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Ballads on the Bishops' Wars, 1638-40

THE attempt of Laud and Charles I. to impose the Service Book on Scotland, and the two wars which sprung out of that attempt, naturally produced an excitement which found expression in the popular literature both of Scotland and England. Even in the works of the poets who wrote for the Court and the Universities there are poems referring to the unsuccessful campaigns which the King undertook to suppress his recalcitrant subjects, though naturally there is no sign of sympathy for the rebels in them. Cowley has a set of verses addressed to Lord Falkland praying 'For his safe Return from the Northern Expedition against the Scots.' 'He is too good for war,' concludes Cowley, 'and ought to be[1] As far from danger as from fear he's free.' Davenant has a poem of over a hundred lines called 'The Plots,' in which he describes the spread of Presbyterianism from Scotland to England and the conspiracy of 'Calvin's meek sons' against the English Church and Crown. It was not the arms of the soldiers under Leslie, but the intrigues of Court nobles such as Hamilton and others, that were really to be feared is his conclusion :

> 'We feared not the Scots from the High-land nor Low-land ;
> Though some of their leaders did craftily brave us,
> With boasting long Service in Russe and Poland,
> And with their fierce breeding under Gustavus.
>
> 'Not the Tales of their Combats, more strange than Romances,
> Nor Sandy's screw'd Cannon did strike us with wonder ;
> Nor their Kettle-Drums sounding before their long Launces,
> But Scottish-Court-whispers struck surer than Thunder.'[2]

[1] *Works*, ed. 1700, p. 7.

[2] Sir W. Davenant, *Works*, ed. 1673, p. 304.

In popular poetry of the eventful years from 1638 to 1640, the feeling of the time found much more frequent and more outspoken utterance, though but few of the perishable broad sheets on which it was printed have survived. A small collection of these productions was printed in 1834, 'Ballads and other Fugitive Poetical Pieces, chiefly Scotish, from the collections of Sir James Balfour.' Some of them, and many others, are included in Maidment's *Book of Scotish Pasquils*, ed. 1868. On the other hand, English collections of ballads, such as those published by the Percy Society and those edited by Mr. Chappell and Mr. Ebsworth for the Ballad Society, contain practically no pieces dealing with this particular episode in the relations of England and Scotland. Yet there is ample evidence that such pieces were printed in considerable numbers. Those in favour of the Scots were naturally suppressed by the English government. Rushworth prints a proclamation, dated March 30, 1640, against 'libellous and seditious pamphlets and discourses from Scotland,' said to be circulated both in manuscript and in print, especially in London.[1] Balladmakers suffered the same penalties as pamphleteers. 'There was a poor man,' says a pamphlet, 'who to get a little money, made a song of all the caps in the kingdom, and at every verse end, concludes thus:

> "Of all the caps that ever I see,
> Either great or small, blue cap for me."

But his mirth was quickly turned into mourning for he was clapt up in the Clinke for his boldness to meddle with any such matters.'[2] The ballad itself was probably an adaptation of an older one, written perhaps about 1634, which is to be found in print in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 75; but however innocent its words, anything in favour of the Scots was for the moment regarded as hostile to the government. The reaction came in 1640, when the King was obliged to summon the Long Parliament, and the gratitude which most of the English people felt towards the Scots could freely express itself. 'In their printed ballads,' writes Robert Baillie, 'they confess no less, for their binding word is ever "grammercie, good Scot."'[3] One ballad with this refrain, entitled 'A New Carrel for Christmasse, made and sung at London,' is reprinted in the Balfour collection

[1] *Historical Collections*, iii. 1094.

[2] *A Second Discovery by the Northern Scout*, p. 7, 1642.

[3] *Baillie Letters*, i. 283.

mentioned above (p. 36). A different version of it, with the variant 'God 'a mercy, good Scott,' is contained in the Diary of John Rous, published by the Camden Society in 1856 (p. 110). A third, with an entirely different text, may be found in Maidment's *Book of Scotish Pasquils* (p. 106). Fragments of ballads and verses in favour of the Scots may also be found in some of the prose pamphlets of the time. One called 'The Scots Scouts Discoveries by their London Intelligencer,' purports to give a description of the condition of England in 1639, as the spies of the Covenanters reported it to the Lords of the Covenant. Everywhere the spies note the general hatred which prevailed in the populace against the bishops, and the general sympathy with the men who were struggling against episcopacy. One of them describes the state of the King's camp at Berwick in May 1639, and the discontent of the miscellaneous army Charles had got together, amongst whom indifference to the cause was heightened to aversion by the discomforts of their service.

'I met with a great many gamesters there, and with some players and poets; but all out of imployment: yet a poet told me; that, because he would keep his hand in use, he made every day a few lines in verse; a parcel whereof he gave me as followeth:

"No Enemy's face yet have we seen
Nor foot set upon your ground;
But here we lie in open field,
With rain, like to be drown'd.

"The earth's my bed, when I am laid
A turf it is my pillow,
Our canopy is the sky above,
My laurel turn'd to willow.

"Then mighty Mars with-hold thy hand,
And Jove thy fury cease;
That so we may, as all do pray,
Return again in Peace."'

'Most of the common soldiers in the camp,' continues the Intelligencer, 'are such as care not who lose, so they get, being mere atheist and barbarian in these revolutions: and indeed they are the very scum of the kingdom, such as their friends have sent out to be rid of, who care not if both kingdoms were on fire, so they might share the spoil.' Nevertheless, to inform them better of the real cause of the quarrel, the

Intelligencer represents himself as sticking up the following queries in verse, under the orders posted in the camp for the government of the army.

> 'What will you fight, for a Book of Common Prayer?
> What will you fight, for a Court of High Commission?
> What will you fight, for a miter gilded fair?
> Or to maintain the prelates proud ambition?
> What will you get? You must not wear the miter.
> What will ye get? You know we are not rich.
> What will you get? Your yoke will be no lighter.
> For when we're slain, this rod comes on your Breech.'

No doubt the incident related was pure invention, but the verses nevertheless exactly represent the feeling of the moment at which they were supposed to be written.[1]

The two pamphlets quoted both bear the imprint 1642, though they were certainly composed, and no doubt clandestinely circulated earlier. Probably in consequence of the activity of the government in repressing them, few of the pro-Scottish ballads have reached us except those preserved in Scottish Collections. However, amongst the State Papers in the English Record Office there is a Scottish ballad on the subject of the Marquis of Hamilton's return to Court, in July 1638, after his negotiations with the Covenanting leaders. The *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1638-9, prints a couple of verses, but the readers of the *Review* will probably like to have the whole eleven.[2]

> 'Ane misseif letter
> Parrafraist in mitter.
>
> 'My Lord yowr vnexpectit post
> To Court, maid me to miss
> The happines which I love most
> Your Lordshipe's handes to kisse.
>
> 'But tho with speid ye did depairt
> so fast ye shall not flie
> As to unty [?] my loving heart
> Which yowr convoy shall be.
>
> 'I neid not to impairt to yow
> How our church staite do stand
> by this new service buik which now
> so trouble all the Land.

[1] 'The Scots Scouts Discoveries' is reprinted in the collection of pamphlets entitled *Phoenix Britannicus*, 1732, 4to, pp. 454-473.

[2] *Calendar*, p. 270. The original is Volume 408, number 115, and is undated.

'Nor dar I the small boat adventure
Of my most schallow braine
vpone thees fearfull seas to enter
In this tempestious maine.

'vnles that by authoritie
. I chargit be to do so,
Which may command and scheltir me
frome schipwraik and from vo.

'Therefor to God Its to dispose
this cause I will commend,
for wofullie it is by those
abuisit who should it tend.

'Ane lyk it is to bring great ill
Since it intrustit was
To those had nather strenth nor skill
To bring such things to pas.

'Bot or thees flames should quenchit be
that they haue set on fyre,
both wisdome and authoritie
that maitter doth requyre.

'Ane varlyk nation still we are,
Which soone may flatrit be
Not forst and brokin once we are
most Loth than to agrie.

'So I commend yow to the Lord
And shall be glad if I
my cuntrie service can affoord
my loue to yow to try.

'And howsoevir, I remain
Your Lordshipes whil I die
And for your glad returne again
Your Beidman I shall be.'

FINIS.

Ballads against the Covenanters are more easy to find, partly because they were not suppressed but encouraged by the King's government, partly, perhaps, because they were in reality more numerous. 'There hath been,' says one of the pamphlets before quoted, 'such a number of ballad makers and pamphlet writers employed this year, as it is a wonder, everything being printed that hath anything in it against the Scots.' 'Halter and ballad makers,' says the other, 'are two principal trades of late: ballads being sold by whole hundreds in the City, and halteris sent by whole barrels full to Berwick, to hang up the rebels with as soon as they can catch them.' Some celebrated the valour of the

Welsh soldiers, who were said to be extremely zealous for the King. 'There is a kind of beagles runs up and down the town, yelping out your destruction crying: "O the valour of the Welchmen! who are gone to kill the Scots." But give the Welchmen leeks and good words, and call them "bold Britons," and then you may do with them what you will.' Every rumour from the camp and every report of a victory, whether real or not, was at once put into rhyme. 'Such news as this comes out by owl-light, in little books or ballads, to be sold in the streets; and I fear it is held a prime piece of policy of state: for, otherwise how could so many false ballads and books be tolerated? Yet the next morning sun exhales all their vain evening vapours: as that news of taking Leslie prisoner; killing of Colonel Crayford; and imprisoning most of the nobility. But I never believed it, because if they had been true ballads they would have been sung by daylight, books printed, bonfires made, and a solemn procession, with a *Te Deum* at least, had not been wanting at Lambeth.'[1]

Yet even the most effusively loyal ballad writer was liable to be severely punished for any ill-advised comments on public affairs, which happened to give displeasure to the authorities. This was the case with 'one Parker, the prelates poet, who had made many base ballads against the Scots.' He 'narrowly escaped jail and a whipping to boot' when the Long Parliament met. 'Now,' says a pamphlet, dated 1641, 'he swears he will never put pen to paper for the prelates again, but betake himself pitcht kanne and his tobacco pipe, and learn to sell his frothie potts again, and give over poetry.'[2]

This was the famous Martin Parker, who between 1630 and 1656 was the best known and most prolific ballad writer of the time. Amongst Anthony Wood's collection in the Bodleian there are copies of three of his ballads against the Scots, which are not mentioned by Mr. Seccombe in his article on Parker in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and have never been reprinted. Their merits are rather historical than poetical. The first wishes the King good fortune in his expedition against Scotland, and incidentally sketches the history of the rebellion he was setting forth to quell.

[1] 'The Scots Scouts Discoveries,' *Phoenix Britannicus*, pp. 466, 467.

[2] *A Second Discovery by the Northern Scout*, 1642, p. 8. See also *Vox Borealis*, 1641.

