either a French or Scottish

5 Scottish Ratification signed at Dunfermline, 12 February 1296, AN, Trésor des Chartes J. 677, No 1, original on parchment, six seals attached with red and green silk ties; also see copies: National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [hereafter NLS], Advocates MSS. 35. 1. 5, fos 6-14; British Library, London [hereafter BL], Harleian Collection 1244, fos 18-26; *Foedera Conventiones, Litterae etc.*, ed Thomas Rymer (London, 1704-35), vol 2, pp 680ff; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed J Bain (Edinburgh, 1834), vol 2 (1272-1307), pp 166-7.

6 The six burghs were: Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick. Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* [hereafter Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*] (Edinburgh, 1978), p 47; for the ratification: *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707* [hereafter APS], ed T Thomson and C Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75), vol 1, pp 451-3.

7 Françoise Autrand and Philippe Contamine, 'Remarques sur les alliances des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles. La forme et le fond: (Françoise Autrand) "L'Alliance France-Castille", pp 83-94; (Philippe Contamine) "Les Alliances Franco-Écossaises de 1371 et 1448-1449"', pp 94-110, in *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie: Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit*, ed Lucien Bély and Isabelle Richeford (Paris, 2000); Françoise Autrand, 'Aux Origines de l'Europe moderne: l'alliance France-Écosse au XIVe siècle', in *The Auld Alliance: France and Scotland over 700 Years*, ed James Laidlaw [hereafter Laidlaw, *The Auld Alliance*] (Edinburgh, 1999), pp 33-46; for further elaboration of the 'Auld Alliance' in the 14th and 15th centuries, including an analysis of these two articles, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'Charles VII's dynastic policy and the "Auld Alliance": the marriage of James II and Marie de Gueldres', *Innes Review* 54 (Autumn, 2003), pp 142-85; also see Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', pp 5-30.

monarch seems to have become an accepted practice, even if neither kingdom was under threat of attack or invasion by England. But it was at this time that Henry V (who, it has been argued, from the first was aiming at a union of the English and French crowns) resurrected Edward III's claim to the French crown by invading France and winning a stunning victory at Agincourt on 25 October 1415. These were desperate years for the French. The English had been fighting in the armies of the Burgundians, who had also set their sights on the French crown. In 1418, they not only captured Paris but also took possession of the French king, Charles VI.<sup>8</sup> It was in this period that the military aspect of the 'Auld Alliance' really took shape. In view of these bellicose threats from England and Burgundy, the French made urgent appeals abroad for mercenary troops to augment the French standing army, which had been set up in the years between 1356 and 1369.<sup>9</sup> Recruiting took place during 1416 and 1417, at which time the Scots, who were by far the most numerous of the foreign groups in France, began to make an appearance on French battlefields.<sup>10</sup>

Sir John Stewart of Darnley was one of the commanders, under the charge of John Stewart, earl of Buchan, and Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown, of a large Scottish force of some 6,000

men<sup>11</sup> sent to France in 1419 by Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, regent for James I.<sup>12</sup> This was in response to pleas from the Dauphin (later Charles VII) for assistance against Henry V's army, which was devastating France following the English king's victory at Agincourt in 1415. The first major and victorious engagement against the English for the Scottish contingent was the Battle of Baugé, on 22 March 1421, in which the English commander, the Duke of Clarence, Henry V's brother, was slain. The jubilant Dauphin rewarded the Scots commanders generously for this and other successful encounters against the English in the next few years. Buchan received Chatillon-sur-Indre, and in 1422 he was made Constable of France; Seton was granted Langesis; Wigtown received Dun le Roi and was made count of Longueville; while John Stewart of Darnley received Concessault in 1421<sup>13</sup> and was designated Constable of the Scots in France.<sup>14</sup> On 26 March 1423, Darnley was granted the seigneurie d'Aubigny by Charles VII, who declared in his letters patent that:

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- 8 John Palmer, 'The War Aims of the Protagonists and the Negotiations for Peace', *The Hundred Years' War*, ed Kenneth Fowler (London, 1971) [hereafter Fowler, *Hundred Years' War*], pp 66–9. C T Allmand says that 'there can be no doubting that Henry V's military ability, and the successes which it produced, was highly regarded by his contemporaries: ... the war with France was the single most important theme of his reign', 'Henry V the Soldier, and the War in France', *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed G L Harriss (Oxford, 1985), p 119.
- 9 Kenneth Fowler, 'War and Change in Late Medieval France and England', Fowler, *Hundred Years' War*, p 16.
- 10 Brian G H Ditcham, 'The Employment of Foreign Mercenary Troops in the French Royal Armies, 1415–1470', unpublished PhD thesis (Edinburgh University, 1979) [hereafter Ditcham, Thesis], p 8. This thesis is one of the best analyses of the Hundred Years' War from a Scottish point of view.

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- 11 Ditcham, Thesis, pp 9 and 19. Ditcham says that 'this seems an improbably high figure given the resources of Scotland' but that 'the Dauphin claimed that 6,000 men had actually gone', *ibid*, p 17; Professor Gordon Donaldson says that 'the hard-pressed French received assistance of some 6,000 or 7,000 Scots', *Scottish Kings* (London, 1977), p 62.
- 12 The young king had been captured en route to France in 1406 and detained by the English in the Tower of London until 1424.
- 13 'Aliénation de la seigneurie de Concessault, donnée par le Roy [*sic*] [Charles VII] en 1521, au connétable [des Ecosseis] Jean Stuart', *Registre des Aliénations du domaine*, Archives départementales du Cher à Bourges [hereafter Arch dép du Cher], C 793, fo 17v; for a full transcription of the documents, see 'Donation par Charles VII à Jean Stuart, seigneur de Derneley, Connétable de l'armée d'Ecosse, des terres de Concessault et d'Aubigny-sur-Nère, 21 avril 1421, 26 mars 1423, et décembre 1425', *Mémoires de la Société Historique, Littéraire et Scientifique du Cher*, 4e série, 14e volume (1899), pp 21–34.
- 14 Ditcham, Thesis, pp 23–38; see also *Memoirs Concerning the Ancient Alliance between the French and Scots in France*, trans Thomas Moncrieff (Edinburgh, 1751) [hereafter Moncrieff, *Memoirs*], reprinted in *Miscellanea Scotia*, vol IV (Glasgow, 1820), p 17.

Our dear and beloved cousin, John Stuart, Lord of Darnley and Concessault, constable of the Scottish army, who answered our prayers and request to come to our aid, and he brought a great company of men-at-arms putting into effect the ancient alliances of the kingdoms of France and Scotland, at the time of our great necessity. We give and grant always and perpetually to him and his male heirs of his body in direct line, the town and its castle and lands of Aubigny.<sup>15</sup>

The French and Scots jubilation was short-lived, as the forces of Charles VII soon fell into prolonged disarray following overwhelming victories by the English. Under the command of the Duke of Bedford, they were triumphant in inflicting devastating defeats at the Battles of Cravant, on 31 July 1423, and in an even greater disaster at Verneuil on 27 August 1424. Those Scots slain included many of the Scottish force that had arrived in the spring of 1424: Archibald, 4th earl of Douglas,<sup>16</sup> his second son Sir James Douglas, and his son-in-law John Stewart, earl of Buchan, were all killed.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding these momentous defeats, Sir John Stewart of Darnley and his brother William remained loyal to the young king. In January 1427 at Montluçon the king granted 'Jehan Stewart Seigneur de Dernelé, Connestable de l'armée d'Escosse' the 'Greigneur Seigneurie' and our 'Comté d'Evreux en notre Duchie de Normandie'. The letters patent are couched in terms similar to that of the grant of Aubigny, but here Charles VII is at pains to emphasise that he knows 'the very great charges, financial expenses and other respects he [Jehan Stewart] has given and supported us for our succour and service'. Therefore the king wishes to recompense these

financial gifts and services with the grant of these titles and lands, which can be inherited by 'his male heirs of his body in loyal marriage'.<sup>18</sup> Soon afterwards, Charles must have had second thoughts concerning these grants, or possibly there may have been some objections raised by his Council. On 15 March 1427, in the *Chambre des Comptes* at Bourges, in the presence of a majority of the King's Council, 'Jean Stuart of Derneley' signed and sealed letters patent in which he declared:

that at the time of receiving that royal grant he had promised, and still does promise "en bonne foi", that whensoever his said Majesty Charles VII, or his successors should pay to him, or to his heirs, the sum of fifty thousand "ecus d'or" [gold crowns], he or his heirs should be obliged to renounce to his Majesty the said Comté d'Évreux, fully and completely, without reserving any thing on account of the pay due to him for his services in any manner whatsoever.<sup>19</sup>

Further recognition of Charles VII's gratitude to the Scots and to 'Jean Stewart Connestable d'Escosse', who was now the most senior of the Scottish commanders remaining in France, was made at Blois in February 1428. The king decreed that 'our Peer and faithful cousin, John Stuart, earl of Evereux [*sic*] Lord Darnley, Daubigny and Concorsault, Constable of the Scottish army

15 AN, Carton des Rois K 168, No 91; see copy and transcription of the grant in 1633, Arch dép du Cher, C 1046, 39–41.

16 On 14 April 1424, Charles VII granted Douglas the duchy of Touraine; and ten days later the Scottish army was reviewed at Bourges. Its numbers were put at 2,500 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers: Bonner, *Auld Alliance*, pp 16–17; cf Ditcham, Thesis, pp 46–51.

17 Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, p 288; see also Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 10–11.

18 Andrew Stuart includes a full transcription of the letters patent of the grant given at Montluçon in January 1427: *History of the Stuarts*, pp 141–3; see also an earlier full transcription of the letters patent by Pierre Le Brasseur in the Appendix of *Actes et preuves pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique du comté d'Évreux*, ed François Barrois (Paris, 1722); the original of this document is no longer extant in the Archives Nationales in Paris; see also Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 11–12.

