AVTHENTIC PORTRAITS OF MARY QVEEN OF SCOTS

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mary Stuart, Queen of France
in widow's dress
From the painting at Windsor Castle.

NOTES ON THE AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

BASED ON THE RESEARCHES OF THE LATE SIR GEORGE SCHARF, K.C.B., REWRITTEN IN THE LIGHT OF NEW INFORMATION

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PREFACE

The following essay on the authentic portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, is an attempt on the part of the author to carry out to completion the unfinished work of the late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B., upon this particular subject. Further details as to the respective shares in this work of the author and his predecessor in office at the National Portrait Gallery will be found in the Introduction.

The author has endeavoured to consult every authority, past or present, likely to throw any light upon this disputed subject, availing himself of the assistance now so plentifully accessible through the agency of photography, and especially of that rendered by the minute and careful drawings in the note-books of Sir George Scharf, now in the National Portrait Gallery.

The author has received most valuable assistance from M. Henri Bouchot, of the Cabinet d'Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; M. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, of the Louvre at Paris; M. L. Dimier, of Valenciennes; Mr. James L. Caw, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; and Mr. S. Arthur Strong, Librarian to the House of Lords and to the Duke of Devonshire, to all of whom the author wishes to acknowledge a special debt of gratitude.

London, September 8, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION.

It would seem to many readers that some excuse should be given for inflicting upon the public any new work dealing with that ill-fated heroine of romance, Mary, Queen of Scots. Library shelves groan beneath the weight of books dealing with this subject, and yet no point at issue between Mary's admirers and adherents and those, who believe Mary to be guilty of every crime that has been laid to her charge, seems to be any nearer to a definite settlement than before, in spite of all that has been written upon one side or the other.

The following pages will contain no attempt to throw any light upon the vexed questions of Mary's tumultuous life. They will not deal with the Casket Letters or the Queen's complicity in Darnley's murder, her confinement in and escape from Lochleven Castle, her relations with Bothwell, her treatment by Elizabeth, and only incidentally with the sad events of her captivity and the last tragic scene in the hall of Fotheringhay Castle. The short essay to follow will consist merely of certain notes on the existing portraits, true or otherwise, which purport to be the likeness of Mary, Queen of Scots.

It may be alleged that this subject is productive of as much dispute as, for instance, the Casket Letters. Still, it is hoped that by setting before the public eye such historical documents—treating

portraits as such—which bear in themselves witness of unimpeachable veracity, and also those whose authenticity it is not difficult to disprove, some approach may be made towards settling this vexed question for all time.

It may seem strange that there should be any opening for such a work on the portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, with whose appearance perhaps all educated persons would deem themselves familiar. Yet few heroines of romance have been so idly regarded from the point of view of portraiture as Mary, Queen of Scots, most people being in the habit of choosing, at their own pleasure, that particular attributed likeness which tallied most with their own preconceived idea. Little had been done to elucidate the mystery which involved the countless and hopelessly discordant likenesses of this unfortunate queen, which are scattered about the world, until the circumstances which eventually brought about the existence of the present work.

The first serious attempt to deal with the vexed question of the portraits of Mary Stuart was due to a Russian nobleman, Prince Alexander Labanoff-Rostoff, one of the most zealous, the most industrious, and the most enlightened historians of the ill-fated queen. In 1856 Prince Labanoff published a work entitled "*Notice sur la Collection des Portraits de Marie Stuart, appartenant au Prince Alexandre Labanoff, précedée a'un résumé*

chronologique," first published at St. Petersburg in 1856, and afterwards amplified, re-edited, and re-published in 1860. In this valuable work Prince Labanoff collected together a catalogue of all portraits, painted or engraved, of Mary Stuart, which were known to him to exist. Unfortunately Prince Labanoff, whose notes on the portraits show him to have been possessed of critical faculties of no little value, did not make an attempt in his catalogue to separate those portraits, which had some claim to authenticity, from those, which were avowedly spurious.

Exhibitions of portraits and relics connected with Mary Stuart were held at the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh in 1856, at the rooms of that Institute in Suffolk Street, London, in 1857, and at Peterborough in 1861. In the catalogue of the first-named Exhibition, published in 1859, very valuable information was given by Mr. Albert Way, formerly Director of the Society of Antiquaries, who had made a special study of the subject.

The first person, however, to approach the subject by a really scientific method was the late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B., Director, Keeper, and Secretary of the National Portrait Gallery. In his official capacity Scharf had occasion to examine, among other vexed questions of portraiture, that relating to the likeness of Mary, Queen of Scots. He quickly came to the conclusion

that, to use his own words, "the thoroughly authenticated portraits of Mary are very limited in number, but those few may absolutely be relied on, and are very consistent." In 1876 Scharf contributed a valuable note upon these portraits to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries. Scharf's interest was subsequently further excited by the question of the identification of the so-called "Fraser-Tytler" portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, to which allusion will be made hereafter. In 1887 the tercentenary of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Fotheringhay, was celebrated by an Historical Exhibition in the Museum at Peterborough of "Portraits, Rings, Missals, MSS., and all Objects of Interest connected with that unfortunate Queen." This interesting Exhibition was only open from July 19 to August 9, 1887, but the interest excited by it, in spite of its merely local object, attracted numerous visitors, including Scharf.