A TRUE SUBJECTS WISH

For the happy successe of our Royall Army preparing to resist the factious Rebellion of those insolent Covenanters (against the Sacred Majesty of our gracious and loving King *Charles*) in *Scotland.*

To the tune of, *O how now Mars, etc.*

'If ever England had occasion
Her ancient honour to defend,
Then let her now make preparation,
Unto a honourable end:
the factious Scot
is very hot,
His ancient spleene is ne'er forgot
He long hath bin about this plot.

'Under the colour of religion,
(With hypocriticall pretence)
They make a fraction in that Region,
And rise against their native Prince,
whom heaven blesse
with happinesse,
and all his enemies represse,
accurst be he that wisheth lesse.

'Our gratious Soveraigne very mildely
Did grant them what they did desire,
Yet they ingratefully and vildly,
Have still continued the fire
of discontent
gainst government,
but England now is fully bent,
proud Jocky's bosting to prevent.

'It much importeth England's honour
Such faithlesse Rebels to oppose,
And elevate Saint Georges banner,
Against them as our countries foes,
and they shall see
how stoutly we,
(for Royall *Charles* with courage free)
will fight if there occasion be.

'Unto the world it is apparent
That they rebell ith' high'st degree,
No true Religion wil give warrant,
That any subiect arm'd should be,
against his Prince
in any sence,
what ere he hold for his pretence,
Rebellion is a foule offence.

'Nay more to aggravate the evill,
And make them odious mongst good men,
It will appeare, that all their levell,
Is change of government, and then,
what will insue,
amongst the crew,
but *Jocky* with his bonnet blew,
both Crown and Scepter would subdue.

'Who of these men will take compassion,
That are disloyall to their king,
Amongst them borne in their owne nation,
And one who in each lawfull thing,
doth seeke their weale,
with perfect Zeale,
to any good man I'le appeale,
if with King Charles they rightly deale.'

The Second Part, to the same tune.

'The Lord to publish their intentions,
Did bring to light a trecherous thing,
For they to further their inventions,
A Letter wrote to the French King,
and in the same,
his aide to claime,
with subtlety their words they frame,
which letter to our Soveraigne came.

'Then let all loyall subjects judge it,
If we have not a cause to fight,
You who have mony doe not grudge it,
But in your king and countries right,
freely disburse,
both person, purse
and all you may to avoyd the curse,
of lasting warre which will be worse.

'If they are growne so farre audacious,
That they durst call in forraine aide,
Against a king so milde and gratious,
Have we not cause to be afraid,
of life and blood,
we then had stood,
in danger of such neighbourhood,
in time to quell them twill be good.

'Then noble Country-men be armed,
To tame these proud outdaring Scots,
That Englands honour be not harmed,
Let all according to their lots,
couragiously
their fortune try,
against the vaunting enemy,
and come home crownd with victory.

'The noble Irish good example,
Doth give of his fidelity,
His purse, and person is so ample,
To serve his royall maiesty,
and gladly he
the man will be,
to scourge the Scots disloyalty,
if England's honour would agree.

'Then we more neerely interessed,
Ith future danger that might chance,
If that against our soveraigne blessed,
Those rebels had got aide from France,
should not be slacke,
nor ere shrinke backe,
or let King *Charles* assistance lacke,
to tame in time this saucy Jacke.

'We have a Generall so noble,
(The great Earle of Northumberland)
That twill (I trust) be little trouble,
Those factious rebels to withstand:
his very name
seemes to proclaime,
and to the world divulge the same,
his ancestors there won such fame.

'The God of hosts goe with our army,
My noble hearts for you ile pray,
That never any foe may harme ye,
Nor any stratagem betray
your brave designe,
may beames divine,
upon your ensignes brightly shine,
Amen say I, and every friend of mine.

'M. P.'

FINIS.

Printed at London by E. G. (C), and are to be sold at the Horse-shoe in Smithfield.[1]

The mention of the tune to which the foregoing ballad is to be sung, enables us to identify another of Parker's productions. It is probable that he was the author of the verses against the Scots beginning, 'Oh how now Mars what is thy humour,' answered stanza by stanza by some poet of the Covenanting party and printed under the title of 'An English Challenge and Reply from Scotland' (*Ballads from the collection of Sir James*

[1] Wood, folio Ballads, 401, f. 141. (Black letter, 3 cuts.)

Balfour, p. 29; *Maidment's Pasquils*, p. 134). Both were evidently written in 1639, and belong to the first Bishops' War.

The ballad which comes next was certainly written about the beginning of September, 1640, just after the rout at Newburn, which took place on August 28, 1640.

BRITAINES HONOUR

In the two Valiant *Welchmen*, who fought against fifteene thousand *Scots*, at their now comming to *England* passing over *Tyne*; whereof one was kill'd manfully fighting against his foes, and the other being taken prisoner, is now (upon relaxation) come to Yorke to his Majestie.

The tune is, *How now Mars, etc.*

'You noble *Brittaines* bold and hardy,
That justly are deriv'd from Brute,
Who were in battell ne'er found tardy,
But still will fight for your repute;
'gainst any hee,
What e'r a' be,
Now for your credit list to me,
Two *Welchmens* valour you shall see.

'These two undaunted Troian worthies,
(Who prized honour more than life,)
With Royal *Charles*, who in the North is,
To salve (with care) the ulcerous strife;
Which frantick sots,
With conscious spots,
Bring on their sowles; these two hot shots,
Withstood full fifteene thousand *Scots*.

'The manner how shall be related,
That all who are King Charles his friends
May be with courage animated,
Unto such honourable ends;
These cavaliers,
Both Musquetiers,
Could never be possest with feares,
Though the *Scots* Army nigh appeares.

'Within their workes neere Tyne intrench'd
Some of our Soveraignes forces lay;
When the *Scots* Army came, they flinched,
And on good cause retyr'd away;
Yet blame them not,
For why the *Scot*,
Was five to one, and came so hot,
Nothing by staying could be got.

'Yet these two Martialists so famous,
One to another thus did say;
Report hereafter shall not shame us,
Let *Welchmen* scorne to runne away;
Now for our King,
Lets doe a thing
Whereof the world shall loudly ring
Unto the grace of our off-spring.

'The vaunting *Scot* shall know what valour,
Doth in a *Britains* brest reside;
They shall not bring us any dolour;
But first we'll tame some of their pride.
What though we dy,
Both thee and I:
Yet this we know assuredly,
In life and death ther's victory.'

The second part, to the same tune.

'With this unbounded resolution,
These branches of *Cadwalader*;
To put their wills in execution
Out of their trenches would not stir,
But all night lay,
And would not stray,
Out of the worke, and oth' next day,
The *Scots* past o'r in Battell aray.

'The hardy *Welchmen* that had vowed,
Like *Jonathan* unto his *David*;
Unto the *Scots* themselves they showed,
And so couragiously behaved
Themselves that they
Would ne'r give way,
But in despite oth' foe would stay,
For nothing could their minds dismay.

'Even in the Jawes of death and danger
Where fifteene thousand was to two,
They still stood to 't and (which is stranger)
More then themselves they did subdue,
Courage they cry'd;
Lets still abide,
Let *Brittaines* fame be dignifi'd,
When two the Scottish hoasts defi'de.

'At length (when he two Scots had killed)
One of them bravely lost his life,
His strength and courage few excelled;
Yet all must yeeld to th' fatall knife.
The other hee,
Having slaine three,
Did Prisoner yeeld himself to be,
But now againe he is set free.

'This is the story of these victors,
Who as they sprung oth' Troians race,
So did they show like two young Hectors;
Unto their enemies disgrace;
Hereafter may,
Times children say,
Two valiant Welchmen did hold play,
With fifteene thousand *Scots* that day.

'His Maiesty in Princely manner,
To give true vertue it's reward;
The man surviving more to honour,
Hath in particular regard.
Thus valiant deeds,
Rewards succeeds,
And from that branch, which valour breeds,
All honourable fruit proceeds.

'Now some may say (I doe confesse it)
That all such desperate attempts
Spring only from foole hardinesse; yet
Who ever this rare deed exempts,
From valour true,
(if him I knew)
I would tell him (and 'twere but due)
Such men our Soveraigne hath too few.

'For surely tis a rare example,
Who now will feare to fight with ten,
When these two lads (with courage ample)
Opposed fifteene thousand men,
Then heigh for *Wales*,
Scots strike your Sayles,
For all your proiects nought prevailes,
True *Brittains* scorne to turne their tayles.

'M. P.'

FINIS.

London, Printed by E. G. and are to be sold at the Horse Shooe in Smith-field.[1]

The third of Parker's ballads celebrates a trifling success, which for a moment gave fresh hopes to King Charles. Baillie thus relates it: 'Sir Archibald Douglas, going out of Durham with a troup of horse to view the fields, contrare to his commission, foolishlie passed the Tyse, and swaggering in the night in a villadge without a centinell, was surprised by the King's horse with all his troupers' (*Letters*, i. 261). His story is confirmed by the letters of Sir Henry Vane and Captain

[1] Wood, folio Ballads, 401, f. 132. (Black letter, 3 cuts.)

John Digby (*Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1640-1, pp. 79-81) and told with some additional details in the Life of Sir John Smith, published in 1644 (*Britannicae Virtutis Imago or the Effigies of true Fortitude*, Oxford, 1644, pp. 7-8). The account given in the ballad is much more accurate than ballads usually are, though it makes the prisoners 39 in number instead of 37.

GOOD NEWES FROM THE NORTH,

Truly relating how about a hundred of the *Scottish* Rebels, intending to plunder the house of M. *Thomas Pudsie* (at *Stapleton* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*), were set upon by a troupe of our horsemen, under the conduct of that truly valorous gentleman Leiutenant *Smith*, Leiutenant to noble S_r. *John Digby*; thirty nine of them (wherof some were men of quality) are taken prisoners, the rest all slaine except foure or five which fled, wherof two are drowned. The names of them taken is inserted in a list by it selfe. This was upon Friday about fore of the clock in the morning, the eighteenth day of this instant September, 1640.

The tune is, *King Henry going to Bulloine.*

'All you who wish prosperity,
To our King and Country,
and their confusion which falce hearted be,
Here is some newes (to cheare your hearts,)
Lately from the Northerne parts,
of brave exployts perform'd with corage free.

'The Scots (there in possession),
Almost beyond expression,
afflict the people in outragious wise;
Besides their lowance (which is much)
The cruelty of them is such,
that all they find they take as lawfull prize.

'*Sheepe*, *Oxen*, *Kine*, and *Horses*,
Their quotidiall course is
to drive away wherever they them finde;
Money plate and such good geere,
From the Houses far and neere,
they beare away even what doth please their mind.

'But theirs an ancient adage,
Oft used in this mad age,
the pitcher goes so often to the well;
That it comes broken home at last,
So they for all their knavery past
shall rue ere long though yet with pride they swell.'

'As this our present story,
(To the deserved glory,
of them who were the actors in this play,)
Unto you shall a relish give,
Of what (if heaven let us live;)
will come to pass which is our foes decay.

'Those rebels use to pillage,
In every country Village,
and unresisted romed up and downe;
But now at last the greedy *Scot*,
Hath a friday's breakefast got,
few of such feasts wil pull their courage down.