19 Stuart, *History of the Stuarts*, pp 143–4. This partial transcription and translation by Andrew Stuart of the original document, with John Stuart's seal appended, was taken from an authenticated copy which Stuart asserts is 'dated 15th September 1789 signed by Monsieur Joby de Fleury, the Procureur General de France, Garde des Titres Papiers et Chartes de la Couronne, [and] was delivered to the Author and is in his possession', *ibid*, p 44 and note. The original document and its seal are no longer extant in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

now in this our Realme ...' was able 'to have and bear for ever in his Armes, Escocheons of France, that is to say in the first and last quarters thereof in each three flowers of Lys of Gold, in a field azure'.<sup>20</sup> Soon afterwards, the significance of these honours and titles became evident. With the declining fortunes of the war, Charles VII requested further reinforcements from Scotland; and, in 1428, a grand embassy headed by Darnley went to negotiate a marriage treaty between Charles VII's eldest son, Louis (Dauphin), and James I's daughter, Margaret. James replied on 16 July 1428 with letters of credence for his ambassadors to negotiate the marriage, and the following day he promised to observe the 'Auld Alliance' treaties of their predecessors, kings of France and Scotland,<sup>21</sup> and Charles VII approved the marriage by his letters of 30 October 1428. According to Nicholson, Charles 'granted to James and his heirs the county of Saintonge, the castellany of Rochefort-sur-Charente, and the dignity of a peer of France' and 'though French kings never implemented the grant, Scottish kings never forgot it'.<sup>22</sup> But there is evidence to show that by his letters patent of 10 November 1428, Charles VII changed the grant of Saintonge to 'either the Duchy of Berry or the County of Evreux in lieu of the county of Saintonge'.<sup>23</sup> Following these grants, John Stuart and his descendants were, and were to become, loyal and faithful servants who would render military and diplomatic service to the kings of France during the 15th and 16th centuries – with the notable exception of Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, who infamously defected to Henry VIII in 1544.<sup>24</sup>

20 For a copy and translation of the grant (19 January 1658), see Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 12–15, cf National Archives, London, State Papers 1657–8, vol CLXXIX, No 12.

21 AN, Trésor des Chartes J. 678, nos 21, 23, 24 and 26.

22 Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, p 289.

23 NLS, Adv MS 35.1.5, fo 64; BL, Harl. 1244, fo, 80; for the treaties: AN, Tr. des Ch. J. 678, No 27 and BL, Add MS 27,896, ii fo 264.

24 *Documents sur Robert Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny (1508–1544). Guerrier et courtisan au service de Louis XII et de François I<sup>er</sup>*, ed Elizabeth Bonner [hereafter

Sir John Stewart of Darnley, 1st seigneur d'Aubigny, de Concessault, comte d'Évreux and Constable of the Scottish army in France, was descended from the Lennox-Stuarts/Stewarts, a branch of the Scottish royal house, by Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl,<sup>25</sup> the second son of Alexander, High Steward of Scotland and great-grandfather of Robert II, who ascended the throne in 1371. The lordship of Darnley was settled upon the Stuarts of Darnley in 1460 and ultimately the earldom of Lennox in 1488, by right of 'Elizabeth Lennox, co-heiress of Duncan, 8th earl of Lennox', who had married Sir John Stewart of Darnley, 'in terms of a dispensation dated 23 September 1406',<sup>26</sup> following the deaths of her siblings and their heirs.<sup>27</sup> Alan Stewart, who was the eldest son and heir of Sir John, had remained in Scotland with his brother Alexander, to manage the family's estates of Darnley (Renfrewshire) in the south-west, when his father, accompanied by his brother, Sir William Stewart of Castlemilk, and his youngest son, John, responded in 1419 to the pleas of the Dauphin Charles for assistance against the English.

Published accounts in France of the Stuarts d'Aubigny are featured prominently in 15th- and 16th-century chronicles,<sup>28</sup> histories of the kings of France, particularly of Charles VII, the Hundred Years' War, and notably in the works of Professor Philippe Contamine, who has

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Bonner, *Documents sur Robert Stuart*], traduction des textes anglais par Catherine Baranger, Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris, 2011), pp 57–63.

25 Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl died on 22 July 1298 at the Battle of Falkirk fighting under the command of Sir William Wallace (Hollywood's *Braveheart*) when the Scots were defeated by an English army under Edward I (known to British history as 'The Hammer of the Scots').

26 *The Scots Peerage ...*, ed James Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904–14), vol 5, p 347.

27 For full details, see William Fraser, *The Lennox* [hereafter Fraser, *The Lennox*], 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1874), passim; see also Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 2–3.

28 There are four pages devoted to them in the latest French National Biography, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed J Balteau et al, vol 4 (Paris, 1948).

taken a particular interest in Sir Alan's nephew, Bérault Stuart, 4th seigneur d'Aubigny.<sup>29</sup> There are also particular accounts of the Stuarts and their châteaux, lands and seigneurie d'Aubigny, which have been published by former directors of the Archives départementales du Cher at Bourges: Monsieur Alfred Gandilhon in the 1930s,<sup>30</sup> and Monsieur Jean-Yves Ribault, who has lent his expertise since the 1970s to publications by members of the de Vogüé family, the present proprietors and guardians, since 1842, of the Stuart heritage and archives at the Château de La Verrerie.<sup>31</sup> These authors follow Gandilhon's research and reconstruct the history of the Lennox-Stuarts and the order of descent of the seigneurs of Aubigny by claiming that

Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley (eldest son of Sir John, 1st seigneur, who died in 1429) was the 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny, instead of his youngest brother John, as claimed by Elizabeth Cust.<sup>32</sup> According to Gandilhon et al, young John was reassigned as 3rd seigneur, and the descent of the Stuarts of Aubigny has been accordingly adjusted.<sup>33</sup> Gandilhon also asserted that Robert Stuart was the earl of Lennox.<sup>34</sup> The original document shows that indeed Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley was the 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny et de Concessault, which now changes Cust's genealogical table of the Lennox-Stuarts of Aubigny. However, Robert Stuart was never the earl of Lennox: that title was settled on Sir Alan Stewart's son, Sir John Stewart of Darnley (created Lord Darnley in 1460 and earl of Lennox in 1488), Robert's father, and thereafter descended to the eldest son, who bore the title of Lord Darnley until he inherited the earldom.<sup>35</sup> Robert Stuart had a surtout of the four red roses of Lennox, quartered by the cross of St Andrew, mounted on the arms of the seigneurs d'Aubigny after he had inherited the title from Bérault Stuart in 1508, in order to show that he was descended from the (now) Lords Darnley and earls of Lennox.<sup>36</sup>

29 Philipp Contamine, 'Entre France et Écosse: Bérault Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny (vers 1452–1508), chef de guerre, diplomate, écrivain militaire', in Laidlaw, *The Auld Alliance*, pp 59–76. During the period 1445–94, Professor Contamine notes, 'the difference in the foreign captains ("among whom the Scots were incontestably dominant", p 458) of the previous century was that now they frequently settled in the kingdom, married and acquired offices, lands and titles which the king freely accorded to them, and which were registered in the *chancellerie*, as *libertas testandi* or letters patent of naturalization', P Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1972), p 420; see also Prof Contamine's *Histoire Militaire de la France* (vol 1): *Des origines à 1715* (Paris, 1992), and 'Scottish Soldiers in France in the Second Half of the 15th Century: mercenaries, immigrants or Frenchmen in the making?', ed Grant G Simpson, *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247–1967* [hereafter Contamine, *Scottish Soldier Abroad*] (Edinburgh, 1992), pp 16–30.

30 Alfred Gandilhon, *Aubigny-sur-Nère: Aperçu Historique* [hereafter Gandilhon, *Aubigny-sur-Nère*] (Bourges, 1931), reprinted (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1955).

31 Jean-Yves Ribault, 'Les Souvenirs Écossaise en Berry', *Extraits du Bulletin d'Information du Département du Cher*, nos 101–6 (Bourges, 1973–4); Jean-Yves Ribault, 'Presentation du Château de La Verrerie', pp ii–xii, in Louis, Marquis de Vogüé, 'La Verrerie en Berry. Histoire d'une terre Berrichonne pendant cinq siècles', *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry* 27 (1971), pp 1–60; Béraud, Comte de Vogüé, *La Verrerie* (Moisenay, 2000); J Frizot et B de Vogüé d'après la monographie réalisée par Jean-Yves Ribault et le Marquis Louis de Vogüé, *Le Château de La Verrerie* (Saint-Aignan-de-Grand-Lieu, 2007).

32 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 21–2 and 114.

33 For a revised genealogical table of the Stuarts d'Aubigny, see Appendix No 1.

34 Gandilhon argues that 'Robert Stuart, as a direct descendant of Jean Stuart, 1st seigneur [d'Aubigny], inherited the Lenox [*sic*] lands in Scotland, and it also explains how he modified their seal by adding the blazon of his family', *Aubigny-sur-Nère*, p 11.

35 For example, Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, was also Lord Darnley until the birth of his first son, who immediately inherited the title of Lord Darnley. This occurred in 1546 when Matthew's son Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, was born; he later famously became Mary Queen of Scots' second husband, known in history simply as 'Darnley'.