The success of this Exhibition and the powerful influence of Scharf led to the formation of a strong committee of artists, enthusiasts, and experts, who organised an Exhibition of Portraits, Relics, &c., connected with the Royal House of Stuart, which was held at the New Gallery, Regent Street, London, in the early months of 1889. This Exhibition met with most remarkable success, some considerable part of which was due to

the fact that, for the first time, the more important portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, were brought together and exhibited in a way intelligible to the ordinary spectator.

In the intervening period, however, Scharf had already been enabled to yield not only to his own inclination, but also to the wishes of his friends, and to place the first fruits of his laborious researches in a permanent form. This he did in a series of four luminous and instructive letters to the *Times*, published on April 30, May 7, October 30, and December 26, 1888. These letters were widely read and appreciated, especially in view of the actual portraits themselves when exhibited at the New Gallery, and led, after the close of that Exhibition, to an offer being made to Scharf by the late Mr. John Murray to expand the letters into book form, with a view of publishing an illustrated monograph upon the subject. This offer was readily accepted by Scharf. Unfortunately, just when he had completed the collection of his materials, advancing age and increasing infirmities compelled him first to lay aside, and finally to abandon altogether, any hope of preparing the work for press, so that it remained in this uncompleted state at the time of Scharf's death in April 1895, shortly after his resignation of the directorship of the National Portrait Gallery and his promotion to be a Knight Commander of the Bath. For a few years nothing was done, until

Messrs. Murray invited the present writer, as the official successor of Sir George Scharf, to take the manuscript in hand and prepare it for press. On examination it was found that only the merest fragment of the manuscript had been completed and arranged for press. In the light of further information, better reproductions of the portraits, and extended knowledge on the subject, it has been found necessary to examine and sift the whole material afresh, conclusions being come to in some cases which do not accord with those of Scharf, but which Scharf would probably, had the new evidence been submitted to him, have been ready to accept. It has thus come about that the ensuing monograph, although based upon the voluminous and industrious researches of Sir George Scharf, whose name must ever be connected with it, is to a great extent the result of original study on the part of the present writer, who therefore holds himself responsible for any opinions recorded therein, especially those which may not meet with general acceptance.

Until the Stuart Exhibition in 1889 the various Exhibitions in which the portraits of Mary Stuart had been collected together had only served to make confusion worse confounded. Ladies with black, brown, or red hair, with black, brown, or

blue eyes, with aquiline noses or *rétroussés*, tall or short, thin or plump, all appeared in numbers, asserting themselves to represent the Queen of Scotland. Of all this medley but the merest fragment could really claim to have any authenticity. The interest in historical portraiture is of comparatively recent awakening. It can hardly be said to have existed before the publication of Dr. Granger's "Biographical History of England" in 1769. The *dilettante* enthusiasm aroused by Horace Walpole and his friends, and other antiquaries of the same inclinations, had brought what was at first a mere collector's caprice into a fashionable craze. Portraits of historical personages were sought for high and low. Family history, county history, heraldry and genealogy, all became a necessary adjunct to the libraries of the noble and the rich. Where portraits were not forthcoming, there was ever, as now, a horde of needy copyists ready to supply them. Shakespeares, Miltons, Elizabeths, Raleighs, Nell Gwynns, began to bloom in every broker's window. Every Cavalier family found itself mysteriously possessed of important portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, bestowed either by them or their son upon the family hero for services rendered during the Civil Wars. For similar reasons Cromwell lowered from every parlour wall among Puritans and Nonconformists. Every family in Scotland, which could produce or invent the slightest excuse, revealed some

portrait of the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots, which for various mysterious reasons had up to that time remained unnoticed. Most of these were endowed with apparently unimpeachable pedigrees. In all these matters the critical faculty was conspicuous by its absence, being replaced, adequately in the owner's opinion, by enthusiasm.

Up to the period alluded to the interest in portraiture had been chiefly of a family nature. The following pages will show that all the authenticated portraits of Mary Stuart can be traced to the possession in former days either of her own descendants or relatives, or of some person intimately connected with her life. Some belong to the royal family of Great Britain by right of direct inheritance from Mary Stuart. Others can be traced to the possession of the Dukes of Lenox, the most nearly related branch of the House of Stuart, either belonging to their actual representative, the Earl of Darnley, or to such families as acquired them at the dispersal of goods at Cobham Hall after the death of the last Duke of Lenox in 1672. At Chatsworth or Hardwick, which the Duke of Devonshire owns by direct inheritance from the famous "Bess of Hardwick," whose husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was for so long Mary Stuart's gaoler, it would be natural to expect to find portraits of Mary Stuart, both for this reason and for the fact that the Countess of Shrewsbury married

her daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish, to Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, Mary Stuart's brother-in-law. Welbeck and Latimer, being other seats of the Cavendish family, come within the same category.