'At foure o'th clock i'th morning,
(Let all the rest take warning)
about a hundred of these rebels came;
To M *Pudsey's* house where they,
Make sure account to have a prey,
for their intention was to rob the same.

'Of no danger thinking,
To eating and to drinking,
the *Scots* did fall, but sure they said no grace,
For there they eat and drank their last,
With ill successe they brake their fast,
most of them to disgest it had no space.

'An English troope not farre thence,
Had (it seemes) intelligence
of these bad guests at Master *Pudseyes* house,
And with all speed to *Stapleton*
With great courage they rode on,
while *Jocky* was drinking his last carouse.

'The house they did beleaguer
And like to Lions eager,
they fell upon the *Scots* pell-mell so fast,
That in a little space of time,
By th' Rebels fall our men did clime,
they paid them for their insolencies past.'

The second part. To the same tune.

'In briefe the brave Lieutenant,
With his men valiant,
so plaid their parts against the daring foes,
That quickly they had cause to say,
Sweet meat must have sowre sauce alway,
for so indeed they found to all their woes.

'Thirty nine are prisoners taine,
And all the rest outright are slaine,
except some four or five that ran away,
And two of those (as some alledge)
Were drown'd in passing o'er Crofts bridge,
so neer they were pursu'd they durst not stay.

'Of them who are in durance
(Under good assurance)
some officers and men of quality,
Among them are, 'tis manifest,
To them who will peruse the List,
Wherein their names are set down orderly.

Thus worthy *Smith* his valour,
Hath showne unto the dolor,
of these proud Rebels, which with suttle wiles,
Came as in zeale and nothing else,
But now deare bought experience tels
those were but faire pretences to beguil's.

'But th' end of their intention
Is if (with circumvention)
they can make us beleeve what they pretend,
They hold us on with fained words,
And make us loath to draw our swords,
to worke our ruin, that's their chiefest end.

'But God I trust will quickly,
Heale our Kingdome sickly,
too long indeed sick of credulity ;
And their blind eyes illuminate,
Who bring this danger to the State,
by trusting to a friend-like enemie.

Ile dayly pray and hourely,
As it doth in my power lye,
to him by whom Kings reigne ; that with successe,
King Charles goe on and prosper may,
And (having made the Scots obay,)
rule or'e his Lands in peace and happinesse.'

List of Prisoners, etc., given at the end of 'Good Newes from the North' [Wood, fol. Ballads, 401, f. 134].

18 Septemb. 1640 being Fryday morning. At Stapleton 3 miles beyond Pearce bridge wee met with the Scots at 4 of the Clocke in the morning, at Master Pudseys house in the Bishopricke of Durham, at breakfast, when wee made our Skirmish, Lieutanant Smith had the day, five or six of them

escaped by Croft bridge, where they say they make their Randezvous, the prisoners that were taken, are these that follow, viz.

1. Sir Archibald Douglasse, Sergeant Maior to Collonell.
2. James Ramsey.
3. John Leirmouth, Lieutenant to Captaine Ayton.
4. Hopper Cornet to the Maior Duglasse.
5. Ja. Ogley, Sarjeant to the said Maior.
6. Patrick Vamphogie troup.
7. James Coldvildell.
8. James Levingston.
9. Hector Mackmouth.
10. John Cowde.
11. John Hench.
12. Alexander Paxton, wounded.
13. William Ridge.
14. David Buens wounded.
15. Adam Bonnyer.
16. Rob. Ferrony.
17. Jo. Milverne.
18. David Borret.
19. Rob. Leisley.
20. Ja. Ramsey.
21. Allen Duckdell a dutch boy wounded.
22. Alexander Fordringham.
23. Jo. Cattricke.
24. Allen Levingston.
25. George Harret.
26. Andrew Tournes.
27. Robert Watts.
28. Alexander Watts.
29. William Anderson.
30. Jo. Layton.
31. Alex. Dick.
32. Patricke Cranny.
33. William Simpson.
34. Tho. Husband neere dead.
35. Jo. Hill.
36. Thomas Ferley.
37. Andrew Whitehall.
38. James Vianley.

FINIS. M. P.

London: Printed by E. G. and are to be sold at the signe of the Horse-shooe in Smithfield, 1640.[1]

The last ballad in this series is not by Parker, but by some unknown writer, and it is derived not from a printed broad sheet but from a manuscript, which probably formed part of the miscellaneous verses collected by Archbishop Sancroft in his youth. The original is in the Bodleian Library, in volume 306 of the Tanner MSS. (p. 292). It is endorsed simply, 'Verses against the Scots coming into England,' and was probably written about January 1641, during the early days of the Long Parliament, but before the execution of Strafford had taken place. Clarendon describes the leaders of the popular party in the Parliament as willing to provide money for the support of the two armies then 'in the bowels of the kingdom,' namely, the King's own army and the Scots, but unwilling to pay them off. There was not, he says, 'the least mention that the one should return into Scotland, and the other be disbanded that so that vast expense might be determined: but, on the contrary, frequent insinuations were given that

[1] Wood, folio Ballads, 401. f. 134. (Black letter, 3 cuts.)

many great things were first to be done before the armies could disband' (*Rebellion*, Bk. iii., § 23). This is exactly the situation described by the poet, who represents the Scots as protesting their intention of staying permanently in England, and never consenting to be disbanded.

'Let Englishmen sitt and Consult at their ease
And put downe their Bishops as fast as they please;
Let them hang up the Judges and all the Kings friends,
And talke of Religion to serve their own Ends:
Let them doe what they will to put on the plot,
If ere we returne, then hang up the Scot.

'Let Puritans rise, let Protestants fall,
Let Brownists find favor, and Papists loose all;
Let them dam all the Pattents that ever were given,
And make Pymm a Saint, though he never see heaven,
Let them prove Madam Purbeck[1] to be wthout Spott
If ere we returne, then hang up the Scot.

'Let them firke the Lieutenant[2] as much as they will,
And lett the Scotts Army come on forwards still;
Let them charge him with Treasons tho never so great,
And make all such Traytors as shall but eate Meat:
All this will not doe, nor help them a jott,
If ere we returne, then hang up the Scot.

'Let all the Contrivers build Castles i' th' aire,
And laugh in their sleeves that things go so faire;
Let them send privy Councellors over to France,
And teach them to follow the Lord Keeper's dance:[3]
Let all this go on, be they never so hot,
If ere we returne, then hang up the Scot.

'Let all things be carryed in such a strange way
As no man shall know what to thinke, or to say:
Let Chronicle Writers now stand stil and wonder,
To see this great business they must now go under:
Let the Glory of their Nation be cleerly forgott
If ere we returne, then hang up the Scot.

'Let giving of Subsidyes be so delay'd,
And at the Kings charges let them ever be payd
Though many beleeve we come for their good,
And therefore are loth we should spend any blood:
When ere we come here, you must all to the pott,
Then too late you will say, Lett us hang up the Scot.'

C. H. Firth.

[1] Frances Coke, wife of John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck. See Gardiner's *History of England*, viii. 144.

[2] Strafford.

[3] An allusion to the flight of Lord Keeper Finch, Dec. 22, 1640.

Portraits and Jewels of Mary Stuart

VII.[1]

WRITERS on the subject of Mary's portraits usually leave a gap between the Sheffield type of 1578, and the Memorial Portraits, executed posthumously, after the death of the Queen. But it is, we think, quite certain that portraits of Mary were done in the latest years of her life, when, as shown in the Blairs College Memorial Portrait, her face had grown older and stouter than it was in 1578. As proof of this, in her book, *The Tragedy of Fotheringay* (p. 244), Mrs. Maxwell Scott photographs a reliquary, inscribed M.A.R. (*Maria Angliæ Regina*) in the possession of Lady Milford, with a miniature of Mary. She wears not a white but a black cap, black ear-rings, and, round the neck and on the breast, a profusion of black ornaments which had come into fashion, as several contemporary likenesses of ladies prove. The hair and eyes are brown, the eyebrows are very faintly indicated (they are much more distinct in the Sheffield type); the nose is long and low, as in the Morton portrait, not as in Oudry's, a beak. This miniature is probably a very good likeness of the Queen at about forty years of age, the face is decidedly plump. The little portrait's exactness is fully corroborated by the description of Winkfield, an eye-witness of her execution. 'Her face full and flat, double-chinned, and hazel-eyed.'[2] The miniature varies much from the Oudry and Morton types, in which the face is thin and long, and younger than in Lady Milford's reliquary. One is led to think the Queen sat to an artist about 1583-86.

Mrs. Maxwell Scott remarks that 'the date can be fixed as being not later than 1622'; it belonged to the Darrell

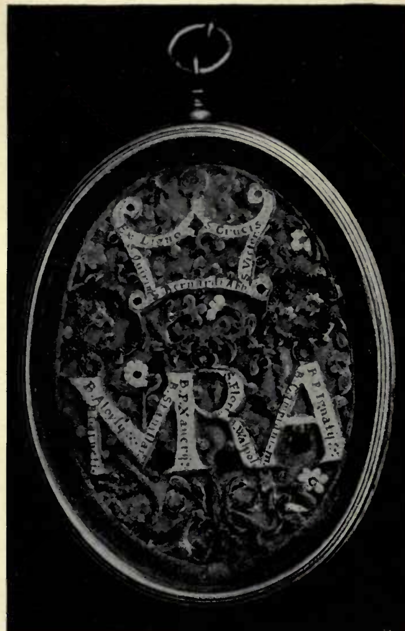
[1] See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. iii. p. 129.

[2] MS. in the Bodleian, numbered E. Muses, 178, cited by Mr. Cust (pp. 99, 100), from *Oxford Historical Society's Publications*, vol. xxxiv. 1897.

LADY MILFORD'S MINIATURE OF MARY IN A RELIQUARY.

Date circa 1584-86.

By permission of Messrs. Dickinsons.



BACK OF LADY MILFORD'S RELIQUARY.

See page 274.

family, and 'a Darrell was appointed to be Queen Mary's steward during her captivity.' Mr. Marmaduke Darrell attended Mary's funeral at Peterborough. Among the relics in the reliquary are those of 'Blessed Campion,' Walpole, and Garnet.