36 The surtout or the 'inescutcheon in German armory (or, as they term it, the heart escutcheon), when superimposed upon other quarterings, is usually the paternal or most important coat of arms. The same method of marshalling has sometimes been adopted in Scotland', A C Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (1909), rev and annotated by J P Brooke-Little (London, 1985), p 106; Monsieur Popoff says

In recent British historiography, the Stuarts of Aubigny, notwithstanding their great importance in Anglo–Franco–Scottish history from the 15th to the 17th centuries, have received little attention – although certain members of the family find their way into mainly Scottish and English general histories and textbooks of the period – but they are viewed very specifically only insofar as their importance to the Scottish and/or English scene is conceived. The history of the Stuarts of Aubigny has been left, for the most part, to 18th- and 19th-century genealogists and other commentators, of whom Lady Elizabeth Cust, in her privately published work, *Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France, 1422–1672* (1891), is the best and most succinct example. This account, although brief, is an excellent survey of mainly published Scottish, English and French primary and secondary sources that would have been available in Britain in the late 19th century. Her great contribution was a very detailed genealogical table of the Stuarts of Aubigny (now updated), and their connections with the Scottish royal house of Stewart, from their origins in 1298 to the extinction of the male line in 1672. Cust’s work owes much to Andrew Stuart’s *Genealogical History of the Stewarts* (1798),<sup>37</sup> which presents extracts and transcriptions of a number of original documents; but, in the main, Stuart cites lengthy extracts from *Histories* of France published from the 15th to the 18th centuries. The extracts and transcriptions of original documents are those he collected during

a visit to France in 1789.<sup>38</sup> Subsequently, these transcriptions and extracts have made a valuable contribution to history, as many of these documents did not survive the archival pogroms of the French Revolution. However, very many of the *Histories* have proved to be less than accurate; and much the same can be said of Francisque’s Michel’s *Les Écossais en France ...* (1862).<sup>39</sup> There are also less detailed accounts to consider: Coissac de Chavrebière, *Histoire des Stuarts* (Paris, 1930), who, for the most part, follows Cust’s interpretation. Wider in scope, but now out of print, is Eileen Cassavetti’s *The Lion and the Lilies: The Stuarts and France* (London, 1977), which only covers the early period very briefly, concentrating mainly on the late 16th and 17th centuries.

The ancient town of Aubigny-sur-Nère is remarkably well preserved after it was rebuilt in the early 16th century, in what we would describe as ‘Tudor’ style, by using timber from the surrounding forests, with the permission granted to the townspeople by their Lord, Robert Stuart, 5th seigneur d’Aubigny. Originally, in 1189, the seigneurie d’Aubigny had been annexed to the royal domaine by Phillip-Auguste, who built a small château of earth and wood on a mote and fortified the town. Then, during the Hundred Years’ War, the town was sacked and

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that ‘Robert Stuart was perfectly entitled to place the “Lennox” surtout on his coat-of-arms as seigneur d’Aubigny, and that this was permitted both in France and in Scotland’: discussion with M Michel Popoff in the Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques, Bibliothèque Nationale (Richelieu), Paris, 27 November 2002.

37 Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, ‘Containing a particular Account of the Origin and successive Generations of the Stuarts of Darnley, Lennox, and Aubigny, and the Stuarts of Castlemilk; with Proofs and References’, pp 16–69; see also Fraser, *The Lennox*, passim.

38 Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, ‘Proofs relating to Sir John Stuart of Dernely, and his brother Sir William Stuart, after their arrival in France in 1420, down to the time of their death in 1429, taken from the Records in France, and from the concurring Testimony of the best French Histories of that Period’, *ibid*, pp 113–60.

39 Francisque Michel, *Les Écossais en France et les Français en Écosse*, 2 vols (Paris, 1862). Alan Macquarrie does not cite Michel’s work at all in *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), even though there are many references to Scots and the Crusades by Michel in it (eg vol 1, pp 12–13). Michel’s *opus* certainly poses a problem for historians, which should not be ignored, and one which Macquarrie possibly dealt with in his PhD thesis which is the genesis for his book. Ditcham seems to have encountered similar problems in his PhD thesis. He describes one episode as being ‘the basis of Francisque-Michel’s typically garbled account’, p 15, n 11; cf F Michel, *op cit*, p 118; see also Bonner, ‘Auld Alliance’, pp 7–11.

set on fire by the English, both in 1359 and in 1412.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, following Charles VII's donation of the seigneurie in 1423 to Sir John Stewart of Darnley, 'la maison Jehan Dernle' was built on the site of the original château and next to the then recently constructed 'grant hostel ou maison' of the Priory of Sainte-Trinité d'Aubigny.<sup>41</sup> The Priory no longer exists, having been destroyed during the French Revolution, but an existing plan shows it to have been a substantial establishment. Next to the present Château d'Aubigny, there remains an 18th-century building, on part of the original priory site, and the remnants of an original agricultural storage building which has recently been created into a tiny chapel.<sup>42</sup> Then, in the late 15th century, Bérault Stuart, 4th seigneur d'Aubigny, built a château and magnificent chapel, about ten kilometres distant at Oizon, which he called La Verrerie, after the glassworks which had previously stood on the site. However, in 1512, after another disastrous fire destroyed most of the town, which must have included 'la maison Jehan Dernle', Robert, 5th seigneur, built the present Château d'Aubigny during the general reconstruction. Soon after, Robert engaged builders to enlarge the family's château de La Verrerie, converting it into a small but magnificent Renaissance Château, in keeping with the French king's (François I<sup>er</sup>) building programme in the nearby Loire Valley. Since that time, the town, which is still known today as *La Cité des Stuart*, the Stuart châteaux and

their private archive have been remarkably well preserved, despite depredations suffered elsewhere by the French Revolution (the Stuart archives were hidden in the roof rafters at La Verrerie during this time), the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1 and two World Wars of the last century.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the town and the two châteaux are well enough preserved today to give an excellent perception of its state following the general reconstruction under Robert Stuart, 5th seigneur d'Aubigny, who died in 1544.<sup>44</sup>

It is not known precisely when Sir Alan Stewart arrived in France following the deaths of his father, on 12 February 1429, and that of his mother (Elizabeth Lennox) later that same year. According to contemporary and later commentators, Sir John Stewart and his brother Sir William were honourably laid to rest in the Chapel of Notre Dame Blanche, in the Cathedral Church of Sainte Croix, Orléans.<sup>45</sup> Cust says that evidence of Elizabeth Lennox's death comes from the municipal records of Orléans, citing payment for eight torches given by the City of Orléans to be carried at her funeral in November 1429. Another entry records the 'Foundation of the "Messe d'Ecosse" ... by John Stuart, Constable of the Scottish army, and Lady Isabelle, for the sum of 1,090 crowns of gold in the year 1420'.<sup>46</sup> If this

40 *Images du Patrimoine: Aubigny-sur-Nère, La Cité des Stuart, Cher*, ed Bernard Toulhier (photographers: Robert Malnoury and Jean-Claude Jacques), in *Inventaire Général des Monuments et des Richesses Artistiques de la France* (Paris, 1994), pp 3 and 12.

41 Arch dép du Cher, 15 H2, No 35, The 'Amortissement ... 29 avril 1437', Appendix No 2, p 1. I am grateful to Professeur Nicole Lemaitre, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, for checking my transcription of this document.

42 Hubert Carrier, *Le Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité d'Aubigny-sur-Nère (Cher), du XVe au XXe Siècle* [hereafter Carrier, *Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité*] (Édition de la Ville d'Aubigny-sur-Nère, 2008), pp 5–17.

43 In 1944, it was at Gien, only 30-odd kilometres from Aubigny, that the retreating Germans elected to make their stand against the advancing Americans on the north bank of the Loire, resulting in an almost complete destruction of that town.

44 For a recent biography, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'Stewart [Stuart], Robert (c 1470–1544), soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

45 Among many others, Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 19–20; Stuart, *History of the Stuarts*, p 153; William Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France, from their Formation until their Final Dissolution AD. MCCCCXVIII–AD. MDCCCXXX (1418–1830)* [hereafter Forbes-Leith, *Scots Guards*], 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1882), vol 1, p 39 and vol 2, pp 205–6.

46 Cust says that Andrew Stuart reported that 'this Mass was still being said daily at the Cathedral when he visited in 1789', *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p 20.

report is correct, then it can be concluded that Elizabeth Lennox accompanied her husband when he first arrived in France in 1419, giving him good reason to have a house built for her in Aubigny.

Apparently, Alan Stewart was still in Scotland at the end of that year, as there is evidence of an original charter 'dated at Cruyton the 5th December 1429, by Alan Stuart Dominus de Derneley'.<sup>47</sup> He is also mentioned in 'the decree of the Chamberlain of Scotland, in the action between the burghs of Renfrew and Dumbarton, 3 January 1430'.<sup>48</sup> There is also evidence that, soon after his father's death, he adopted his father's offices and titles and arms in France. Andrew Stuart cites an original document that he saw when he visited the Scots College in Paris in 1789. This was one of the documents and other precious items that belonged to the archbishopric of Glasgow prior to the Scottish Reformation, and which Archbishop James Beaton took with him when he fled to Paris in 1560. Stuart describes the document that he saw as 'a notorial instrument' taken upon the grant of 'a red velvet cloak and other ornaments by Alan Stuart to the Church of Glasgow', dated 2 February 1430, to which was appended his seal on which he had already quartered his arms with those of France, which his father had been granted in 1428.<sup>49</sup> *Huic cartae appensum est sigillum integrum exhibens super scuto quadripartito: 1 & 4 Tria Lillia Gallica, 2 & 3 Tesselatum duplari limbo Liliis contraposisitis consitum.*<sup>50</sup> Also, on 27

August 1430 'apud Castrum de Cruykystoun', his wife, Catherine Seton, had already added her husband's arms with the lilies of France to her seal, which was appended to her ratification of a charter by 'Alan Stewart, lord of Dernele', to Robert Dalzell of the lands of Brownside.<sup>51</sup> Although there does not appear to be further surviving evidence, it would seem that Sir Alan Stewart was still in Scotland when he made an 'amortisation' grant to the Dominican Friars of Glasgow on 19 January 1434:

Know that I have given, granted and by this my present writing confirmed in perpetuity to the brethren of the Order of Preachers of Glasgow, present and future, serving God there, in pure and perpetual alms twenty shillings of the usual money of the kingdom of Scotland, due to me annually from the lands of Cathcart, to be paid to the said brethren of Glasgow ...<sup>52</sup>

It would appear that, later that same year, he joined Charles VII's army in France. Reports from an extract of the accounts of Antoine Raguier, treasurer of war, show that, in 1435, 'Alain Stewart Seigneur de Dernelle, Connestable de l'armee d'Escosse [was paid 123] royaux [2] sous [6] deniers tournois'.<sup>53</sup>

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Scots College's collection of valuable objects, manuscripts and books at the time of the French Revolution. For a brief summary, see Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', pp 29–30.