Beyond these sources, few portraits, other than coins, can be traced with security. In France there appears to be nothing contemporary, or of any but the most dubious authenticity, save, perhaps, a small bronze bust in the Louvre to be described hereafter. In Scotland, with the exception of the "Morton" portrait at Dalmahoy, and the memorial portrait at Blair's College, a holocaust might probably be made of the various portraits purporting to represent Mary, Queen of Scots, without the loss of any valuable asset bearing on this particular question.

Before entering upon any examination of the portraits of Mary Stuart, it is quite necessary to keep continually in mind the principal events of her troubled and eventful life. This life falls easily into three periods:

I. From the birth of Mary Stuart on December 8, 1542, to her landing in Scotland on August 19, 1561, on her return from France.

II. From the return of Mary Stuart from France to her arrival in England in May, 1568.

III. From the first captivity of Mary Stuart at Carlisle in May, 1568, to her execution at Fotheringhay on February 8, 1586–7.

In each of these periods it is equally important to lay stress on the more important occurrences in Mary's life.

Period I.

1542, December. Mary Stuart was born on December 7 or 8, 1542, the only child of James V., King of Scotland, and his queen, Marie de Guise, widow of Charles d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville. Her father was the only child of James IV., King of Scotland, by Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., so that he was first cousin to Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, failing whom and their issue Mary Stuart was the next heir to the throne of England. Her mother was the daughter of Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, by his wife Antoinette de Bourbon, and sister to the famous François de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, and Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, and Louis, Cardinal de Guise, the most famous among Mary Stuart's six uncles on her mother's side. Among her first cousins were the famous brothers, Henri, Duc de Guise, and Charles,

Cardinal de Lorraine, who were assassinated at Blois in 1588.

1542, December 14. James V., father of Mary Stuart, died, so that his infant daughter, Mary Stuart, succeeded to the throne of Scotland at the age of only six days.

1543, September 9. Mary Stuart was crowned Queen of Scotland at Stirling by Cardinal Beaton.

1546–7, January 28. Henry VIII., King of England, died, and was succeeded by Edward VI., and on March 31, 1547, François I., King of France, died, and was succeeded by Henri II.

1548, August 13. Mary Stuart, then aged five years and eight months, landed in France, having been affianced to the dauphin, François, and there she was brought up with the royal children at the Court of Henri II. and Catherine dé' Medicis.

1553, July 6. Edward VI. died, and was succeeded by Mary Tudor.

1558, April 24. Mary Stuart was married at Notre Dame, in Paris, to the dauphin, François, who, in the following November, received the title of King of Scotland.

1558, November 17. Mary, Queen of Eng-

land, died, and was succeeded by Elizabeth. Mary Stuart and François assumed the titles of King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

1559, July 10. Henri II., King of France, died, and was succeeded by François II., husband of Mary Stuart.

1560, June 11. Mary Stuart's mother, Marie de Guise, Regent of Scotland, died at Edinburgh.

1560, December 5. François II. died, and was succeeded by Charles IX., under the regency of Catherine dé' Medicis.

1560–1, March. Mary Stuart determined to return to Scotland, at the request and suit of her subjects. She resided for a time with her uncles at Joinville and Nancy, who endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between Mary and Don Carlos of Spain.

1561, May 15. Mary Stuart attended the coronation of Charles IX. at Reims.

1561, July 21. Mary Stuart left Paris for ever for S. Germain, and starting on July 25 journeyed by Beauvais and Abbeville to Calais, whence she sailed for Scotland on August 15.

1561, August 19. Mary Stuart landed at Leith.

Period II.

1561, August 19. Mary Stuart arrived at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

1562, September 11. Mary Stuart arrived at Inverness.

,, November 21. Mary Stuart returned to Edinburgh and fell ill.

1564, July. Journey of Mary Stuart to the north of Scotland.

,, September. Mary Stuart returned to Edinburgh.

1564–5, February 13. Henry, Lord Darnley, arrived at Edinburgh.

1565, July 29. Mary Stuart married to Lord Darnley at Edinburgh.

1565–6, March 9. Murder of Riccio at Holyrood.

1566, June 19. Birth of James I. at Edinburgh Castle.

,, October 8–28. Mary Stuart was dangerously ill from fever at Jedburgh.

,, November 26 to January 1567. Mary Stuart was at Craigmillar.

1566–7, February 10. Murder of Darnley.

,, April 24. Mary Stuart carried off by Bothwell to Dunbar.

,, May 3. Mary Stuart brought prisoner to Edinburgh.

1567, May 7. Bothwell divorced from his wife.

1567, May 15. Mary Stuart married Bothwell at Holyrood.

,, June 15. Battle at Carberry Hill. Mary Stuart brought captive to Edinburgh.

,, June 17. Mary Stuart imprisoned at Lochleven Castle.

,, July 24. Abdication of Mary Stuart.

,, July 29. Coronation of James VI. at Stirling.

,, August 22. The Earl of Moray appointed Regent of Scotland.

1568, May 2. Escape of Mary Stuart from Lochleven, and arrival at Hamilton Castle.

,, May 13. Battle at Langside.

,, May 16. Mary Stuart took refuge in England.

,, May 18. Mary Stuart taken captive to Carlisle.