I am disposed to consider this the best portrait of Mary in her last years. By a happy chance, I had no sooner recorded this venture at an opinion than I found it corroborated by Dr. Williamson. He observed a similar miniature, not quite so well executed, I think, in the Rijks Museum. This piece he calls 'really one of the most important miniatures of Mary Stuart that have been preserved.'[1] A miniature of this period, in the hands of Jane Kennedy or Elizabeth Curle, at Antwerp, may be the source of the Memorial Portrait at Blairs College. The miniature once in the possession of Lady Orde, and now the property of Captain Edwards Heathcote, is of the same order. It has been attributed to Hilliard, and the curious story of its *provenance* may seem to justify the attribution.[2] The anecdote is given by Mr. Foster, from a narrative dictated by a lady of the Edwards family. It is said that, about 1801, a Mr. Edwards did a piece of diplomatic service for the British Government. He refused a sum of £500 as reward, he had only acted, he said, out of private friendship for Lord Spencer. That nobleman then presented Mr. Edwards with nine miniatures, found in France, and once in the possession of the Royal House of Stuart. Among the nine were Henry, Prince of Wales, his brother Charles, and Mary Queen of Scots, all by Hilliard. Now this miniature is that once owned by the Dowager Lady Orde, and published by Mr. Cust (Plate XVI). It is larger, and shows more of the dress and figure than Lady Milford's miniature. The cap is white, not black, the eyebrows are much more marked, the nose is slightly aquiline, but the chin is double. Probably Lady Milford's is the better likeness; it corresponds better to the Rijks Museum miniature. These three portraits are all later, I think, by several years, than the Sheffield type of 1578. They represent an older and stouter woman. They lead up naturally to the Mary of the Blairs College posthumous portrait, bequeathed by Elizabeth Curle, one of the Queen's faithful attendants, to the Scots College at Douai. Elizabeth also bequeathed a miniature of her mistress in a jewel of gold, given to her by Mary 'on the morning of her martyr-

[1] Williamson, i, 49, Plate xlvii, No. 8. [2] Williamson, vol. i. 31, 32.

dom.'[1] Is it too rash to conjecture that this miniature was of the Milford type, and was used as a model by the artist who wrought the Memorial portrait? Mention, however, is also made of miniatures of the Queen's mother, husband, and of herself, in the possession of Elizabeth Curle: *this* miniature of Mary would doubtless represent her in her youth.

In this connection we must compare a miniature in the Museo Nazionale of Florence, reproduced, but not commented on by Mr. Cust.[2] The Queen wears a black cap, her hair looks grey, she has pearl ear-rings, and a black dress with pearls in patterns, no religious emblems, and a rather small laced ruff. The face is flat and fat, the eyes deep sunken in the flesh, the long low nose is bulbous at the tip, 'an enemy has done this thing,' but it seems attached to the Milford type.

We have now tried to unravel the history of the early French portraits and miniatures (1552-1561), of the Sheffield type of portrait (1578), of the Morton portrait, and of the miniatures of the Queen's latest years.

We have next to ask whether there is any likeness done during Mary's reign in Scotland (1561-1567) or any copy of such a likeness? That Scotland had no native portrait painters about this time, is more than probable. In 1682 there was no painter in Scotland! In 1581 we hear of 'Adrianc Vaensoun, Fleming, painter,' who executed for Beza the Reformer, two likenesses; the names of the sitters are not given in the Treasurer's Accounts. But, on November 13, 1579, the tutor of James VI., Peter Young, answered Beza's request for a portrait of Knox, to be reproduced in Beza's *Icones* (published in 1580). The Scots, says Young, entirely neglect the art of portrait painting. There is no portrait of Knox. But there are painters of a sort, whom Young has approached; meanwhile he sends a description of Knox, done by himself from memory. He adds in a postscript, that a painter has just brought to him heads of Knox and Buchanan on one panel.

If it was Vaensoun who executed these likenesses in 1579, he was not paid till June 1581.[3] That a Fleming was employed suggests the absence of native talent in Scotland. Mr. Cust points out to me that the Duke of Devonshire possesses at Hardwick, an excellent full length of James VI., dated 1574,

[1] Cust, p. 103. [2] Cust, Plate vi, No. 2, p. 40.

[3] Hume Brown, *John Knox*, ii. pp. 320-324. Beza also received, at all events he published a portrait of James VI. Was that by Vaensoun?

when the King was aged eight. This must have been done in Scotland (unless a sketch was sent to France and a picture done from that), and we may conjecture that the artist, necessarily a foreigner, painted the masterly portrait of the Regent Morton, in the possession of the Earl of Morton. An even more spirited coloured sketch for this portrait exists, reproduced in Sir Herbert Maxwell's *House of Douglas*. We have found no portrait of Mary done in Scotland.

VIII.

Mary, in Scotland, could only be painted by a foreigner. But, in 1566-67, as we have seen, Mary may have had, among her *valets de chambre*, '*Jehan de Court, peintre*.' He does not appear among the *valets de chambre* in a rough list of July, 1562, now in the Bodleian Library.[1] That list is a household statement, like another of 1560, not an *Etat* or complete *catalogus familiae*. Mr. Way has pointed out an anecdote which raises a presumption that Mary had a painter, necessarily foreign, at her Court of Holyrood, in 1565, when she married Darnley. A picture representing the Queen, Darnley, and, behind them, David Riccio, the unhappy secretary, was sent to Cardinal Guise. He said, 'What is that little man doing in that place?' and, later (March, 1566), when the news of Riccio's murder came, the Cardinal said, 'The Scots have taken the little man out of the picture.' The authority for the story is a Hawthornden manuscript.[2]

If any portrait of Mary by Jehan de Court exists, the portrait exhibited in 1866 by the then Earl of Leven and Melville, and photographed in Mr. Foster's book, may be that likeness, or a copy from it. The history of this picture is obscure, and there is every reason to suppose that it is *not* an heirloom of these loyal servants of Mary, Sir Robert, Sir James, and Sir Andrew Melville; for the Melville family heirlooms have remained in the possession of the representative of the female line, Miss Cartwright Melville, while the titles adhere to the male line.

The painting (20 inches by 23) is round in form and is on canvas. It was seen, and annotated upon (in MS.), Mr. Cust says, by Sir George Scharf, who *published* nothing about it. In a communication to *The Athenaeum* (March 25, 1905)

[1] Privately printed, anonymously, by Thomas Thomson, without date.

[2] Way, xv. Chalmers, *Life of Mary*, i. xv.

Mr. Cust writes 'the portrait was then (in 1866, at the Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington) carefully inspected by Mr. George Scharf (afterwards Sir George Scharf, K.C.B.), and his notes and sketches are in the Library of the National Portrait Gallery. It is clear from these notes that in Scharf's opinion the Leven and Melville portrait could not in any way be accepted either as a true portrait of Mary Stuart or as a painting contemporary with her life. So decided was Scharf's opinion that I omitted the Leven and Melville portrait from those worthy of serious consideration in the book which I myself published as a contribution to the study of the authentic portraits of Mary Stuart.'

This was unfortunate, for the portrait decidedly deserved, and has since received, the study of Mr. Cust. The portrait does not vary, in complexion, features, expression, colour of hair, eyebrows, and contour of face, from the authentic early portraits, and the medal of 1558. Again, the face appears to me to be indubitably the face of the Morton portrait,—younger by many years, and happier by half an eternity. Here as in the early miniature of the Rijks Museum, we see (or at least *I* see) a Mary, not prettified in the manner of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (as in Hilton's copy of the Morton portrait), yet with charm, witchery, the faintest of smiles, and a pleasant slyness in the sidelong glance.

It may be unseemly to differ from an expert so distinguished as Sir George Scharf, who clearly rejected the claims of this portrait. But Sir George accepted 'the long pale face, pale red lips, pale yellow hair, and large *blue* eyes' of that interesting picture, but impossible portrait of Mary, the 'Fraser-Tytler' piece, in the National Portrait Gallery.[1] He also accepted the portrait with round staring eyes, black bonnet, white plume, and 'foolish expression,' picked up by the Prince Consort, and now in Buckingham Palace. Mr. Cust cannot here follow Sir George Scharf, and thinks that this painting may have been done from a bad eighteenth century engraving of a drawing from 'an original painting' of some person unnamed.[2] The figure, as in the Morton portrait, holds a laced handkerchief in one hand. The expression is frankly impossible in a genuine portrait of Mary, but the jewelled *carcan* round the neck ought to be examined to discover whether it corresponds with any *carcan* catalogued in the Inventories of the Queen's jewels. She does

[1] Cust, pp. 140-143. [2] Cust, pp. 127-130.

not wear it in a miniature in the Uffizi at Florence, where she does wear a bonnet and plume. Since we must differ from Sir George Scharf as to the Fraser-Tytler and Buckingham Palace portraits, I am encouraged to differ from him also about the Leven and Melville. I regard it as an original portrait of Mary in youth; or a copy of such an original. Of course I do not pretend to be an authority as to date of execution.

My opinion is based on the close resemblance to genuine early portraits; on what seems to me the close resemblance, allowing for difference of age, to the Morton portrait: on the witchery of the expression,—which Mary *did* possess; and on some other things which, from 'record evidence,' we know that she possessed —namely the chief jewels which the subject wears—in the Leven and Melville portrait.

As I am to rely much on the jewels for the identification of the Leven and Melville portrait, a few words must be said on the nature of the evidence. It may be urged against me that painters are apt to indulge their fancy by decorating their sitters with jewels which they do not possess. A late artist, composing a picture of a Queen, would naturally, it may be said, stick fancy jewels all over her person. To this I must reply that the artist, in this case, adorns Mary with jewels, which, as we shall show from documentary evidence, she really possessed; though most of them appear in no other known portrait of the Queen. Moreover, the painters of her day are notorious for the extreme and elaborate minuteness of their painting of jewels. (See No. II.) In the contemporary likenesses of Elizabeth of Austria, wife of Charles IX., of Louise of Lorraine, of Elizabeth of France, wife of Philip II. of Spain, of Henri III., and others, the jewels are, indeed, all in the same taste and style, as is natural, as those of the Leven and Melville portrait; but are by no means identical with them. It was usual to wear large stones, such as diamonds, rubies, or sapphires, alternating with pearls continuously. The pearls might be single, or in groups of two, three, four, or five, and the fashion of the settings varied. We see many such belts of jewels in the portraits of the age. But I have only noted, outside the Leven and Melville picture, one *carcan* of alternate diamonds (?) and couplets of pearls, set one above the other. That *carcan* is worn round the neck of Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henri IX. (otherwise she is styled Isabella de Valois), in the Greystoke portrait, and in a later miniature. The setting is not the same as

in Mary's *carcan*, worn across the breast in the Leven and Melville portrait. In other contemporary belts of jewels, in portraits, the pearls are single, or in groups of two, four or five.

Painting a prince or princess, a Court painter depicted the actual well-known jewels of the subject. They were not common things; the great diamond cross of Elizabeth of France, and of Elizabeth of Austria, was a treasure of the Crown, though smaller and less costly crosses existed. It is not possible that a painter should accidentally invent jewels known to the Courts of France and Scotland to have been Mary's. In the portraits of the great, minute accuracy in depicting their princely ornaments was the duty, and apparently the pleasure, of the painter. But critics, as a rule, do not seem to have thought of consulting the numerous extant Royal and noble inventories for descriptions of the actual jewels displayed in portraits of the sixteenth century.[1] An exception is M. Bapst, who, in his learned book on *The Crown Jewels of France*, frequently compares the descriptions in Inventories with the ornaments in portraits of their owners.