47 Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow [hereafter GCA], GB 243/T-PM, Pollok-Maxwell Muniments, Bundle LXXIX, No 1; published in William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, vol 1, *Memoires and Charters* [hereafter Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*] (Edinburgh, 1863), pp 159–60.

48 William Hamilton, *Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*, compiled about MDCCX [1710] (Glasgow 1831), p 284.

49 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 12–14.

50 Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, p 164. Neither this document and its seal nor the cloak and ornaments continues to exist following the decimation of the

51 GCA, GB 243/T-PM, Pollok-Maxwell Muniments, Bundle LXXIX, No 3; published in Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, pp 161–2, with an illustration of Catherine Seton's seal.

52 University of Glasgow Archives, 12399/BL 47. A Latin transcription of this document is published in *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine. Registrum Ecclesie B.V. Marie et S. Anne Infra Muros Civitatis Glasguensis MDXLIX* (Part 1), *Accedunt. Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Gasgu Domus Dominicane Apud Glasguenses Carte Que Supersunt MCCXLIV–MDLIX* (Part 2), ed Joseph Robertson, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1846), Part 2, No 24, pp 165–6. I am grateful to Mr Norman Sheard for his translation of this document; see Appendix No 3.

53 Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, p 165. This document is no longer extant in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

Further commentary and evidence of Sir Alan Stewart's experiences as Constable of the Scottish forces, which would have included his younger brother John, fighting in Charles VII's campaign against the English from c 1434 to 1437, have not yet been located in the original manuscript sources. He did, however, visit Aubigny, where, no doubt, he and his brother stayed in 'la maison Jehan Dernle' and from where he signed 'lettres d'amortissement des biens du prieuré d'Aubigny 7 janvier 1435/36';<sup>54</sup> the certified copy of this document attests that the seals of Charles VII, Alan Stewart and the Prévôté de Bourges were appended. This 'Amortissement' was instigated and also signed by Master Arnoul Belin, the then treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle of the Palace at Bourges, royal councillor and Master of the King's accounts, who had been responsible for the establishment of an 'Hôtel Dieu' and the 'prieuré d'Aubigny'. Previously, on 27 November 1431, Charles VII had granted an 'Amortissement' to the value of 800 *Livres Parisis* on the assets which had been donated by Father Belin at the time of the foundation of the priory.<sup>55</sup> It appears that, following Father Belin's death on 29 September 1436, a new and greatly expanded 'Amortissement' was deemed necessary. This is an original charter on parchment addressed by 'Alan Stewart, Seigneur de Dernele, d'Aubigny sur Nerre et de Concorsault', dated 'le penultime d'auril l'an de grace milquatrecent trente et sept, apres pasques [29 April 1437, after Easter]', with the autograph signature and seal (which was quartered with the French royal arms) of

'Alan Stewart de Dernele' [Alan Stewart of Darnley]<sup>56</sup> and also appended were the seals of Charles VII and the Prévôté d'Aubigny<sup>57</sup> (all now missing).<sup>58</sup> Of interest to Scottish history are the witnesses of this document: 'reuerend pere en Dieu Jehan, euesque de Berchin [the reverend father in God, John, bishop of Brechin]',<sup>59</sup> Sir Alan's brother, 'Jehan Stewart

54 Arch dép du Cher, 15 H2, No 30, original on parchment; copy on paper of a *vidimus* (certified copy) collated on 25 July 1578, *ibid*, No 32. 'Amortissement', in English 'amortisation' (from the Old and Medieval French, 'amortir'), means: to extinguish, a 'paying off' or 'writing off' of a debt, used most commonly today in both French and English with reference to a mortgage.

55 Arch dép du Cher, 15 H2, No 25, original on parchment; an illustration of this document is published in Carrier, *Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité*, p 16.

56 'The arms borne by the Stuarts of Darnley and Aubigny were, Quarterly 1st and 4th, Azure, three fleurs de lis or, within a bordure gules charged with eight buckles or, 2nd and 3rd Or, a fesse chequy azure and argent ... [to this was added by Robert Stuart in 1508] the roses of Lennox as a surtout, Argent, a saltire, between four roses gules', Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p 14. The three buckles which today comprise the arms of the town of Aubigny-sur-Nère originated with the Stuarts d'Aubigny in the 15th century, deriving from the arms of their ancestor, Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl (d. 1298).

57 Seal of the Prévôté d'Aubigny: 'One can see today this seal appended to a bill of sale made by Jean de Tracy in favour of the chapter of St-Étienne de Bourges, 1278', Arch dép du Cher, Bourges, Chapitre de St-Étienne de Bourges, liasse 365, titre scellé 151; Gandilhon, *Aubigny-sur-Nère*, p 37, n 2.

58 Arch dép du Cher, 15 H2, No 35. In the same folder, 15 H2, Nos 37–9, are three *vidimus* copies of this document, two contemporary and one of 1529, all on parchment with autograph signatures of the royal notaries who certified the documents. For a full transcription of this document, see Appendix No 2.

59 John de Crannach, born 1386, was formerly bishop of Caithness, being appointed bishop of Brechin on 7 June 1426; his last known date was 17 November 1453, but his successor was provided on 8 March 1454, so he died between these dates. He was a university teacher at Paris for 12 years until 1417, supervising Arts studies of Scottish students. After going to the Council of Constance, he took service with Charles (later Charles VII) as the dauphin's 'counsellor and household master of requests'. Thereafter, he was much involved in diplomacy on behalf of Charles and James I, going frequently to Rome. He also took part in the negotiations in Edinburgh regarding the marriage of James I's daughter Margaret, and Charles's son Louis, accompanying the princess to La Rochelle in March 1436. He arranged the final details of the marriage at Bourges in June 1536 and then attended the wedding at Tours later that same month. After witnessing Sir Alan Stewart's 'Amortissement' document on 29 April 1437, he was sent to the Roman court, probably having spent about nine years there in all. He was not much in his diocese: 1429; 1433–6; 1445–53/4. See D E R Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977), pp 118–22.

nostre frere’, and a Stewart family friend and neighbour in Scotland, ‘Alain Cocheran’.<sup>60</sup>

In this ‘Amortissement’ of 1437, the priors of the Priory d’Aubigny requested to have the rents, revenues, possessions and domains of their seigneur, Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, amortised in consideration of the donations made by the late Master Arnoul Belin. These donations consisted of a notable and very beautiful chapel in the Hôtel Dieu [and priory] in Aubigny for the relief and health of his [Alan Stewart’s] soul, of those of his late mother and father, of his brothers and sisters and other relatives and friends, of the lords of the town and of all its inhabitants. Belin had also instituted a monastic priory of 13 religious of the St Augustin Order, dependent on the abbey of St Ambroise of Bourges, of which one is the head prior who is to conduct the divine service in praise of God and the glory of the Virgin Mary, His mother, and all the blessed saints of Heaven. He had also instituted two nuns of the said Order for the service of the poor; and, at the same time, he had built and erected many other beautiful and remarkable buildings for the comfort and housing of the said priors, the convent and their servants. There follows a very detailed description of the 17 properties, rents, revenues, possessions and domains of Alan Stewart to be amortised.<sup>61</sup> Even though most of the town burned down in 1512, and what remains today is therefore of 16th-century origin, apart from the 12th-century Church of St

Martin and fortifications, these descriptions give a wonderful geographic snapshot of Aubigny in 1437. Of great local interest are the names of people, some of whose descendants still live in the area, and the names of places and roads, many of which still carry the 15th-century names. For example, there is the ‘molin des prez’ [Mill in the Fields] which exists today as a private residence next to the ‘pre qui dance’ [the field where they dance]. Today on this site there is a community hall and sports centre, where the citizens of Aubigny still continue to dance and play. Another private residence today is the ‘le molin aux filles’ [Mill of the Maidens], as is the farm called ‘la maladrerie [leprosarium] d’Aubigny’, which had functioned for many centuries and was situated along the current rue de La Maladrerie.<sup>62</sup>

It is not known how long the news of the assassination of James I at Perth, on 21 February 1437, took to reach France – but, as soon as he heard it, Sir Alan Stewart started making arrangements for his return to Scotland, in order ‘to recouer the Erl dome off the Leuenax in all or in part, be quhatsumeuer maner off way, law, trefy, or composicione’.<sup>63</sup> In order to leave France, he was obliged to appeal to Charles VII, not only to appease his own creditors but also to help with those debts his father had incurred during his campaigns in the service of Charles VII against the English. In most accounts of the Stuarts of Aubigny, it is claimed that, by some arrangement with Charles VII, the French titles of Sir John Stewart of Darnley, seigneur d’Aubigny et de Concessault, were inherited not by Alan, his eldest son and heir, but by his youngest son John. This claim was made by Andrew Stuart, who published an extract from the ‘foy et hommage’ rendered by ‘Jehan Stuart’ to Louis XI for the ‘chastel, terre et seigneurie de Concessault . . . et la terre, justice

60 Alan Cochrane: the lands of Cochrane (Renfrewshire) were held from the 14th century by the Cochrane family, created Lords of Dundonald (1647). The lands remained with the earls of Dundonald until c 1760: *Dictionary of Scottish History*, ed G Donaldson and R S Morpeth (Edinburgh, 1977).

61 All the farms on the seigneurie d’Aubigny functioned under the *Métairie* system, which was a form of agriculture most common in the west, centre and south of France from the 13th century. A *Métayer* was a farmer who gave generally half of his crops to a *Métayage*. This is an arrangement whereby the proprietor supplies the land, the animals and the grains for planting, while the farmer supplies the tools and his labour: Marcel Lachiver, *Dictionnaire de monde rural: les mots du passé* (Paris, 1997).