Period III.

1568, July 16. Mary Stuart taken prisoner to Bolton Castle.

1568–9, February 26. Mary Stuart placed under the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury and removed to Tutbury, by Ripon, Pontefract, Rotherham, and Chesterfield.

1569, April. Mary Stuart removed to Wingfield.

1569, May 15. Mary Stuart removed to Chatsworth.

,, June 1. Mary Stuart returned to Wingfield.

,, September 21. Mary Stuart returned to Tutbury.

,, November 14. Mary Stuart removed to Coventry.

1569–70, January 2. Mary Stuart returned to Tutbury.

1570, May. Mary Stuart removed to Chatsworth.

,, November 28. Mary Stuart removed to Sheffield Castle, where she remained, either there or at Sheffield Manor House, for fourteen years, with occasional visits to Chatsworth, Buxton, and Worksop.

1584, September 3. Mary Stuart removed to Wingfield.

1584–5, January 13. Mary Stuart removed by Derby to Tutbury.

1585, April 17. Sir Amias Paulet appointed gaoler to Mary Stuart.

,, December 24. Mary Stuart removed to Chartley.

1586, August 8. Mary Stuart removed to Tixall.

,, August 30. Mary Stuart returned to Chartley.

1586,	September 25. Mary Stuart removed to Fotheringhay.
1586–7,	February 8. Mary Stuart beheaded at Fotheringhay.
1587,	July 29. Funeral of Mary Stuart at Peterborough.
1603,	April 3. Death of Elizabeth.
,,	October 11. Mary Stuart's body removed by James I. to Westminster Abbey.

There are certain distinctive points in the features of Mary Stuart, as shown in her portraits, which are of the greatest importance as aids to identification. Scharf writes that "among these the most remarkable is the colour of the eyes. They are decidedly brown, sometimes of a yellowish hue (hazel), but more frequently of an absolute reddish colour like chestnut and the paint known to artists as 'burnt sienna.' With this, as seen in the pictures of Venetian women, especially those by Paris Bordone, the white of the eye sometimes partakes of a blueish tint. In all these portraits of Mary the eyes are not large, but possess a sharp and somewhat penetrating expression. The upper eyelids are thick, with an interrupted curve, casting a partial shadow on the eye itself. The cheek-bones are high, and there is a singular space across the

temple between the eyes and the ears. The outline of the lower part of the cheek is full and the chin well developed, but not cloven or dimpled. The lips are always closely compressed, and the lower one, although full, is by no means projecting. The eyebrows are raised and arched, but not strongly defined, and the forehead lofty and capacious. There is also a considerable space above the nose between the eyebrows."

Judging from her more youthful portraits Mary Stuart's hair was of a yellowish auburn hue, with dark shades in it, such as might be expected from the daughter of a Stuart and the grand-daughter of a Tudor on the one side and the daughter of the fair-haired Marie de Guise on the other. Brantôme speaks of her hair as "*blonds et cendrez.*" Later in life she, like most ladies of the period, varied her *coiffure* with false hair, and showed some predilection for a darker hue, even approaching to black. On June 28, 1568, when Mary Stuart was a prisoner at Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys wrote to Cecil that she had "six waiting-women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this queen to be the finest busker, that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair, that is to be seen in any country; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither; and among other pretty devices, yesterday and this day, she did set such a curled hair upon the queen, that was said

to be a perewyke, that showed very delicately, and every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gaily well." Nicholas White, who had an interview with Mary Stuart at Tutbury in February 1569, says that "Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr. Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colours."

Mary Stuart had, however, but little southern blood in her veins, and was a true daughter of the north. She was somewhat above the normal height for a woman, with a graceful and elegant, but well-developed, figure. Her neck was well-formed, but not unduly long or slim, and her shoulders were slightly sloped, leading to a vigorous and well-modelled bust. In later years her figure lost something of its grace and elegance through the stress of illness and confinement, but maintained its dignity up to the last hour at Fotheringhay. Her general appearance was that of a strong, clever, masterful woman, rather than a beautiful and delicate heroine of romance.

In the following pages the various portraits of Mary Stuart will fall into three divisions:

I. The portraits, of which the authenticity may be regarded as certain.

II. The portraits, which have been generally accepted as genuine, but of which the authenticity is doubtful.

III. False and spurious portraits.

It is natural to consider first such portraits of Mary Stuart of which the authenticity may be regarded as certain. The first period of Mary Stuart's life begins with her birth at Linlithgow Palace on December 7, 1542. She succeeded to the throne of Scotland six days later, and was crowned queen before she had completed her first year. When within a few months of completing her sixth year the little queen was taken to France and brought up at the Court of Henri II. and Catherine de' Medicis, until her marriage, at the age of fifteen years and four months, to the dauphin of France. The child, who was accompanied by only a small retinue, was met on landing at Brest by her grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchesse de Guise, a somewhat severe and strait-laced dame, of whom even François I. seems to have stood in awe, and who was noted as a model for all the domestic virtues. The Duchesse wrote to her eldest son, that "Nostre petite reyne" was "la plus jolye et meilleure que ce que vous veistes oncques de son age." A few days later the grandmother again writes of the little girl that "Elle est clere, brune et pence qu' estant en eage d'en bonpoint quelle sera belle fille, car le taint est beau et cler; et la chair blanche, le bas du vysage bien jolly, les yeux sont petis et ung petit

enfoncé, le visage ung petit long, la grace et asurance fort bonne quent tout est dit elle est pour ce contenter."*

No painted portrait of Mary Stuart as an infant is known to exist, but her early accession to the throne was the cause of the issue of an interesting little coin, which bears what was intended to be a likeness of the infant queen.