Now as to the jewels which Mary, against the advice, it is said, of her uncle, the Cardinal Guise, insisted on bringing to Scotland, in 1561, we have abundant information. In 1815 Thomas Thomson published, anonymously, *Inventories and Other Records of the Royal Wardrobe*. The original MSS. were then in the General Register House of Edinburgh, one, of 1556, was in the Duke of Hamilton's muniment room. In 1863, Joseph Robertson published *Les Inventaires de la Royne d'Escosse*, a work of remarkable learning. He reprinted some of Thomson's papers, and others unknown to Thomson, one (of 1566) having then been but recently discovered in a mass of old legal documents. In the eighteenth century the MSS. lay, with masses of others unconsulted, and baffling even the tireless patience of the historian Wodrow, in a dark and damp cellar 'the laigh house' of the Parliament House of Edinburgh. They are never alluded to by Goodall, or Dr. Robertson,—our best historians of Mary's period during the eighteenth century, or by any historians before 1815, 1863.

It does not appear that Sir George Scharf consulted the Inventories, which were accessible to him in print. Queen Mary, in 1560-1567, had some fourteen *tours* or *bordures de touret*,

[1] See *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch*, Seidel, Berlin, 1902, pp. 84, 85, 90, for an attempt to identify the known jewels of Brandenburg in pictures by Lucas Cranach.

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PLATE XII.

BY FRANCIS CLOUET.

The property of the Earl of Leven and Melville.

See page 277.

jewelled frameworks on which was expanded the prodigious winged object which then surrounded the fashionable neck. It is vain to argue that such articles did not 'come in' till a later date, on the evidence of other portraits. The inventory of 1561 shows that Mary then possessed two *tours*, or *tourets*, hung with some fifty large pearls. These could not be got into smaller space than they are in the *touret* of the Leven and the Melville portrait.[1]

That ornament, setting aside a jewel of gold, enamelled in black and red at the top of the head, is entirely decorated with pearls great and small. I reckon, at most, thirty-eight large pearls, *plus* four pendant above the brow; and the hair on the right side probably conceals others. In the records is frequent mention of *les entredeux*, which are the jewels that alternate in regular order with those which the scribe mentions first, and apparently thinks the more important. In this *tour* of the portrait, *les entredeux* are clusters of three round pearls apiece. It is a curious fact that on the *tour* there are ten or eleven great pearls with no *entredeux* : the places for *les entredeux* are empty, but we see the clamps for their attachment. Why should an artist paint the ornament in this oddly imperfect state, if he did not actually see it? The Inventories contain no record of a *tour* absolutely identical with the incomplete object in the portrait.

We cite, from the Inventory of 1561, the description of 'A thouret of pearls in which there are thirty-three pearls and nine pendants.'[2] In the Inventory of 1561-62, this *tour* seems to have been modified by the addition of *entredeux*, or alternating pearls: or at least they are now first mentioned. We read 'a *tour* of great pearls, of which there are thirty-three, and nine pendants of pear-shaped pearls, and thirty-three little pearls which make the *entredeux*.'[3] This is not the *tour* as seen in the portrait.

Finally, in May or June, 1566, the Queen had an Inventory of her jewels drawn up, and wrote opposite each piece, in her own hand, the name of the person to whom she wished to bequeath it, if neither she nor her expected child survived its birth. The entry now is 'A *tour* garnished with thirty-three great pearls, nine pendant pear-shaped pearls, and *thirty-four* pearls, making the *entredeux*.' This she bequeathes 'To the House of Guise.' None of these three varying descriptions

[1] For *touret* see Laborde, *Glossaire Française du Moyen Age*, p. 520, 1872.

[2] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 10. [3] *Ibid.* p. 81.

corresponds with the *tour* in the picture. In place of either thirty-three or thirty-four 'pearls,' or 'small pearls' as *entredeux*, I reckon only about twenty-four *entredeux* of three pearls apiece, with from nine to eleven vacant spaces, empty of *entredeux*, but showing the clamps for attaching them.

Meanwhile Mary, in 1561, had another '*thouret de grosses perles auquel il y'en a xlix perles.*'[1] She possessed the same *tour* with forty-nine great pearls in 1561-62.[2] She still had this in 1566, when the Inventory records, *ung autre thouret garny de cinquante grosses perles*,' while a note, through which a pen has been drawn, adds, *s'enfault une perle*—'one pearl missing.' Thus there were, in fact, forty-nine great pearls. If we add to the *tour* as shown in the portrait, seven or eight great pearls, concealed by the hair on the right side, we make a total of forty-nine or fifty. This would answer to the second *tour* of the Inventories, but no *entredeux* are mentioned in the description of that jewel. But *entredeux* are not mentioned in the first description (1561) of the other *tour*. Their presence was the rule in the jewellery of the period.[3] The absence of mention does not prove the absence of the *entredeux*. The argument is this: the *tour* mentioned first certainly does not correspond to that in the portrait. The second *tour* does correspond in number of great pearls, allowing for those hidden by the hair, but it has no mention of *entredeux* in the Inventories. But none are mentioned in the first *tour*, in the Inventory of 1561. That *tour*, however, has *entredeux* in the Inventory of 1561-62. Therefore they were either added, and the same addition might be made in the second *tour*; or, more probably, they were merely not mentioned in the note of the Inventory of 1561, and the same omission has occurred in the note on the second *tour*. The *tour of the portrait is certainly incomplete*, lacking from nine to eleven *entredeux*. We know from notes in French on the Inventories, that jewels were often altered ; portions of one being taken away and added to another : only pieces of some jewels remain in some entries.[4]

[1] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 10. [2] *Ibid.* p. 81.

[3] See the 'Ermine' portrait of Queen Elizabeth at Hatfield. Her tiara has, alternately, a large pear-shaped, and two smaller round pearls, it does not surround the shoulders in the fashion of a *tour*.

[4] Robertson, *Inventaires*, pp. 11, 62, 81, 82, 97 (two cases of losses of pearls and coral beads from a belt), 98, 100, 114, 195, 201.

In these circumstances perhaps it will be admitted that the *tour* of the portrait is fairly coincident with the second description of the *tour* in the Inventories, especially when we remember that it is in a curiously incomplete condition.

My opinion is that an artist would not paint a jewel in an incomplete condition, as is the *tour* in the portrait, unless he saw it in that state before his eyes. If he followed, about 1615-1620, the records in the Inventories, he would paint exactly what was there described. If the *tour* itself was found by James VI. among Elizabeth's jewels (she had bought some of Mary's pearls in April-May 1568), Elizabeth might have had incomplete alterations made, and the subtle archaeological painter might add the *tour*, *as he saw it in this modified condition*, to his artful picture of Mary in youth, and in her own jewels. In doing this he would decline from his conscientious purpose of representing the jewels as, on the evidence of the Inventories, they actually were in Mary's time. Unluckily, though Elizabeth certainly treated herself to Mary's pearls, to the tune of some £3000, she apparently did not buy the *bordure de tour* with which we are concerned. Nothing of the kind occurs in Elizabeth's MS. Inventories in the British Museum. She bought 'six ropes of pearls, strung like beads on a rosary, and also about twenty-five loose pearls, still larger and more beautiful than those which are strung.'[1] Her Inventories record a 'lace' of twenty-three great pearls. Mary had such a set, unmounted, of twenty-three, but gave two to her page.[2]

In the miniature of Mary, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (circ. 1558-60), she wears a rope of pearls round her neck; it descends in a double ply to her waist, and is knotted round her waist. This rope Elizabeth probably bought in 1568. It was most improbable that Elizabeth would purchase and preserve the *tour*—the mere rigging of the fashionable sail of silk. The pearls, if sold, would be taken off the framework, but I shall keep in mind the off-chance that Elizabeth bought the framework, when I later offer a little historical explanation of the Leven and Melville portrait.

Mr. Cust gives his impressions of the Leven and Melville portrait, and offers suggestions as to its nature in his letter to *The Athenaeum*, already cited. He writes: 'Recently I have

[1] Report of de la Forest to Catherine de Medici, Robertson, *Inventaires*, cxxviii, Note 3.

[2] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 11.

been corresponding with the reviewer of Mr. Foster's book in *The Athenaeum*, and the interesting details which he brought forward as to the jewels worn by the Queen impelled me to wish to see with my own eyes that which I had before taken upon Scharf's word. By the kind permission of the Earl of Leven and Melville I have been able to inspect the portrait in question, in company with a well-known expert critic of pictures. I found myself in complete agreement with Scharf's opinion as to the date of the picture, which cannot be contemporary, as Mr. Foster would suppose, or the work of Jehan de Court, or another painter of the French School, as your reviewer would wish it to be. The jewels do not exactly tally with the description given in the inventories, but they are sufficiently alike to make one suppose that the Leven and Melville portrait may be either a copy from an older portrait, or a later portrait, made up in the seventeenth century under the direction of some person who knew by personal association or by tradition the special jewels in which Mary Stuart arrayed herself in the heyday of her beauty and prosperity. The portrait itself is carefully painted and the work of an expert artist, and differs from the many fabrications which are too often to be met with. It is, moreover, an undoubted likeness of Mary Stuart, though its resemblance to the "Morton" portrait is not so striking as your reviewer would seem to make out. A photograph of the Leven and Melville portrait was included in the series published by the Science and Art Department after the exhibition in 1866. The portrait was only acquired in recent days by the ninth Earl of Leven and Melville.'

Mr. Cust, in this verdict, does not tell us what 'Scharf's opinion as to the date of the portrait' may have been, except that he held the work 'not contemporary.' He does not state his reasons for being certain that it 'cannot be the work of Jehan de Court, or another painter of the French School,' though so very little is known of Jehan de Court that any additional information would be welcome. As to the jewels 'not tallying *exactly* with the description given in the inventories,' I think that in the circumstances the agreement with the second *tour* is sufficiently close.

To take another example of the jewels and to return to the Leven and Melville portrait. Mary, in that work, wears across her breast a broad belt of large linked jewels. Counting from the

spectator's left hand there are visible, first, a gold jewel set with two large pearls, one above the other : next, in the belt, a table *ruby* : then the pearls again : then a table *diamond* : then the pearls again : then a table *ruby*, and the pearls once more. This jewel is described, I think, very exactly (except that only part of it, in the portrait, is worn, attached to the dress) in an Inventory of 1556 : a list of the Royal jewels of Scotland, sent to Mary by the ex-Regent, the Duke of Chatelherault. The description is 'A *carcan* in which there are six rubies, one table of diamond, and eight couplets of pearls.'[1] Mary is wearing only part of the jewel, attached to her bodice, a practice still not unusual, but the description tallies *exactly*. I do not observe this *carcan* in the Inventories of 1560-66. It is not recorded there. It is vain to contend that a *carcan* is one thing, and a bodice ornament another thing. M. Bapst points out that the same jewel was used indifferently, either as a band in the hair, as a bodice ornament, or as a *carcan*, or necklace. (Bapst, *Joyaux*, p. 57.) But there appears in each of the three Inventories of 1560-66 a similar *carcan*, the only difference being that, in place of table *rubies*, table *diamonds* occur ; while there is a pendant, a jewel containing 'a great faceted point of diamond.'[2] Precisely such a faceted diamond, in the Leven and Melville portrait, is attached as a pendant to the centre of the belt of table rubies, double pearls, and one table diamond.