62 Gandilhon, *Aubigny-sur-Nère*, p 75, n 9.

63 Annie I Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* [hereafter Dunlop, *James Kennedy*] (Edinburgh and London, 1950), p 24, cf Fraser, *The Lennox*, vol 2, p 68.

et seigneurie d'Aubigny sur Nerre', at Paris on 2 September 1461.<sup>64</sup> In subsequent documents concerning the Stuarts d'Aubigny, no further mention of the Comté d'Évreux appears to have been made since the death of the 1st seigneur in 1429. French historians were in agreement with this interpretation until 1930, when the French government ordered that all communal and notarial archives in the towns and villages of France were to be deposited in their relevant Departmental Archives. Thus, the sundry 'Amortissements' and other documents concerning the Priory d'Aubigny were deposited at Bourges. It was there that Monsieur Gandilhon, the then director of the archives, catalogued and published in 1931 the references to the documentary evidence of the 'Amortissements',<sup>65</sup> which showed that it was Alan, not his younger brother John, who succeeded their father as 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny et de Concessault.

Thus, after publication in Stuart's *History* (1798) of the extract of the 1461 'hommage', John was thereafter designated as the 2nd seigneur (and from 1931 by the French as the 3rd seigneur) d'Aubigny et de Concessault. Despite the lack of documentary evidence, no question was asked whether, how, when or why Alan had actually resigned the title in favour of John. Apparently, there was no curiosity regarding Alan's adoption of the lilies of France on his arms in 1429 and of his designation of Constable of the Scottish army in France in 1435, nor was there any deeper probing as to what mechanism had taken place to effect John's elevation. It could be argued, however, that the first evidence of royal assistance may well have been the much-expanded and generous 'Amortissement' signed by Sir Alan at Aubigny on 29 April

1437, which was witnessed by the king's special envoy and confidant, John de Crannach, Bishop of Brechin. There is also the Comté d'Évreux to consider. In the grant of Évreux to Sir John Stewart of Darnley, in January 1427, a caveat was added that was signed "Dernele" with his seal two months later, on 15 March, by which he undertook to surrender the Comté d'Évreux at any time, to the king or his successors on the payment to him of 50,000 crowns of gold.<sup>66</sup> Finally, in a letter dated 4 August 1437 at Gienne, Charles VII acknowledged that 'Alain Stuart, Seigneur de Darnele' and his father had raised large sums of money for his service; and, in consideration of this, the king granted him freedom from his Scottish creditors in France to return to Scotland.<sup>67</sup>

No further evidence appears to have survived regarding payment of the Stuarts of Darnley's debts nor the fate of the Comté d'Évreux, which is never mentioned in subsequent extant documents regarding the Stuarts of Aubigny. It might therefore be concluded that some financial arrangement was made with Charles VII before the letter of 4 August 1437, in which the king addressed him only as the 'Seigneur de Dernele', disregarding the titles of the seigneuries d'Aubigny and Concessault, and the office of Constable of the Scots in France, although the documentary evidence of these financial arrangements has yet to come to light. Recent research in the private Stuart Archives at La Verrerie, however, has revealed that the transfer of titles of the seigneuries d'Aubigny et de Concessault, from Alan Stewart to his younger brother John, took place in 1437 and was complete by the end of that year. This evidence is by way of a *vidimus*, or certified copy, taken from the registers of 'Maistre Pierre Aalant', royal secretary and notary, of the

64 Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse I, cote XXXIII, pièce 3, original on parchment; copy, AN, Registre des Anciens Hommages de la Chambre de Comptes, P. 13, No 310. For an extract, see Stuart, *History of the Stuarts*, p 169.

65 Alfred Gandilhon, *Ville d'Aubigny-sur-Nère: Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales Antérieures à 1790* (Bourges, 1931).

66 See notes 18–19 above; Stuart, *History of the Stuarts*, p 141; Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp 11–12.

67 Letters patent of Charles VII to 'Alain Stuart seigneur de Dernele', Gienne, 4 August 1437, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD220/2/1, No 46r, published in Fraser, *The Lennox*, vol 2, pp 65–7.

‘hommage’ of ‘Jehan Stewart’ made to ‘Charles VII at Tours’ for the ‘terres et seigneuries d’Aubigny et de Concessault’ on ‘Christmas Eve, Tuesday the 24 December 1437, after [the king] had returned from Vespers’. It was certified and signed by a royal counsellor of the parliament, ‘P. Crolanayne’ and by a royal secretary, ‘J. Mustrecollen’, on ‘9 January 1457’.<sup>68</sup> This *vidimus* was followed soon after by a mandate of ‘Charles VII, at Saint Priet in Dauphiné on 4 March 1457’, acknowledging the certification of the original *hommage* in 1437, endorsed ‘by the King’ and by the royal secretary ‘Chaligant’.<sup>69</sup> Thus, by the end of 1437, it would appear that Charles VII had satisfied the Stewarts of Darnley’s creditors by resuming the Comté d’Évreux and the office of the Constable of the Scottish army in France; John had been officially and legally installed as the 3rd seigneur d’Aubigny et de Concessault; and Sir Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, had returned to Scotland, probably soon after 4 August 1437.

At this time, Scotland was suffering the usual factional feuds and territorial disputes that frequently occurred following the death, especially an assassination, of a king and the succession of a minor.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, when Alan embarked on the pursuit of his rights to the earldom of Lennox, this led ‘to a collision of interests and a blood-feud with Boyd of Kilmarnock’,<sup>71</sup> as a result of which, on 20 September 1438, ‘Allane Stewart, Lord Dernlie was slain at Polmais Thorne be Sir Thomas

Boyd under ane assourance takin betuix tham’. The following year on 7 July, ‘Sir Thomas Boyd was slane be Alexander Stewart, buktuth, and his sonnys and Mathew Stewart with his brother and others syndry ...’.<sup>72</sup> A sad end for Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley – but his son John, created Lord Darnley and earl of Lennox, established a dynasty whose descendants were to play the highest military and diplomatic roles in the Scottish, French and English governments throughout the entire 16th century.

Alan’s youngest brother John, 3rd seigneur d’Aubigny et de Concessault, led a long and successful life in France, during which time he was appointed a ‘Chamberlain to the King, Captain of 100 Scots of the King’s Guard, and Chevalier of the Royal Military Order of St Michel’.<sup>73</sup> Andrew Stuart notes his appointment to these same offices and titles and also cites Thaumassiere’s *History* (1689), by adding that ‘John died in 1482 and had but one son, Berault Stuart, who was afterwards seigneur of these same lands’.<sup>74</sup> John’s date of death and the assumption that he and his wife, Béatrix d’Apchier, had only one son has long been accepted as fact by historians. However, very recent research has shown that John probably died in or before 1480 and that Béault had had a number of siblings. The original draft of the contract of sale of the seigneurie de Concessault under the ‘royal seal’ shows that the sale was made by ‘Béault Stuard, seigneur d’Aubigny sur Nerre et de Concorsault’ to the noble and powerful lord, ‘Guillaume de Monipeny, Chevallier, seigneur Monipeny’,<sup>75</sup> for

68 Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse 1, cote XXXIII, pièce 2, original; for a transcription of this document, see Appendix No 4.

69 Ibid, pièce 1, original. The original legal document of the transfer and ‘hommage’ of the titles in 1437 must have been missing, therefore necessitating the certified copies in 1457.

70 For further elaboration of the feuding and unrest at this time, see Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, pp 325–8; and Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, pp 24–7.

71 Ibid, p 24; see also *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland ...* by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, ed A J G MacKay, 3 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1899–1911), vol 1, p 23.

72 *The Auchinleck Chronicle ...* [1436–61], ‘printed from the Asloan Manuscript in the library at Auchinleck, Ayrshire ... by Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1819), p 3.

73 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [hereafter BN], Dossiers Bleus 621, No 61487, fo 4.

74 Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, p 141; cf Gaspard, Thaumassiere de la Thaumassière (1631–1702), *Histoire de Berry ...* (Bourges, 1689).

75 William Monypenny, 1st Lord Monypenny (c 1410–c 1488), Chevalier, diplomat and courtier at both the Scottish and French courts, for which duties he was rewarded handsomely with offices and titles both in Scotland and in France: *Oxford DNB* (2004).

the ‘sum of 6,000 gold crowns’, acknowledging that ‘4,000 gold crowns had already been paid by the same buyer to the noble and powerful lord, ‘Jehan Stuard’, father of the present vendor, and lately seigneur d’Aubigny et Concessault’, on ‘24 October 1480’.<sup>76</sup> Thus, it appears that John was no longer living by this date. This document also explains the necessity for the certification and acknowledgement, in January and March 1457, of the original legal transfer of the titles of the seigneuries d’Aubigny et de Concessault in December 1437 to John Stewart, for the partial sale of Concessault to William Monypenny. There is no evidence, but a possible scenario might have been an agreement of the partial sale of Concessault to William Monypenny in 1457, with an agreement of lifelong tenure of John Stewart. Therefore, if he had died in 1480, this would explain Bérault’s completion of the sale of Concessault to Monypenny, under the ‘royal seal’, on 24 October 1480.

Thus Bérault, who had been brought up at Concessault, was obliged to make his residence at ‘la maison Jehan Dernle’ in Aubigny. However, in 1493, on 10 September, soon after his appointment as Captain of the King’s Scots Guards by Charles VIII, he paid the ‘noble homme Lancelot de Conigant [Cunningham]’<sup>77</sup> 13,000 livres tournois for the seigneuries du Crotet, de Saint-Silvain des Averdines et de Maclou.<sup>78</sup> Until recently, the existence of the

Château du Crotet had been lost to history since the 19th century, although the existence of the Stuarts d’Aubigny, as the seigneurs du Crotet, has been known continuously since the 15th century in many historical manuscripts. Indeed, it is emblazoned on the large cartoon of Bérault hanging on the wall of the Renaissance gallery in the courtyard of the Château de La Verrerie:

*Messire Bérault Stuart, seigneur d’Aubigny et du Crotet, comte de Terrenove, marquis de Girace, baron de Saint-George, conseiller et chambellan ordinaire du Roy nostre sire, chevalier de son ordre, capitaine de la garde de son corps, grant connestable de Sicile et de Jhérusalem et son lieutenant général au Royaume de Naples.*

According to Buhot de Kersers, the seigneurie and château du Crotet remained with the Stuarts of Aubigny until Georges Stuart sold it in 1642 to François de Durand, seigneur de Thusy.<sup>79</sup>

Evidence that Bérault had an elder brother, ‘Phelippes Stewart’, is found in the marriage contract of his sister ‘Charlotte to Bertand de Mirambel, chevalier, seigneur de Mirambel’, which was signed at ‘Tours on 3 October 1470’. Bérault, who was identified as the ‘filz puisne [son born after]’ and his brother ‘filz aïné [eldest son]’ of ‘Messire Jehan Stewart’, were witnesses to the contract.<sup>80</sup> A second marriage contract identified another sister, ‘Maydelayne Stuart’ who was contracted to ‘Guillaume Mannourey, Seigneur de Margny et de Bollene ou pays de Normandie’ at ‘Paris the

76 Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse 1, cote XXVIII, original draft on paper.