Scharf writes that "no form of portraiture is so valuable for the illustration of history as that afforded by coins and medals, provided that they are clear, and on a sufficiently large scale. They not only convey information by the addition of lettering, but, when issued under the auspices of a ruling power, it may be assumed that the best available artistic talent has been employed." The coinage of Scotland is in this respect no less interesting than that of any other country, as may be seen from an interesting work, "*The Coinage of Scotland, by Edward Burns, F.S.A. Scot., illustrated from the cabinet of Thomas Coats, Esq., of Ferguslie*" (3 vols. 4to, Edinburgh, 1887).

On May 3, 1547, an Act was passed by the Privy Council of Scotland for the issue of a small coin, called a penny, made of base metal, called *billon*, bearing the head of the infant queen Mary. It is noteworthy that this coin was issued immediately

* Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 20,468, fol. 165. See Gabriel de Pimodan, "La Mère des Guises" (Paris, 1889).

after the deaths of King Henry VIII. of England and King François I. of France. The Act was probably a stroke of policy on the part of the Queen Regent and her Council.

These pennies exhibit a round baby face, which is seen in full, the hair parted in the middle and hanging down on either side, lower than the ear. On the head is a single arched crown, while the neck and shoulders are covered by a regal mantle. Round the head is the legend, MARIA D. G. R. SCOTORVM, enclosed within a double line or ring. [*See* Plate I. No. 11.]

This type of coin was re-issued by order of the Council on December 6, 1554, after Mary had been in France some years. The coins still represent Mary as an infant, but she wears a double-arched crown, showing no hair across the forehead, and her hair hangs more straightly down on each side of the face, which appears to be slightly older. The head is set lower down in the coin in order to admit of the larger crown, and the double line or ring round the legend is omitted. [*See* Plate I. No. 12.]

Unfortunately the few examples of these interesting coins which have survived, being of base metal, have been so worn by use as to make it difficult to get any clear idea how far the head on the coin may be accepted as a genuine likeness of the infant queen.

The earliest drawn or painted portrait of Mary Stuart, which can be accepted as authentic, is the chalk drawing, in the style of Jean Clouet (Janet), which purports to represent the Queen of Scotland at the age of nine years and six months.

It would be impossible in these pages to enter fully into the much vexed question of French portraiture in the sixteenth century, especially with relation to the numberless crayon drawings, the bulk of which have now been concentrated either in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, or in the Louvre at Paris, or in the Musée Condé at Chantilly. For fuller information concerning these drawings, reference must be made to the various works of M. Henri Bouchot, the distinguished keeper of the Cabinet d'Estampes at Paris, and to the researches, hitherto published in a sporadic form, of M. L. Dimier, M. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, the late M. Natalis Rondot of Lyons, and others, who have been endeavouring to extricate the early history of French art from a somewhat inexplicable state of oblivion and error. It is singular that so admirable a chapter in art, as the portraiture of Jean and François Clouet, Jean Perréal, Antoine Caron, the Quesnel, Jean de Court, Corneille de Lyon, and others should still be lacking proper interpretation.

It will be sufficient here to note that from the days of Holbein to the early years of the seven-

teenth century the portrait painter usually had to be content with one sitting, or at the best very few, during which he made a careful drawing, accompanied with notes as to colour, costume, &c. Any one of these drawings could be worked up in the studio with a painstaking accuracy, yet lacking, in most cases, the vitality of a portrait completed from the subject itself. Many of these drawings exist, and are often the sole origin, from which more advanced portraits were subsequently derived. These drawings must, however, be carefully distinguished from those which were mere transcripts from paintings which already existed.

It became the fashion towards the close of the sixteenth century to make such collections of portraits, usually of personages eminent in history, and collections such as that in the Library at Arras, or the famous collection of miniature paintings, formed by the Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, at Schloss Ambras, which is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, are examples. Later collectors mixed these two kinds of drawings together, regardless of differences in merit, bequeathing to posterity the difficulty of sorting out those which are original portraits and those which are only echoes of some known, though, much too frequently, lost original. The unfortunate vicissitudes of fate, which have befallen both the royal palaces in France and the *châteaux* of the nobility and gentry, together with the collections of works

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AUTOTYPE

of art formerly contained therein, are doubtless responsible for the loss of many important historical documents, especially in portraiture. Under the intelligent direction of M. de Nolhac and M. André Pératé at Versailles, a number of portraits, illustrating the history of France, have been arranged, and in most cases their names rescued from oblivion. But the gaps are very evident. It is scarcely credible that in the age of Clouet and his followers the young Queen of France and Scotland, whose beauty was renowned, should have escaped being the cynosure of painters: yet no genuine painted portrait of Mary Stuart exists in France. Where, too, is the portrait of Queen Elizabeth, to obtain which the ambassador, M. de Lansac, took a well-known painter over to England in 1580, as specially attached to his suite?