Is it more probable that Mary occasionally wore this *grosse poincte de diamant taillé à faces*, a large faceted diamond in an enamelled jewel, attached to the part of the *carcan* of table rubies and double pearls, with one table diamond ; or that a student about 1615-20 'combined his information,' and attached the pendant of 1560 to the *carcan* of 1556 ?

Still examining the Leven and Melville portrait, we observe that the waist of the dress is decorated with a *cotoire* consisting alternately of oval clusters of small pearls, and of small table rubies set in gold. This seems to be recorded, in the Inventory of 1561, and never again, as 'a *cottouere* garnished with little tables of ruby and with pearls.' It was worn with a belt (*cincture*) of the same, but the portrait does not show the *cincture* : it stops just above the belt.[3] Mary had probably given away both

[1] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 5. [2] *Ibid.* p. 94.

[3] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 197. *Cottouere*, *Cotoire* is defined in Laborde's *Glossaire*, as *lacet*, *cordonnet*, *ornement de cou dispose en cordon*. But Laborde gives examples of '*piece cottouere de soye*,' and *deux aulnes et demie de cotoere tannée et*

cincture and *cottouere* before leaving France : they do not appear in her Scottish Inventories.

Again, pendent from the faceted diamond already described is a very large oval ruby, cut cabochon, with a huge pendent pearl. I by no means suggest that this is 'a large ruby balais, *à jour* . . . called the Naples Egg, to which hangs a pear-shaped pearl. Estimated at seventy thousand crowns.' Mary restored this gaud, a Crown jewel of France, to the commissioners of Charles IX. (February 26, 1560-61).[1] In any case (and I lay no stress on the large ruby with a pearl pendent), the *cottouere* and the ruby, pearl, and single diamond *carcan*, suggest that the Leven and Melville portrait (or, if it be a copy, its original) was painted when Mary possessed these jewels, that is, before she left for Scotland in August, 1561. My argument is cumulative. The *carcan*, used as a breast ornament, is certainly identified, I think. The *tour* is identified with high probability. The *cotoire* contains the arrangement of table rubies and pearls which Mary possessed. These coincidences with the Inventories cannot be accidental.

M. Dimier, on the other hand, informs me that the costume of the Leven and Melville portrait cannot by any means be earlier than 1572-1574. On this point I am no authority, while M. Dimier is master of the subject. The dress is one with which I am unfamiliar.[2] The costume is undeniably one donned for some great courtly occasion : it is not a dress for the day-time, nor an ordinary evening dress, but rather resembles that of Elizabeth of France in the Greystoke portrait. Judging from the age of Elizabeth, as shown in that portrait, namely about fourteen or fifteen, the work should be of about 1559. The dressing of the hair puffed out in fuzzy fashion from the sides of the head, is first found by M. Dimier, in other portraits, about 1572-1574. For all that I know, the dressing of the hair may have been one of the fancies of Mary Seton. Since

bleue pour attachez les patenostres. There is also a great scented *cottoire* of musk, covered with gold, to wear on the neck. (1592.) M. Bapst explains what a *cotoire* really was. Originally it was a piece of embroidery applied to a dress. Under Catherine de Medici a *garniture* of precious stones took the place of the embroidery in ladies' best frocks, while the embroidery was used in their less sumptuous costumes (Bapst, p. 14).

[1] Robertson, *Inventaires*, p. 197.

[2] The ruff worn by Mary in the Leven and Melville portrait, is the ruff of the Duke of Portland's miniature of 1558-1560. The hair in that miniature is puffed out.

1561 at least, Mary wore perrukes, in that year her steward, Servais de Condé, notes that he gave out linen to cover the Queen's perruke box.[1] In 1568 Sir Francis Knollys, guarding Mary at Carlisle, writes that Mary Seton is 'the finest busker of a woman's hair to be seen in any country. . . . Every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing that setteth forth a woman gaily well.'

A lady who wore her hair, or wig, differently, every other day, cannot be bound down to any particular *coiffure*.

Moreover, from what conceivable motive should an artist, in or after 1572-1574, paint, as a girlish Queen (that she is girlish I have no doubt), in costume of 1572, a lady who at that moment was a mourning black-clad captive of from thirty to thirty-two? Why, while representing jewels which the Queen had long lost, should he attire her hair as in 1572-1574? I ask for a working hypothesis as to what was the sense of the performance?

If Mr. Cust is right in asserting—with confidence, but without giving his reasons—that the Leven and Melville portrait cannot be contemporary or of the French School, then, while waiting to learn the grounds of his opinion, I take the liberty to think it a good copy of a contemporary work. There is a fascination in the face, an enchantment, that seems equally unusual in a portrait of the French School of about 1560, and in any copy of any picture that ever was done by any copyist. There is, as we have already stated, at Greystoke what Mr. Cust calls 'an interesting painting belonging to the Howard family in which the princess in a red dress resembles Isabella of Valois' (a sister of Mary's husband, the Dauphin, later Francis II.) 'rather than Mary Stuart.'[2] The dress is crimson, studded with pearls, as in the Leven and Melville portrait, and round her neck the princess wears a *carcan* of which the double pearls, if not the alternating jewels (these are table stones of unascertained species), answer, save in setting, to the double pearls of the Leven and Melville *carcan*.

There is a reduced photogravure of this portrait in Mr. Foster's book (p. xv.). In style of jewelry (the princess wears a table ruby with pearl pendant, and a cross of five table diamonds with pendant pearls, such as Queen Mary actually obtained in 1561) the Greystoke portrait is exactly contemporary with the Leven and Melville. As to manner and style, the photographs exhibit no difference, whatever the originals may show. 'The

[1] Robertson, *Inventaires*. [2] Cust, p. 174.

work is of the school of Janet,' says Mr. Foster (p. 26), and it is attributed, without any documentary evidence adduced, to Jehan de Court, Mary's painter.

Will any one call the Greystoke portrait an early seventeenth copy of a sixteenth century picture, or a 'compilation' of the seventeenth century?

Of the Leven and Melville portrait, as regards style, Mr. Foster writes: 'the *technique* of the work is first-rate,' and he 'thinks that it cannot fail to be admired, whether it be contemporary or not.' He ventures the conjecture that 'it may have been painted in Scotland.' On questions of date as determined by style and technique, in the matter of portraits of the late or middle sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, I might have an opinion, indeed, but I would never venture to produce it where experts differ. To me, for example, the Morton portrait of the Regent Morton (which nobody impeaches), seems a work more free, larger, and more recent in manner than the Morton portrait of Queen Mary. Yet the Morton portrait of the Regent is not supposed to be other than contemporary with that unamiable statesman, whom Mary outlived by six years.

This very disputable question of the determination of date by internal evidence of style I leave to experts, especially as my bias is to believe the Leven and Melville portrait to be contemporary, or a good copy of a contemporary likeness, or a painting from a contemporary drawing in crayons. Mr. Cust remarks, as we have seen, that 'the portrait itself is carefully painted, and the work of an expert artist, and differs from the many fabrications which are too often to be met with. It is, moreover, an undoubted likeness of Mary Stuart,' though Mr. Cust does not find the resemblance to the Morton portrait so striking as I do. But I am making allowance for some fourteen years of Inferno upon earth! Such was Mary's life from the autumn of 1565 to 1578. To myself the likeness appears to be executed

> 'As when a painter, poring on a face,
> Divinely through all hindrance finds the man,'

or rather the woman.

However, if it be but a copy, 'the work of an expert artist,' and 'an undoubted likeness of Mary Stuart,' then, at last, we know what the Queen was like in her youth and her witchery. I ask for no more! I understand Mary Stuart.

But take Mr. Cust's alternative hypothesis: 'A later portrait, made up in the seventeenth century under the direction of some person who knew by personal association or by tradition the special jewels in which Mary Stuart arrayed herself in the heyday of her beauty and prosperity.'

Tradition, I fear, could not convey to an artist, though other portraits might, the precise nature of the costume owned by Mary about 1560, 1566. But suppose that some person knew the jewels by actual association with the Queen. Will that theory march? Who, in the seventeenth century, knew the things worn by Mary some fifty years earlier?

After Mary's fall in June 1567, her jewels were scattered to all the winds. In April-May 1568, Elizabeth, as we saw, bought from the Regent Moray (to whom, as her brother, Mary had entrusted her precious things for safe-keeping) the best pearls, ropes of pearls, and about twenty-five loose ones. Many things were pawned or sold by Kirkcaldy during the siege of Edinburgh Castle (1571-73), others remained in the Castle, and Morton scraped together what he could for James VI.[1] Wrecks remained in Mary's possession to the last, but some were stolen in her captivity in 1576.[2] In none of the lists drawn up after 1566 do I find any of the jewels which decorate Mary in the Leven and Melville portrait. By 1615 few people, perhaps only Mary Seton, in very old age abroad, or Bothwell's widow, the aged Countess of Sutherland, who had wedded 'her old true love,' Ogilvy of Boyne, would remember the jewels of the Queen's youth (1556-67). That any artist or archaeologist of about 1615-20 consulted a very old lady in the north, I think to the last degree improbable. I doubt if about 1615, or later, it was in the human nature of the period to 'make up a fairly accurate likeness' of the Queen *in her youth*, from such materials as are known to have then existed in England, say from the miniature in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle. As to any painter's restoring, about 1615, the jewelry from the MS. Inventories, or from the memories of persons aged at least seventy, the proceeding is incompatible with the mental processes of the period. Indeed nobody was likely to think of doing such a feat before 1850.

[1] Robertson, cl. cli. Thomson, pp. 203-273.

[2] Catalogue of Library of Mr. Scott of Halkshill, p. 157, No. 1463 (1905). Letters of Cecil, Shrewsbury, and Walsingham, May 1576. Labanoff, vii. pp. 231, 274.

I will, however, state the case in the most favourable light. James VI. and I revisited Scotland in 1617. It is barely conceivable that he desired to have a picture of 'our dearest mother, bonny and young, and in a' her braws'; that he caused her Inventories to be hunted out, at Hamilton, and in the State Papers; that he had found among Elizabeth's jewels a *tour* of his mother's (not inventoried), modified to the taste of Elizabeth,[1] (though I have stated the objections to that theory), but incomplete; that he placed all these materials, with the Windsor miniature, before an artist, and that the artist out of these materials compiled the Leven and Melville portrait; which, however, is not certainly mentioned among the possessions of Charles I. Let it be added that James consulted the Countess of Sutherland, who, in youth (1566), had married Bothwell. All this is not impossible, but James was not sentimental, and, for obvious reasons, was not fond of raking in the ashes of his mother's past. It will be conceded, I think, that if the Leven and Melville portrait is not an original probably painted in France about 1560, it is a very good copy of such an original, and not an archaeological reconstruction of the seventeenth century.