77 In October 1492, there were 15 Conignans [Cunninghams] in the garde écossaise under their captain, ‘Messire Jean de Conighan, Chevalier, Bailly de Chartres, Conseiller et Chambellan du Roy Notre Sire et Capitaine des diz hommes d’armes et archiers Escotz de la dite garde’; but, in 1493 when ‘Messire Bérault Stuart, Chevalier, Seigneur d’Aubigny, Conseiller et Chambellan du Roy notre Sire’ succeeded as captain, only one Conighan remained in the garde: Forbes-Leith, *Scots Guards*, vol 2, pp 73–4.

78 Arch de La Verrerie, Inventaire V, fo 3. According to A Buhot de Kersers, ‘Lancelot de Conigault [sic], écuyer’ was the ‘seigneur du Crotet in 1481’: *Histoire et statistique monumentale du département du Cher, Canton de Baugy, Commune de Laverdines* [hereafter Buhot de Kersers, *Histoire et statistique*] (Paris,

1966), facsimile édition d’original (Bourges, 1875), vol 1, pp 246–7. References to Lancelot Conyngnam [Cunningham] appear in the muster rolls of the ‘companies des ordonnances du roy’ in 1469 and 1475: Contamine, *Scottish Soldier Abroad*, pp 25 and 30; but not in the annual muster rolls of the ‘garde écossaise du roy’ from 1469 to 1493: Forbes-Leith, *Scots Guards*, pp 44–74.

79 Buhot de Kersers, *Histoire et statistique*, p 246; for further details, see Bonner, *Documents sur Robert Stuart*, pp 81–2.

80 Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse 1, cote XL1, pièce 1, original on parchment signed: ‘Ph[ilippe] Ffoucault’.

6 and 7 February 1492'. She was represented by her brother, 'Messire Berault Stuart seigneur d'Aubigny et de Saint Quentin en La Marche [in Picardy], chevalier of the Order of St Michel, king's councillor and chamberlain and captain of 100 lances in the King's army'.<sup>81</sup> As yet, there is no further evidence identified in the Stuart archives at La Verrerie of any more of John Stewart's children,<sup>82</sup> but further research in the French archives and libraries seems indicative of this almost unknown Scottish warrior and courtier in the service of Charles VII and Louis XI. His son, Berault, had an even more remarkable military and diplomatic career in the service of Charles VIII and Louis XII during their Italian campaigns. After Bérault, however, the descent of the Stuarts d'Aubigny proceeded through the Scottish Lennox-Stewarts in the 16th century. Following Béraud's death in 1508, Sir Alan Stewart's grandson, Robert, inherited the seigneurie d'Aubigny, having previously married Anne Stuart, Bérault's only child. Robert also had an outstanding military and diplomatic career in the service of Louis XII and François I<sup>er</sup>. He was 5th seigneur d'Aubigny et du Crotet, comte de Beaumont-le-Roger, councillor and permanent chamberlain of the king, captain of the castle-forts of Harfleur and Montvilliers, and he was also captain of both the French king's Scots Guards and of 100 Scottish lances in the French king's companies of ordinance, one of the monarch's four Marshals of France and a member of the royal military Order of St Michel. Then in 1541, Robert, who had no surviving children, designated his great-nephew John, youngest son of the 3rd earl of Lennox,

as his heir to the seigneurie d'Aubigny.<sup>83</sup> It was during the 16th century that they functioned at the highest levels at both the French and the Scottish court, and ultimately, in the 17th century, at the English Stuart court.

The place of the Lennox-Stuarts/Stewarts during the 16th century has been well documented by professional historians, from Scottish and English archival sources. It is true to say that Robert Stuart, 5th seigneur d'Aubigny, Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, his brother John, 6th seigneur d'Aubigny, and Lennox's son, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the second husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, and their son James VI, were indeed a most significant family in the three ancient kingdoms. There remains, however, much to be gained from an examination of French archival sources regarding Scotland and England following the accession of Elizabeth, although the French records are much more difficult to access. It is here that the works of antiquarians are often helpful. The role of Esmé Stuart, 7th seigneur d'Aubigny, and his arrival at the Scottish court at the behest of James VI, according to Elizabeth Cust,<sup>84</sup> for example, has yet to be examined in the French archival sources. Indeed, James VI's relationship with Henri IV also bears reconsideration in these same sources.

81 Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse 4, pièce 5, contemporary copy on paper.

82 According to Élie de Comminges there were three or possibly four more, Gautier, abbé de Saint Saur, Martine who married Godebert Carr, Isabeau and possibly Alexandre'. Introduction et édition de *Bérault Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny, Traité sur l'art de la guerre*, Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées (La Haye, 1976), p 67.

83 'Collation of the copy of the *vidimus* in 1457 of the 1437 "homage" of "Jehan Stewart" to Charles VII', from the Registers of the Parlement of Paris for 'Robert Stuart, chevalier of the Order [of St Michel], Marshal of France, seigneur d'Aubigny', signed 'Du Tillet', 26 April 1541, Arch de La Verrerie, papiers de famille, liasse 1, cote XXXIII, pièce 4, original on parchment; and for Robert Stuart on the same day, place and person: 'Collation of the 1461 "homage" of "Jehan Stewart" to Louis XI ...', *ibid*, pièce 5, original on parchment.

84 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p 89; see also Elizabeth Bonner, 'Why was James VI so interested in resurrecting the "Auld Alliance" with France in the 1590s?', *Journal of the Society for Scottish History* 14 (Sydney, 2013), pp 76–93; also see <http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/JSSSH/article/view/7375/7771>.



## D'AUBIGNY AND THE STEWART DYNASTY OF SCOTLAND

Alexander, the High Steward of Scotland (1246–86)

Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl (d.1298)+

Sir Alan Stewart of Dreghorn (d.1333)+

Sir Alexander Stewart of Darnley (d.1404) = Janet, heir of Sir William Keith

Sir John Stewart of Darnley (d.1429)+

Sir William Stewart of Castlemilk (d.1429)+

**1er seigneur d'Aubigny** = Elizabeth, co-heir of **Duncan, earl of Lennox** (d.1429)

Alexander (died s.p.)

John Stuart = Béatrix d'Apchier

**3rd seigneur d'Aubigny** (d.1480)

Phelippes  
(d. ante 1480)

Bérault Stuart = Anne de Maumont  
**4th seigneur d'Aubigny** (d.1508)

Charlotte =  
Bert.de Mirambel

Maydelayne=  
G.Mannourey

John Stuart  
seigneur d'Oizon  
(d.1512 s.p.)

Robert Stuart = (1) Anne Stuart, dau. of Bérault (d.1517)  
**5th seigneur d'Aubigny** (2) Jacqueline de Laqueuille  
(d.1544 s.p.) (d.1545)

Stewart, dau. of John, earl of Atholl

Robert Stewart,  
**5th earl of Lennox**  
Bishop of Caithness (d. 1586)

John Stuart = Anne de Laqueuille (d.1579)  
**6th seigneur d'Aubigny**  
(d.1567)

Charles Stewart  
**6th earl of Lennox**  
(d.1576)

Esmé Stuart = Catherine de Balsac fille de  
**7th seigneur d'Aubigny** Guillaume, seigneur d'Entragues  
**1st duke of Lennox**  
(d.1583)

apparent, who is 'Prince and High Steward of Scotland'. [Thus the Stewards of the Kings of Scots became the Stewart Dynasty of Scotland]. Prince Charles [the present Prince of Wales and heir to the crown of Great Britain] is reckoned the 29th High Steward [of Scotland]', G Donaldson and R S Morpeth, *A Dictionary of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1977), p 206.