It is to the enthusiasm of noble amateurs in England that the preservation is due of the invaluable collections of crayon drawings which, through the munificence and patriotism of the Duc d'Aumale, now form part of the treasures at Chantilly bequeathed by him to the French nation. The drawing of Mary Stuart as a girl forms one of a series of portraits of the French Court, which was purchased in Florence about 1760 by Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, and was preserved in this series at Castle Howard until 1889, when the whole series was purchased by the Duc

d'Aumale from George Howard, ninth Earl of Carlisle, and removed to Chantilly. It is inscribed in contemporary handwriting, "*Marie royne descosse en leage de neuf ans ed six mois lan 1552 Au mois de juillet.*"

The young queen is represented to the waist, attired in a tight-fitting bodice, arched across the breast, with slashed sleeves, puffed at the shoulders, and fitting tight to the arm in the French fashion of the time. The bust is covered with a transparent gauze partlet, worked with a lozengy pattern, fitting tight to the body and the back of the neck close up to the ears, the opening in front only leaving a very small portion of the neck exposed. At the back of her head her hair is encased in a richly jewelled and embroidered caul, flat at the back. Two rows of jewels encircle this caul, large jewels are in her ears, and a rich necklace of jewels round her throat; over her shoulders lies a string of jewels, looped up across the breast, and bearing suspended at the centre a very large jewel as a pendant.

The drawing, which is executed in red and black chalk only, has been a good deal rubbed, so that much of the modelling of the face is now lost. Enough, however, remains to show that the features are those of a young girl, in spite of the costume, which would appear at first sight to be more suited to a woman of more advanced years. It is stated that this drawing was made by the

command of Queen Catherine de' Medicis, her future mother-in-law.

The face is seen turned in three-quarters to the spectator's left, and, as Scharf describes, "is drawn and shaded with red chalk, blended with a few light touches of black (Italian) chalk on the darker sides of the cheeks and forehead. The eyeballs do not appear to be intended for brown, because there is no admixture of red chalk in them, which is the case in the later Janet drawings. The dress is shaded with black Italian chalk, but the frilling or edge of the gauze round her neck is in red lines. Every other pearl of her festooned chain is red, and all the round jewels between the puffs down her sleeves are of the same colour. The large pear-shaped jewel at her breast is shaded pale red. Her lips and cheeks are very pale red. Her eyebrows are scarcely traceable, and the upper eyelids are thick without any indication of eyelashes. The hair is plain black, soft and wavy."

It will be noticed from this description that the artist, being limited to two colours, has confined himself to indicating the general effects of light and shade.

This drawing presents some special features which help to identify the portraits of Mary Stuart. The forehead is high, round, and projecting, or *bombé*, at the top, and slopes rapidly backwards to the hair, the actual crown of the head being almost flat. The hair is drawn back tightly from the forehead and

slightly waved along it. It is also drawn back behind the ear, which is entirely exposed to view. The ear is unusually large for a woman, being long in the upper part and with a full lobe to the base. This drawing, which can hardly be said to err on the side of flattery, has every appearance of having been taken from life.* [*See* Plate II.]

A small portrait, measuring 4 by 3 inches, slightly, yet somewhat coarsely painted in oil on panel, and evidently based upon this drawing, was first in the collection of the Comte de S. Seine, and then in that of Mr. Hollingworth Magniac, and at the sale of the Charles Magniac collection in July 1892 it was purchased by Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi & Co. for £367 10*s.*, from whom it passed into the possession of the Duke of Westminster, and is now at Eaton Hall.

This painting is inscribed *La Royne Dauphine*, which testifies to the fact that, if contemporary, it must have been painted between the date of April 24, 1558, on which Mary was married to the Dauphin, and July 10, 1559, when her husband became King of France.

In this portrait the eyes are hazel-brown, and the hair of a dark rich brown chestnut, the head being set against a greenish background in the style of the court painter Corneille de Lyon. There are some slight, but unimportant variations in the

* This portrait was engraved, very inaccurately, in 1821, by Thomas Ryder, and published by Messrs. Colnaghi & Co. in London.

Mary Stuart
at the age of nine years
from the drawing in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

treatment of the gauze covering over the neck. The bodice of the dress is red and gold with a striped pattern down the front, and the jewelled cap is rounder in form.