A word ought to be said about the jewels in the Greystoke portrait. The *carcan* of alternate double pearls, one above the other, in a gold setting, and of dark table cut stones, of an undetermined species, may be the *carcan* of table diamonds alternating with double pearls, which reappears in a miniature said to represent Isabella de Valois, daughter of Henri II., and wife of Philip II. of Spain.[2] The great cross of five large table diamonds, (?) with a pendant pearl at each limb, and at the foot, reminds us of that cross, valued at 50,000 crowns, which was part of the Crown jewels of France, and was restored by Mary to Charles IX. on February 26th, 1561. But that jewel also contained four other diamonds, three of which formed the foot, and, as far as described, had but one pendant pearl. The cross in the Greystoke portrait has three pearls, and, in place of three small faceted diamonds at the base, has a triangle of diamonds. On this cross, with its alterations, see M. Bapst's book on French Crown jewels; he reconstructs

[1] In British Museum, MSS. App. 68. Book of Jewels in the custody of Miss Mary Radcliffe, gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber in July 1587.

[2] Burlington Fine Arts Club (1559). Exhibition of 1885, plate xxxi. p. 21.

it from various sources, including a portrait of Elizabeth, wife of Charles IX. In the Greystoke portrait Elizabeth wears in her hair a belt of stones alternating with jewels of four large pearls. This belt she also wears in her miniature, in the *Book of Hours of Catherine de Medicis.*

IX

Monsieur Henri Bouchot recognises as authentic portraits of Mary no more than four. These are the drawing of Mary in her tenth year, in 1552, the drawing of about 1558, by 'the presumed Jehan de Court,' the drawing in white mourning (1561) by François Clouet (Janet II.), and the Windsor miniature. On the others, he says, we need not dwell.[1]

We have ventured to exceed these narrow limits, while admitting that perhaps no other portrait of Mary, except the Florence, Amsterdam, and Welbeck miniatures, with possibly one or two late miniatures, has been actually done direct from the life, or by the artist from his own sketch in crayons. The precise relation of the Leven and Melville portrait to work done direct from the life we can only guess at, and the same remark applies to the Morton portrait, and the portraits of the Sheffield type. But all of these have some relationship to the life : if not the rose, they have been near the rose.

So much cannot be said for the popular portraits of Mary Stuart that decorate the walls of many a country house, appear in most of the books about the Queen, and are solemnly shown at Loan Exhibitions as portraits of the Clytaemnestra of the north. At the Glasgow Exhibition of 1901, out of numbers 972-980, the numbers 972, 977, 980 were variants of what Mr. Foster calls 'the Ailsa type,' from the work in the possession of the Marquis of Ailsa. There are uncounted examples of this type which was multiplied by John Medina (*ob.* 1796), the grandson of the more famous Sir John Medina. A very personable girl appears in 'a close fitting long waisted dress of crimson with gold embroidery, large ungraceful puffs or balloons over the shoulders, the hair enclosed in a little crimson and gold cap set with jewels, and to a string of large pearls round her neck is appended a jewelled cross.' None of the jewels is to be identified

[1] *Quelques Dames*, p. 23.

in the Inventories, and Mr. Way, whose description we have quoted, says that the portrait 'attributed to Zucchero' 'presents no appearance of being contemporary with the time of Mary.' The Glasgow catalogue says that the Marquis of Ailsa's example 'has been preserved, it is believed, ever since 1558 as an heirloom at Culzean Castle.' I understand that the Marquis also possesses a pearl necklace, with a cross, as in the portrait, supposed to be a gift from Mary and an important item of evidence. The portrait is on canvas. I can come to no certain opinion of the work, which I have not had the opportunity of seeing. Miss Leslie Melville's copy, bought in 1819, at the sale of Kinross House, 'is stated to be the work of Peter Pourbus,' not of Zucchero. Zucchero, or Zuccaro, was not in England before 1574. No evidence is produced to prove that he was painting in Paris in 1558. Sir Robert Menzies' copy candidly bears, on the back of the canvas, 'Jo. Medina pinxit, 1767.'

This thoroughly popular portrait is manifestly affiliated to the 'Carleton portrait,' a full length of a tall lady of the sixteenth century, who stands with a window behind her, while her right hand rests on the arm of a chair. A jewelled cap crowns her brown hair, her eyes are brown, her dress is crimson. I have seen a good specimen described as 'Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII.,' in the window of a picture dealer's shop in London. I advised the tradesman to rechristen it 'Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.' Vertue, the engraver (1713), 'put but a doubtsome trust' in this portrait, which he engraved as the frontispiece of Jebb's 'De Vita et Rebus Gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae' (1725). The engraving (only a half length) is the source of a common country house portrait of Mary. Often the figure holds two White Roses, as if her Majesty had anticipated the birth of the White Rose Prince of Wales (James VIII. and III.), on June 10, 1688. The Jacobitism of the years after the Forty-Five gave a vogue to these copies in oil of Vertue's engraving. On the back of the chair he inserted the Scottish thistle head, which was not in the original painting of a lady unidentified,[1] 'the Carleton portrait.'

The 'Orkney' type of false portrait turns up, variously disguised, in many miniatures, pictures, and engravings, at home and abroad. The amateur who fancies a Mary with 'a round fat

[1] For details see Cust, pp. 133-136.

HAMILTON TYPE. 1700-1710.

Copy of a miniature given by the Chevalier de St. George (James III.) to his secretary, James Edgar. Original in possession of Lady Edgar, Toronto.

See page 293.

face, thick lips, double chin, a strongly *retroussé* nose, large staring eyes, well marked eyebrows, and flat smooth hair,' to quote Mr. Cust's description, should select a copy of the Orkney type. For 'all persons pining after it,' thousands of copies were taken says Vertue. The original was a miniature which, apparently before 1710, a Duke of Hamilton 'recovered.' He had it 'amended or repaired by L. Crosse, who was ordered to make it as beautiful as he could by the Duke.'[1] There is a copy of this unlucky work of art at Windsor, by Bernard Lens. He has written on the back 'By leave of his Grace the Duke of Hambleton (*sic*) in whose hands the original is, taken out of her strong box after she was beheaded.'[2] The Duke who acted so foolishly was Beatrix Esmond's Duke of Hamilton, he who met Colonel Hooke in a dark room, so as to be able to swear that he never *saw* him (1707). I get at this very fickle politician through Vertue's remark, 'his attestation of its being genuine—latter part of Queen Anne's time—it took and prest upon the public in such an extraordinary manner.' The Duke, as all readers of *Esmond* know, was killed by Lord Mohun in a duel, 'latter part of Queen Anne's time.' The present Duke possesses a silver casket, probably one of the two silver caskets of Mary's which Hepburn of Bowton saw at Dunbar in April-May, 1567.[3] The other contained the signed 'band' for Darnley's murder. This casket of the Duke's, then bearing Mary Stuart's arms, was bought by the Marchioness of Douglas, 'from a papist,' after 1632. The lady collected relics of Queen Mary. Her eldest son married the heiress of the House of Hamilton, this lady was the mother of the Duke who had the miniature 'made as beautiful as he could' by L. Crosse, and the chances are that the Marchioness of Douglas who bought the silver casket also collected the miniature which the foolish Duke, her grandson, caused to be altered by L. Crosse.

Crowds of copies of this 'foolish fat-faced' altered miniature were made by the younger Bernard Lens, in the eighteenth century: a mezzotint was also done, and was copied in oils, and this is one of the most popular false portraits. An example of this miniature, inscribed *Maria Scotiae Regina* above the head, belongs to Lady Edgar, Toronto, Canada. With miniatures of

[1] Vertue, MS. Add. British Museum, 23073, f. 15, 25. Quoted by Mr. Cust, pp. 137, 138.

[2] Williamson, p. 43.

[3] See his Confession: *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, p. xvi. 1901.

James III. and VIII., and Prince Charles, it has descended to Lady Edgar from her husband's ancestor, Mr. James Edgar, the honest, learned, and loyal secretary of the exiled Kings, from 1740 to 1766. Lady Edgar's example varies in essential respects from the Lens copies of the Hamilton miniature, as she informs me. I have not seen it, and it may be authentic; it was probably accepted by Mary's latest descendants in the male line.

Another common type is called by the Gräfinn Eufemia Ballestrem[1] 'Das Ham House Portrait.' It is a miniature signed by 'Catherine da Costa,' and the Queen gave it to Mary Fleming, who married Maitland of Lethington. Madame von Ballestrem photographs a copy in the Museum at Cassel, a copy by the hand of an English princess. The Queen has 'eyes as large as billiard balls' and wears a pearled coif, an ear-ring of three pear-shaped pearls, a necklet of large round pearls, pearls alternating with rubies are on the collar of her dress, which is trimmed with white fur; a large closed crown stands beside her.

The extreme pinnacle of Marian myth is attained in the 'traditions' about this miniature of Mary at Ham House. As Dr. Williamson says, its source is either the Hamilton miniature, beautified and made ridiculous for ever by Laurence Crosse, about 1707-1710, or is a mezzotint done after that grotesque effigy. Thus the Ham House miniature cannot be earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is signed 'Catherine da Costa,' and is inscribed, says Dr. Williamson, 'Maria Regina Scotland,'—probably by Catherine da Costa who knew rather less Latin than even Pierre Oudry.

Who was Catherine? She has hitherto been claimed as a seventeenth century painter, whose only known work is a copy of an eighteenth century miniature! Dr. Williamson writes: 'There is another tradition as to Catherine da Costa which must be mentioned here.' 'It is stated that amongst the attendants who came over with the Queen' (1561) 'from France there was a young catholic girl bearing this name, and that she was the author of the picture in question.' If Catherine was born in 1540, she painted the miniature in old age, for she certainly did not copy Crosse's folly before, say, 1707, when she was one hundred and sixty seven years of age. Worse remains; 'Catherine is said to have painted'

[1] *Maria Stuart*, p. 47. Hamburg, 1889.

the beautiful Welbeck miniature of Mary, with the motto *Virtutis Amore*, of which we have already written. If Catherine executed that masterpiece, say in 1560, her style had greatly altered when she copied L. Crosse's foolish, fat-faced princess, in the eighteenth century.

Dr. Williamson thinks Catherine's piece 'more than a century later' than the Welbeck relic. As he holds that Catherine was probably, or possibly, a daughter of Emanuel Mendes da Costa, who was writing books between 1757 and 1778, Catherine's one known work must be two centuries later than the Welbeck miniature of about 1560.