## Appendix No 2

## Lettres Patentes d'Amortissement fait par Alan Stewart, 29 avril, 1437

Archives départementales du Cher, Bourges, France: Chartre 15 H2, No 35

*(Original, on parchment, autograph signature, three seals mentioned, all missing)*

Alan Stewart, seigneur de Dernele, d'Aubigny sur Nerre et de Concorsault, A TOUS ceulx qui ces presentes lectres verront, salut. Comme venerable parsonne, feu maistre, Arnoul Belin, ou temps quil veuait tresorier de la sainte chapelle du palaiz de Bourges, conseiller et maistre des comptes du roy, nostre sire meü de bonne et sainte deuocion, eust nagueres coustumer, ediffier et bastir des biens que Dieu luy auoit, donnez et prestes en cest mortel monde en lostel Dieu de nostre ville dudict Aubigny pour le remede et salut des ames deluy, ses feux pere et mere, freres, seurs et autres ses parens et amis des seigneurs de la dicte ville, et touz les habitans dicelle, vne tresbelle et notable chappelle en laquelle il ait institue vng priore conuertuel de treize religieux, de lordre monseigneur saint Augustin, deppendant de labbaye de Saint Ambroys de Bourges, dont lung est prieur et chept pour yfaire jour et nuyt le divin seruice a lonneur et louage de Dieu de la gloire [de la vierge] Marie, sa mere, et detouz les benoiz sains et saintes de paradis. Et aussy y ait institue deux femmes dudict ordre pour le gouvernement des pouures affluans et qui viendront chacun jour, ou temps aduenir endit hostel Dieu. Et semblablement ait fait bastir et ediffier plusieurs autres beaux et notables ediffices pour laisance et demourance desdictz prieur et conuent et de leurs seruiteurs. Et pour habberger louer lesdictz pouures pour la norriture et sustantacion desqueulx bien ait donne et baille en nostre ville et terre d'Aubigny, et ailleurs en ce reaulme plusieurs heritaiges, rentes, reuenues, domaines et possessions lesquelles le roy, nostre sire, par ses lectres patentes, expediees en sa dicte chambre des comptes, comme autres foiz nous est apparu en considerant le bon et sain propoux dudict feu maistre Arnoul Belin ait

amorties jusques ala somme de huit cens [800] liures parisis acquises et acquerir au proufit et vtilite desdictz prieure et hostel Dieu, tant par donnacion laiz comme autrement, maiz pour ce que vne partie desquelz heritaiges, rentes, reuenues et possessions sont assises et situees en noz dictes terres et seigneuries d'Aubigny. Cestassauoir vng grant hostel ou maison avec toutes ses apparteneues qui fut feu pere Belin assise audict Aubigny juxte la maison Jehan Grespelin dune part et juxte les murs dela dicte ville dautre part et juxte la maison Jehan Dernle [Darnley], qui fut le petit chesne dautre part. ITEM six arpens de pres assis en la paroisse d'Aubigny en deux pieces. Cestassauoir deux arpens en six arpens de pres partant avec les hoirs feu Guilleim Lecourt et les hoirs feu Jehan Macon assis lez le molin aux filles appelle le pre de Larain et furent acquis ja pieca du Messire Jehan Berthelot, prestre, et les autres quatre arpens assis pres deladicte ville d'Aubigny, le chemin commun et les fosses deladicte ville entre deux appelle lepre qui dance pres de la fontayne Chassegnay. ITEM huit sexterees de terres, ou enuiron, assises pres dudit Aubigny ou terrouer des terres noues iuxte aux noues qui vont de Vieure ala maladerie d'Aubigny, et terres de la meitairie Delorme du Buisson dautre part. ITEM deux pieces de terres assises entre les terres de la meitairie de Villeneufue contenant quatre septerees de terres ou enuiron. ITEM deux autres pieces de terres contenant sept septerees de terres, ou enuiron, tenant au clodiz Guillaume Soubert dune part et les terres de la meitairie de Lorme Dubuisson dautres treize et juxta le chemin d'Oyson dautre part. ITEM trois petis clodiz contenant cinq quatrelees de terres, ou enuiron, lune de la grange Villepellee qui fut feu Groignet juxte la terre Theuenin Dorneau et

vne faute qui va alestang pour abreuer dautre part, et lautre juxte le verger Estienne de Preficte et la terre de Henrite Bertanche, qui fut feu Guibourdeau et lautre pres Dilec juxte le chemin par lequel on va a Concorsault et les terres dudict Guibourdeau. ITEM Trente deux soulds parisis de rente que ledit maistre Arnoul acquist de Pierre Lestuiere, dit Duchesne, filz de feu Regnault Duchesne, [sur la maison (inserted)] que a present tient Messire Jehan Berthelot, prestre assise Aubigny, en la rue dela Triperie pres de noz molins. ITEM vne place ou maison et appartenance de Denise Gorgelle, assise a Aubigny en la rue dArgent juxte la maison dedit feu Marc Laizas dune part et la maison au feu Chat Pelletier. ITEM dix soulds parisis de rente que doit Jehan Julian d'Oison sur son lieu appelle le chastellet pres dela mote Berneau sur la riviere del'Oisonnet. ITEM dix soulds parisis de rente assis sur vne tannerie que est en la rue dOison pres la tannerie Jehan Sarrebourg. ITEM quinze deniers parisis de rente assis sur vng verger qui est lez legrant cemytire dAubigny pres dela bereuuoir delestang que tenir les hoirs feu Haston. ITEM douze soulds parisis de rente deuz sur la tannerie et appartenance de Pierre et Thomas Milet assise sur ledit estang juxte ledit abeurouer dudict grant cemytire. ITEM neuf soulds parisis de rente que Regnault Cromier sur son verger assis lez la pourte dArgent juxte ledit pre qui dance et lechemin par lequel on va deladicte porte dArgent au molin des prez. ITEM dix soulds parisis de rente qui sont deuz sur vng verger tient Phelipon Duzy a cause de Jacquete sa seconde fille feu Jamet Thiuin assis en la rue dArgent hors ladicte ville appelle le Verger de la Mare. ITEM seize soulds parisis de rente que doit Andre Vallet sur vne piece de pre assis en la dicte prairie dAubigny. ITEM vne chetive maison assise Aubigny sur la chaussee de nostre estang appelle la maison Du Thou. ITEM cinq soulds parisis de rente que doit Jehan Durant sur son verger assis es fourbours dudict Aubigny juxte le chemin, par lequel lon va dudict Aubigny aunordre, et les vergers de feu Guillaume Daudid, lequel verger ledict Durant acquist de feu

Desbois. ITEM cinq soulds parisis de rente que doit Mace Jouner, dit Debois, sur son verger maison on longe assise audict lieu tenant au verger dudict Jehan Durant et juxte le verger dudict Guillaume Daudid et le verger de Mace Girard, dit Bonart, dautre part avec les fondz, droiz, aisances, parties et appartenances quelxconques diceulx heritaiges, et chascuns deulx, lesdiz prier et conuent. Nous ont fait humblement supplier et requerir que seulement de nostre part les biens veullons admortir et il nous contenteroient raisonnablement de linterest et indemnite que nous, noz freres et autres, a qui pourroit toucher pour le temps aduenir pourroient auoir dudict admortissement. POUR quoy nous qui desirons de tout nostre cueur le diuin seruice estre tousiours acru et augmente, ayant regart et consideracion es choses dessus dictes aux bons et agreables services que afaiz ledict feu maistre Arnoul Belin en son viuant, a feu nostre tres cher depere, que Dieu pardonne en plusieurs manieres. Et aussy que font de jour en jour lesdiz prier et religieux dudict priere delostel Dieu dudict Aubigny et esperons quilz facent en temps aduenir a nous [et autres (inserted)] chere amee compaignie et a noz successeurs comme dece nous nous tenons seurs et acertenés. Et aussy que nous et les nostres soyons participans et prieres et biens faiz qui se font et feront de jour en jour. Et doresenauant en la dicte chappelle et hostel Dieu nous, tant pour nous comme prenant en main, et nous faisons fors pour nozdiz freres et autres aqui ce peut, et pourra, toucher ou temps aduenir quatre ace qui sensuit soubz lipotheque et obligacions de tous noz biens et biens de noz hoirs, meubles et nonmeubles, presans et aduenir quelconques tant pour, et moiannant, certaine somme dor et argent qui lesdiz prier et conuent nous ont baillez et paye content pour nous fauoriser et aider a nostre merite dont [...hole in MS....nous nous] tenons pour contens et bien paie. Et en quictons les diz prier et couuant et leurs successeurs et tous aultres a touzoursmes perpetuellement. Et aussy que nous et les nostres serons et demourons quicte et atousiours enuers lesdicts prier [...

hole in MS...et conuant] et leurs successeurs de tout ce que nous leurs pouons deuoir detout le temps passe jusques aupresant de quelque maniere et par quelconque cause que ce soit. Et en oultre que lesdicts religieux, prieur et conuant et [leursdits....hole in MS...]] successeurs seront tenez de dire faire et selebrer en leur dicte chappelle chascun an perpetuellement pour le remede et salut des ames de nous, noz diz feux pere et mere, parents et amis et bienffaiteurs, deux anniversaires solennelz oultre et par dessus quatre autres anniversaires en quoy ilz nous sont tenez. TOUS ieeulx heritaiges, rentes, reuenues, domaines, possessions et autres que le feu maistre Arnoul Belin adonnez et baillez ausdiz religieux nouuellement et derrechef en son testament ou derreniere volunte, ou autrement dessus declarer et confirmes, situes et assis en nostre dicte terre et chastellenie dAubigny, reserue a nous et anoz successeurs tout droit de justice comme par auant ce present admortissement. Et en oultre de nostre grace pure, franche et liberale volunte et certain propox audiz religieux prieur et conuant et a leurs diz successeurs pour laccroissement et augmentation de leur dit benefice et prieure auons donne, quicte et perpetuellement delaisse. Et par la teneur de ses presentes donnons, cessons et perpetuellement transpourtons, sanz james rappelez ne venir encontre, huit soulz parisis de rente que nous deuoit chacun an Estienne Vallier, barbier, sur vne place que nous lui auons nouuellement baillee et adcensee assise audit Aubigny pres du puir de Lauernoye et deuant ladicte chappelle et hostel Dieu, comme plusaplain est declare es lettres sur ce, par nous sur ce faictes et donnees audit Vallier. Nous, es noms deuansdiz, et mesmement du conseil et deliberacion de nostre trescher cousin et reuerend pere en Dieu Jehan, euesque de Berchin[John, bishop of Brechin], Jehan Stewart nostre frere, Alain Cocheran et autres de nostre conseil, des maintenant comme deslors et deslors comme des maintenant touz iceulx heritaiges, rentes et reuenues dessus nommes et speciffiez. Leurs auons admorties et admortissons la teneur

deces presentes et voullons, et nous plaist que lesdiz religieux prieur et conuant et leursdiz successeurs, les puissent tenir comme chose admortie et dediee a Dieu, sanz ce quilz soient tenez, doresenauant ou puissent estre contraire par nous ou noz successeurs, seigneurs dudit Aubigny ou noz officiers ales mectre hors deles mains, ne pour ce paier aucune autre finance rachapt ou indemnite, sauf les droiz de justice comme dit est, laquelle finance si plus nous appartenoit ou pourroit appartenir pour la cause dessusdicte, nous leurs auons donnees, quictee et remise, donnons, quictons et remettons par ces presentes. Par lesquelles ces mesmes presentes nous mandons a noz bailly, procureur, receueur de nostre dicte terre dAubigny, et atouz autres noz officiers et subges. Et a leurs lieutenans presens et aduenir, et a chacun deulx, comme a luy appartiendra que de noz presente voullente admortizacion et choses dessusdictes facent, souffrent et laissent joir et vser. Dornesauant, lesdiz prieur et conuant, et leurs diz successeurs, plainement et plaisiblement sanz leur faire, mectre ou donner ne souffrir estre fait, mis ou donne aucun destorbier ou empeschement aucontraire. Lequel se anciennement y auoit este mis pour la cause dessus dicte, nous lauons oste, et oston, dutout et mectons [aplain.... (inserted)] deliurance. Voullons en oultre que au vidimus deces presentes, fait soubz scel roial, ou autentique [foy (inserted)] soit adioustce comme a ce present original. Et affin que ce soit ferme chose et estable atouzoursmes. Nous auons signe ces presentes de nostre saing manuel et fait mectre le scel de noz armes. Nous approuons ces motz en interlin sur la maison et a nostre foy et en rasure de touz les lectres se plus nous a donne le penultime dauril lan de grace milquatrecentz trente et sept, apres pasques [29 avril 1437].