The features shown in the drawing, now at Chantilly, are very distinctly shown in the head on the silver coin, or *testoon*, struck at Paris by the Scottish medallist, John Achesoun.* In a register still preserved in the French Archives, there is an entry, under the date of October 21, 1553: "Ce jourdhuy xxi jour d'October mil v^{c}liii a este permis a Jehan Acheson, tailleur de la monnaie d'Escosse, de graver pilles et trousseaulx aux portraictes de la royne d'Escosse, par lui exibez a la dite Court, a la charge de fire les espreuves en la Monnaie de Paris, parentre l'un des gardes pour icelles faictes estre apportées en la dite Court." The first coin with a portrait of Mary Stuart, struck by Achesoun in 1553, shows the head of the queen

* An account of the Achesoun (or Atkinson) family will be found in Burns's "History of the Coinage of Scotland." James Achesoun, goldsmith and burgess in the Canongate, was "master-moneyer" as early as 1526. John Achesoun, the coiner of the Mary Stuart testoon, who was at the French Court in 1553, returned to Scotland, and again to France in 1560. On the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland in 1561, John Achesoun returned finally to his native country. Certain coins struck in 1583 by Thomas Achesoun were often called *Achesouns* or *Atkinsons.—Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* ix. 506.

in profile to the *right* with a crown on her head. The features are those of a young girl, and the slope of the bust is still childish. Her hair descends naturally to the back of the neck. The nose is slightly *retroussé*, and the chin prominent. She wears an embroidered dress and a band round the neck. The head is encircled within a double ring, round which, enclosed in another ring, and continued round the coin, is the inscription MARIA . DEI . GRA . R . SCOTORVM. On the reverse of the coin is an escutcheon with the arms of Scotland, round which is the inscription DA . PACEM . DOMINE . 1553. [*See* Plate I., No. 1.] This inscription may possibly relate to the religious controversies which disturbed Scotland at this date.

The second coin struck by Achesoun in 1553, on a slightly smaller scale, shows the young queen in a decidedly older aspect. In this coin the queen's head is turned in profile to the *left* and has no crown. The features have much the same character as before, except that the nose now shows a tendency to dip. The prominent round forehead is very evident, as is also the flat top to the head and the hair tightly drawn back. At the back of the head the hair is gathered into a rich caul, as in the Chantilly drawing. The neck is now longer and more graceful and with the shoulders completely bare, save for a jewelled necklace, which falls in a festoon over the dress, which is cut very low, exposing the bust, with puffs to the

sleeves at the shoulders. The coin bears the inscription round the head, but not completely round the coin, MARIA . DEI . GRA . SCOTOR . REGINA. On the reverse is the inscription IN . IVSTICIA . TVA . LIBERA . NOS . DNE . 1553. [*See* Plate XII., No. 1.] This coin is of the utmost rarity, only one example being known to exist, which is preserved in the British Museum. It was, perhaps, as suggested by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, only a pattern submitted by Achesoun to the French Court and not approved.

The same model, with very slight modifications, was used for a gold coin, known as a *ryal*, struck by Achesoun in 1555, and repeated in 1557 and 1558. On the reverse is the escutcheon of Scotland, with the inscription IVSTVS . FIDE . VIVIT . and the date. [*See* Plate I., Nos. 2 and 3.]

The young Queen of Scotland had been sent to the court of Henri II. and Catherine de' Medicis as the affianced bride of their eldest son, François. On April 24, 1558, at the age of fifteen years and four months Mary Stuart was married in the church of Notre Dame at Paris to the Dauphin, on whom the title of King of Scotland was then conferred.

The well-known miniature-portrait in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle was probably painted at the time of Mary Stuart's marriage. It may have

been this portrait which Lord Seton brought as a present from Mary, when Queen of France, to Elizabeth in 1561, and which Sir Nicolas Throckmorton mentions in his letters to Elizabeth more than once, and possibly also the little portrait which Elizabeth showed to Melville at the time of the latter's interview with the Queen of England in 1564. This little painting appears to be based upon a fine chalk drawing of Mary Stuart, which forms one of a series of drawings formerly preserved in the Bibliothèque de S. Genéviève at Paris, but which was in 1861 transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale.*

In this drawing the head alone is finished, the body, shown to the waist, being drawn only in faint outline. The face, as Scharf says, "is full of expression, and possesses that peculiar look of the eyes, with thick eyelids, so characteristic of Mary." All the other features mentioned above are well shown here, the high forehead, large ear, long-shaped eyes and faint eyebrows, slightly projecting upper lip, and round and full chin. The nose is long and straight, though not as yet in any way aquiline, although the tip shows an inclination to dip downwards when compared with the drawing at nine years old.

* The early history of the collection of drawings in the Library at S. Genéviève is unknown. The Library itself was constructed early in the eighteenth century. The drawings themselves were removed to the Bibliothèque Nationale in June 1861, by order of the French Government.

Mary Stuart
as Dauphine of France
From the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

The reddish-brown hair is parted in the middle and frizzed into little curls round the forehead, not covering the ear. The hair seems to be bound in a single plait round the back of the head. A string of large pearls and smaller jewels encircles the head, passing behind the ear. Her dress is somewhat similar in character to that worn at nine years old, the *chemisette*, or partlet, over the shoulders being the same, but this covering is carried round the neck up to the chin, where it ends in a small ruff, and it is not open in front, a pearl necklace being round the neck. The ear-rings are formed of single pearls. [*See* Plate III.]

The same features appear in the aforesaid miniature painting at Windsor Castle, though the somewhat mechanical accuracy of the painter has missed something of the charm and delicacy of the chalk drawing.