The Ham House Inventory alleges, according to Dr. Williamson, that the Duke of Lauderdale of the Restoration 'inherited' an object which in his day did not exist, the Ham House miniature, 'from his ancestor, Sir William Maitland, Lord of *Lethingen*.' Under this title we scarcely recognise William Maitland, younger of Lethington, (not 'Lethingen'), who was *not* an ancestor of the Duke of Lauderdale, but a remote collateral. 'This statement, if accurate, must either refer to another miniature altogether, or else Catherine da Costa must have followed the example of Lawrence Crosse, and amended the original portrait to correspond with the likeness accepted in her time,' that is with Crosse's foolish, fat-faced lady. If the real Catherine da Costa was painting about 1780, all this mass of myth has grown up around her and her little piece of copyist's work with remarkable speed and luxuriance.[1]

The makers of family myth never ask whether there is any trace of a Catherine da Costa in any of the Household Lists of Mary Stuart. Certainly none is known to me, and, if a Catherine da Costa did come to Scotland in 1561, she could hardly be copying miniatures in 1707-1730. Dr. Williamson, of course, is not responsible for the legends which he collects, the folklore of historical portraiture. Fables of this kind probably have their germs in guesses. The Lauderdales were of the Lethington family, Maitland of Lethington was Secretary of State under Mary; a late miniature of Mary, an eighteenth century concoction, exists in a Lauderdale house, and somebody combines his information and guesses that the picture came from Mary to her Secretary or his wife, and so descended,

[1] Dr. Williamson in *Ham House*, by Mrs. Charles Roundell, pp. 144, 145. Bell & Sons, 1904.

as many of Lethington's political papers did descend, to the Ducal branch of the house. Then the guess, contradicted as it is by the modern character of the miniature, becomes a legend, and being a legend, is immortal.

In many versions of the mythical Mary after L. Crosse's concoction, a bonnet and plume are sometimes substituted for the coif, and the thing appears as Mary in book illustrations of the early nineteenth century. Beautifications, prettified at third hand, of the Morton portrait, in miniature, are also common, dating from about 1820, and have often been engraved. A comic example of false portraiture is given by Mr. Foster.[1] He writes that a picture 'said to have been brought *from the King's closet* at Versailles by Beau Lauder of Carrolside, a well-known Jacobite of his day,' (a Jacobite unknown to me), was exhibited in Edinburgh in 1856. It had the collar of white fur, and a crown on the left, pearls in the hair, and 'took after' Mary Fleming's Ham House miniature by Catherina da Costa. 'Mr. James Drummond, formerly Curator of the Royal Scottish Academy, also exhibited a portrait *from the King's closet.*'

'This, all this was in the golden year' 1856. In 1875 Mr. Drummond knew better.[2] He read a paper on Scottish Historical Portraits to the Antiquaries, attributing most of the Knoxes and Marys to the Medina who died in 1796. 'This school of manufactory was continued into the nineteenth century.' Mr. David Roberts, R.A., told Mr. Drummond, that as a boy he was acquainted with one Robertson, 'who lived by doing portraits of Queen Mary, Prince Charles *and such like.*' Mary he painted now in red, now in black, now with a veil, anon holding a crucifix. 'And, if required, a crown was introduced somewhere or other, a favourite inscription on the back being *From the original in the King of France's closet.*' Now the closet is open, and we view the skeleton, *feu* Robertson! He did 'a little judicious smoking and varnishing' when an 'original' was demanded.

We have described the most popular types of Marys who never were Mary, but will remain Mary till the end of time, in family tradition, and in the shops of dealers in engravings, and in the illustrations of popular books. The Ailsa type is

[1] Foster, p. 21.

[2] *Proceedings, Scottish Society of Antiquaries*, vol. xi. 1870, pp. 251, 252.

now attributed to Pourbus, and now to Zuccaro, as taste and fancy direct, while I have seen it set down to Clouet! The charming Fraser-Tytler portrait of a lady unknown, now in the National Portrait Gallery, has never got into proper circulation, nor has the Duke of Devonshire's dainty coquette (published in Major Hume's *Love Affairs of Mary Stuart*), nor the Tudor princess (?) in Darnley's room at Holyrood. It is a common trick to fake any portrait of a lady of the sixteenth century into a Mary Stuart. Tricks, of course, are endless, and now that attention has been drawn to the genuine jewels of Mary, new portraits, wearing specimens of these, may appeal to the rich and the inconsiderate.

There exists, in the possession of Mr. Fraser Tytler, a little enamelled jewel representing a boy chevying a mouse, and this is said to have been given to Mary by Francis II. when Dauphin. The illustrated catalogue of the Stuart Exhibition of 1889 says: 'There is a portrait of the Queen in the possession of Lord Buchan in which she is represented wearing it.' Unluckily, Mr. Cust makes no reference to this very interesting portrait, authenticated as it is by a jewel about which there can be no mistake, that is, if its connection with Mary is satisfactorily demonstrated. The illustrated catalogue, in describing the very few jewels exhibited as relics of Mary, does not, as a rule, advance any proof that they ever were in the jewel house of the Queen. Their claims repose on such phrases as 'it is traditionally reported' that this was the case. There are, probably, several portraits in existence which descend from actual but lost likenesses of Mary. Brantome mentions her costume *à l'Espagnolle*; and this, writes Mr. Cust, 'would be a close-fitting dress, with fur round the neck and fur trimmings to the puffed sleeves at the shoulders. . . . There are portraits purporting to represent Mary which show a similar costume, and which may possibly be traced back to some lost original, from which they have drifted far astray in process of translation.' [1] Such an one is the Hamilton miniature as beautified by L. Crosse. Mr. Newton-Robinson also possesses an old portrait of a lady, on a small panel, which might be looked on as Mary, if we judged merely by a description. The subject has a lofty brow; thin eyebrows, wide apart; red brown eyes, the white of the eye touched with

[1] Cust, p. 50.

blue; a very long, low, straight nose, yellowish brown hair; mouth and chin as in the miniature in the Royal collection at Windsor. She wears a cap studded with diamonds; attached to this are lappets apparently of wool in a gold edged reticulated covering, fastened beneath the chin. The dress has a collar of light grey fur, the same fur trims the sleeves at the shoulders. The expression is hungry, the complexion is sallow. The panel is inscribed in very distinct raised letters, ANO. DNI. 1562. In letters much darker, and more obliterated we read A^NO. AET. 22. In 1562 Mary would be twenty, not twenty-two, but 1540 is given as the date of her birth in Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*. Thus the A^NO. DNI. 1562 may be an ingenious but erroneous modern addition, derived from Haydn. It is an unlovely effigy, but may be related to some portrait of the Queen dressed *à l'Espagnolle*, and is certainly, I think, of the sixteenth century.

I have also been allowed to see a curious portrait of Mary on old panel. She wears a very tall tiara of pearls, table rubies, and flowers in enamel. The hair is well painted, and of the right colour, reddish brown or auburn. The face is beautified in the taste of the eighteenth century; the eyes are blue grey; the nose long and straight, 'a Grecian nose'; the little full mouth has the arch of Cupid's bow; the eyebrows are arched and well marked, the whole effect is not unlike that of the portrait of the beautiful Duchess of Argyle (Miss Gunning), the cheeks being rosy, rounded, and prosperous. The striking peculiarity is the costume, The dress is dark green, richly studded with round pearls, and across the breast, as in the Leven and Melville portrait, the Queen wears a broad belt of jewels. These consist of alternate double pearls, one pearl above the other, and of large table diamonds, as in the *carcan* which, in 1566, Mary bequeathed to the House of Guise. From the *carcan* depends a great ruby, with pearl pendant. How are we to account for the correctness of tiara and *carcan*? The tiara I do not find in the Inventories, but it is entirely in the style of 1560-1570. Have we here a beautified copy, in eighteenth century taste, of a genuine portrait of Mary, or, as in the Bodleian picture, has a portrait been painted over an older portrait on the old panel, retaining the correct jewelry and costume? Possibly the face only has been repainted, while the tiara, the hair, and the dress and jewels have been left much as they were.

This piece has been explained as a seventeenth century 'gallery portrait' of Elizabeth of France, Queen of Philip II. But it does not resemble her in a single particular: Elizabeth had black hair and black eyes, if we may trust Brantome who knew her; and a turned-up nose, if we may believe most of her portraits.

Reviewing our results, and setting aside coins, posthumous memorial pictures, and the interesting effigy on the Queen's tomb, we find that the following portraits have complete proof of being contemporary and authentic, or at least are related closely to others which did possess these qualities:

1. The Chantilly drawing of 1552.
2. The Bridal medal (1558).
3. The drawing of about 1558-1559, by 'the presumed Jehan de Court.' The Douce portrait in the Jones' collection, South Kensington.
4. The Florentine, Rijks Museum, Medicean *Book of Hours*, and Welbeck miniatures. The Breslau wax medallion.
5. The miniature in the Royal collection at Windsor.
6. The Leven and Melville portrait, derived, at least, from some work of 1558-1560.
7. In first widowhood (1561), Janet's drawing of the *Dueil Blanc*.
8. As derivatives, Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan's, Lord Leven's, and the Powis miniatures, claiming to date from 1572.
9. The Sheffield type of portrait, dating from 1578.
10. The Lesley medallion, published in 1578.
11. The Morton portrait.
12. The Hilliard miniature of 1579 (?).
13. Lady Orde's, the Rijks Museum, and Florentine later miniatures of *circ.* 1584.

All of these present the self-same face at various periods extending over thirty-four years of a life predestined to unhappy fortunes. I must add a line on the Freshfield portrait.

This interesting portrait on panel was exhibited by Messrs. Shepherd, King Street, St. James's, in summer, 1905. It was bought by Messrs. Shepherd from the representatives of a gentleman, deceased, who, it seems, was a descendant in the female line of Mr. Andrew, or Andrewes, Sheriff of Northamptonshire, who, in his official duty, was present at Mary's taking off at Fotheringay.[1] The family legend that it was presented by Mary

[1] Ashmole MS. 830 l. 18, Bodleian. Cf. Mrs. Maxwell Scott's *Tragedy of Fotheringay*, p. 265.

to the Sheriff may be discounted, but there is no reason why Mr. Andrewes should not have procured the piece from one of her attendants, and the Queen certainly possessed her own portrait, as appears from her latest inventories in Labanoff. The face is one of more than mournful beauty, wasted and tormented but still fair. The russet hair, the high brow, the nose and the chin are all in accordance with her authentic likenesses. The carnations are soft and warm; not improbably she used rouge. The eyebrows, as in the Morton portrait, are too dark and thick, though here, too, she may have 'corrected natural beauty.' The eyes are larger and rounder than they were, but are right in colour, and the mouth appears to have been retouched. The ruff is not known to me earlier than the close of 1578, when it was generally worn by persons of fashion, and probably the piece represents the Queen as she was in 1579, before the later broadening and flattening of her face. She is dressed in black, and no jewels or religious emblems are visible.

This portrait, a quarter length, is certainly among the most pleasing extant, and, despite the faults noted, is convincing in the expression. In 1579 Mary would wish to have a portrait to send to her son, whom her secretary, Nau, then attempted to visit, as has been said. Beyond these facts we cannot go with safety. The work, purchased by Mr. Douglas, Freshfield, has been well photographed by the Autotype Company, and figures as the frontispiece of Mrs. MacCunn's *Mary Stuart* (Methuen & Co., 1905).[1]

Andrew Lang.

[1] I find that, in quoting Mr. Lionel Cust, I have never given the full title of his book, which in part is based on notes left by Sir George Scharf. The title is 'Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Stuart.'