[autograph signature] alan stewart de dernele  
[Alan Stewart of Darnley]

Et nous, Huc Poutrant, clerck garde du scel de la prevoste dudit Aubigny sur Nerre salut. Sauoir faisons atouz presans et auenir que en la presens de Pierre Raulin, clerck iure notaire et tabellion dudict scel, vsant de nostre auctorite et commandement et responces des tesmoings cy dessoubz nommez noble et puissant seigneurs, Monsieur Alain Stewart, seigneur desdicts lieux de Dernele, d'Aubigny et de Concessault de sa bonne volonte sanz aucune contrainte ledit admortissement et autres choses cy dessus en ces presentes speciffices et declarees acogneues et confessees estre vrais et icelles en la presance dudict iure. A volues, consenties, ratiffiees et approuees, et encores vieult, consent, ratiffie et approue en promectent dejames venir, ne faire venir, encontre soubz hypotheque et obligacion detouz ses biens et deses hoirs presens et aduenir toute acertaines excepcions et decepcions adce contraires cessans dutout et arrieres mises si comme le dict iure auquel nous creons firmement. Nous a ces choses rappourte estre vrai ala relacion duquel et en tesmoing dicelles nous auons mis le scel de ladicte preuoste d'Aubigny aces presentes lectres fait et donne ledit penultime jour dauril lan que dessus miliiijc trente et sept [29 avril 1437]. Presans reuerend pere en Dieu, Monseigneur Jehan euesque de Berchin [John, bishop of Brechin] et Alain Cocheran du pais d'Escosse, tesmoings ce appellez requis [autograph signature of cleric].

P Raulin

VERSO: eighteenth-/nineteenth-century hand:  
 'Lettres de l'Amortissement fait par Alain Stuart des biens du prioré à Aubigny, 1437'.

Second: fifteenth-century hand:  
 'Lettres de lamortissement faicte par le seigneur d'Aubigny de certaines rentes et heritages donnees par seing Maistre Arnoul Belin pour laugmentation de la fondation de lostel Dieu d'Aubigny'.

Third: fifteenth-century hand:  
 'Amortissement pour le priore d'Aubigny'.

Same: eighteenth-/nineteenth-century hand:  
 'Lettres de L'Amortissement fait par Alain Stuart des biens du prioré a Aubigny, 1437'.

Same: eighteenth-/nineteenth-century hand:

'30 [sic] Avril 1437'  
 'Aubigny Privileges'  
 'Premiere Liasse'  
 'A'  
 'Cotte II'  
 'No. 1'

Palaeographical Note: The principles followed in the transcription of this document follow standard British practice of transcribing the text exactly as it appears in the document. The only changes to have been made are the capitalisation of proper nouns and the insertion of very rudimentary punctuation. As regards translation, the editorial practice of the Scottish History Society has been followed, leaving the full text in its original fifteenth-century French and providing an edited translation in English with full references to particular names, places or clarification of points of interest. This translation appears in the text of this article on pages 347 to 349, notes 54 to 62. For reference of this style of transcription and translation please see: *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the originals in the Balcarres Papers*, vol I (1537–48), vol. II (1548–57), ed Marguerite Wood, Scottish History Society, 3rd series (Edinburgh, 1923 and 1925).

## Appendix No 3

## Charter of Sir Alan Stewart, lord of Darnley, to the Dominican Friars of Glasgow, 19 January, 1433/34

University of Glasgow Archives, 12399/BL 47

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quorum notitiam presentes pervenerint Alanus Stewart dominus de Darnley salutem. Noveritis me dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti scripto confirmasse in perpetuum fratribus ordinis predicatorum de Glasg' presentibus et futuris ibidem deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam viginti solidos usualis monete regni Scotie mihi annuatim debitos de terris de Cathkert solvendos dictis fratribus de Glasg' ad duos anni terminos videlicet decem solidos ad festum Sancti Martini in hyeme et alios decem solidos ad festum Pentecost immediate sequens, et sic de anno ad annum in perpetuum ad quorum viginti solidorum solutionem me et heredes meos seu assignatos firmiter obligo per presentes. Et si contigat casu aliquo contingente me vel heredes meos seu assignatos solutionem dictorum viginti solidorum contradicere seu aliquo modo calumpniare in parte vel in toto, obligo me heredes meos executores et assignatos in centum scutis auri boni ponderis integre dictis fratribus persolvendis sine fraude et dolo vel cavillatione, que quidem scuta auri dominus Johannes Stewart quondam pater meus habuit ex mutuo a frater Alano Lokart de bonis communibus dictorum fratrum, ad que omnia fideliter observanda pro me et heredibus meis et assignatis tactis sacrosanctis ewangeliis iuramentum prestiti corporale. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum [meum?] est appensum apud Glasg' huic presenti scripto decimo nono die mensis Januar' anno decimo millesimo quadringentesimo tricessimo tertio.

To all Christ's faithful to whose knowledge these present [writings] shall come, Alan Stewart lord of Darnley, greeting. Know that I have given, granted and by this my present writing confirmed in perpetuity to the brethren of the Order of Preachers of Glasgow, present and future, serving God there, in pure and perpetual alms twenty shillings of the usual money of the kingdom of Scotland, due to me annually from the lands of Cathcart, to be paid to the said brethren of Glasgow at two terms of the year, namely, ten shillings at the feast of St Martin in winter and the other ten shillings at the feast of Pentecost immediately following, and so on from year to year in perpetuity; I firmly bind myself and my heirs of assignees to the payment of those twenty shillings by the present [document]. And if anything affecting me, my heirs, executors or assignees happens to contradict, or by another method dispute, in part or in whole the payment of those twenty shillings, I bind myself, my heirs, executors and assignees to pay in whole to those brethren one hundred ecus of gold of good weight without fraud, evil intent or quibbling, which ecus of gold Lord John Stewart my late father had on loan from brother Alan Lockhart from the common goods of those brethren; that all these things are to be faithfully observed on behalf of myself and my heirs and assignees, a corporal oath was taken on the holy gospels. In testimony of this, [my?] seal is appended to the present document at Glasgow on the 19th day of the month of January in the year of the Lord 1433 [1434].

## Appendix No 4

Vidmus de L'hommage de Jehan Stewart à Charles VII en 1437 à Tours  
Pour les Terres d'Aubigny et de Concessault, 9 Janvier 1457

Archives Privées du Château de La Verrerie, Oizon, Aubigny-sur-Nère, Cher, Papiers de Famille, Liasse 1, Cote XXXIII, Pièce 2, Original, Signé P. Crolanayne et J. Mustrecollen

Nous Pierre Crolanayne, conseiller du Roy, notre seigneur, en sa court de parlement, et Jehan Mustrecolle[n], secretaire dudit seigneur; je, ledit Mustrecolle[n], reaur comme auint les registres des commandemens fais par icellui seigneur a feu Maistre Pierre Aalant, jadis pere de noz femmes ou temps quil a este son notaire et secretaire, par maistre Gaultier de Mondreville, licence es droiz canon et ciuil et secretaire du Roy, notredit seigneur, comme soy disant procureur de noble homme, Jehan St[e]wart, escuier, seigneur d'Aubidny et de Concessault, de querir et cercher esdits registres dudit feu Maistre Pierre Aalant, le commandeur de lommage que ja pieca fist ledit Jehan St[e]wart au Roy, notredit seigneur, desdites terres et seigneuries d'Aubigny et de Concessault; ~~et certiffions~~ lequel commandeur ledit maistre Gaultier disoit icellui feu Aalant auoir receu. Certiffions auoir trouue et estre escript de la main dudit feu maistre Pierre Aalant en vng de sesdits registres ce qui sensuit: le mardi veille de noel xxiiiije pour dudit mois de decembre oudit an iiijc xxxvij [24 decembre 1437], Jehan St[e]wart fist hommage au Roy d'Aubigny et Concessault

au retour de vespres present Gaucourt et autres. Et dessus en marge est escript de sadite main cours signifiant que ledit commandeur fut fait le Roy, notredit seigneur, estant en la ville de Tours. En tesmoing de ce nous les dessusdits Crolanayne et Mustrecolle[n] auons signee cest present certificacion de nos seings manuelz le ixme jour de januiar lan mil CCCC cinquante six [9 janvier 1456/57].

Approuue januiar en rasure

P. Crolanayayne

J. Mustrecollen

J. Mustrecollen

Verso: illegible

Palaeographical Note: Please see Appendix No 2, p 359, for transcription and translation principles of documents which have been followed in this article; for references to this document (Appendix No 4) see, pages 349–351, and 353 and notes 64, 68, 69, 76 and 83.