This little portrait is interesting as being the earliest authenticated and completed portrait in colours of Mary Stuart known to exist. It appears to have always been in the royal collection, and attributed to Janet, as far back as the days of Charles I., Mary Stuart's grandson. In Vander Doort's catalogue it is described as follows:

"Supposed to be done by the said Jennet. Item Done upon the right light. The second picture of Queen Mary of Scotland, upon a blew grounded square card, dressed in her hair, in a carnation habit laced with small gold lace and a string

of pearls round her neck in a little plain falling hood, she putting on her second finger the wedding ring." The dimensions are given as three inches long by two inches wide. The features are much the same as in the S. Genéviève drawing, but the shadows added by the artist have given a slightly harder and less pleasing expression to the face. The hair is light yellowish-brown, shadowed with sepia, arranged in small round curls, rather more crimped than in the drawing. The circlet of large pearls round the head is now single, and pearls and other jewels are twisted in the plait of hair round the back of the head. The eyeballs are yellowish-brown (or hazel according to Scharf), shaded with sepia, and the eyebrows are delicately pencilled in a faint brown colour. The nose shows more tendency to become aquiline. The costume, however, worn by the queen in this miniature, is quite different to that in the chalk drawing. It is very rich, and more mature in character. The queen is shown to the hips standing, and with her left hand placing a ring on the third finger of her right hand. She is dressed in a tight-fitting robe rising to the ears, but open at the neck to show the white lining, and below the waist to show a white under-skirt. The bodice fits tight to the body and is brought down to a point at the waist. The sleeves come down to the waist showing white cuffs, and appear to be lined inside, and slightly puffed at the shoulders. The colour of the

Mary Stuart
as Dauphine of France
From the miniature painting in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.

dress is lilac-pink shaded with crimson; it is corded with gold lines and sewn with pearls. A rope of pearls encircles the dress at the neck, falls to a double row down the breast, and again encircles the waist. Taking these details into consideration, and also the slightly older expression of the face, it seems possible that the chalk drawing may have preceded the miniature by some little time. The ascription of the miniature-painting to "Janet," or rather François Clouet, is only traditional and hardly to be sustained in the light of modern information. The miniature is painted on a flat rich ultramarine blue background, and all gold objects are painted with gold.* [*See* Plate IV.]

An enlarged version of this miniature, or adaptation from the same drawing, carefully executed in oil, was formerly in the collection of Colonel Meyrick, and is now in the Jones Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In December 1560, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton writes from France to Queen Elizabeth, and in various letters alludes to a portrait of Mary Stuart, which Lord Seton had persuaded the Queen of France to send to the Queen of England. This portrait may, as stated before, be the miniature at Windsor. It is uncertain if Lord Seton succeeded in delivering this portrait to Elizabeth, but it is clear from James Melville's account in

* This miniature has been reproduced in colours as the frontispiece to "Mary Stuart," by Sir W. Skelton (Goupil et C^ie.).

his Memoirs of his interview with Elizabeth in 1564, that the Queen of England had "dyvers little pictures wrapped within paiper and writen upon the paper their names with her owen hand," and that one of these little pictures represented the Queen of Scotland. Melville writes that "She appeared to be so affectionate to the queen her good sister, that she had a great desire to see her. And because their desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written 'My lord's picture.' I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my queen, which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, Your majesty hath here the original, for I perceived him at the furthest part of the chamber, speaking with secretary Cecil. Then she took out the queen's picture, and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love evidenced therein to my mistress."

The original drawing evidently was used as the

François, Dauphin of France, and Mary Stuart

From the miniature painting in the Livre d'Heures of Catherine de Médicis in the Louvre at Paris.

(Enlarged from the Original.)

basis for a small portrait in miniature, inserted in the same piece with her husband, François II., as one of the ornamental paintings in the illuminated "Livre d'Heures," which formerly belonged to Catherine de' Médicis and later to Louise de Lorraine, queen of Henri III., and was presented by the Duchesse de Berri to the Louvre at Paris, where it is at present preserved. This precious series of miniature portraits comprises all the children of Henri II. and Catherine de' Médicis and the wives of those who were then married. As Henri III. is depicted alone, and with the crown of Poland on his head, it is possible to ascribe these paintings to the year 1573, in which year he was elected, on May 9, King of Poland, a throne he was soon to relinquish on his accession to that of France.* [*See* Plate V.]

The portrait of Mary Stuart, shown in the chalk drawing and miniature-paintings just described, corresponds very well to the portrait of the queen on the medallion which was struck to commemorate her marriage with the dauphin. The medallion shows the busts in profile of Mary and François, facing each other, Mary occupying the dexter side on the coin, with the arched crown of

* See M. Dimier in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Per. III., vol. 28, Nov. 1902; also Barbet de Jouy, *Musée des Souverains*, p. 113, No. 65.

Scotland suspended above between them. The queen wears a rich dress high up the neck with a small ruff, as in the Janet drawing. Her hair is brushed back from the face, and gathered into a rich jewelled and embroidered caul at the back of the head, with one large jewel resting in front on the forehead. The ear, as before, is large and well-defined; a single pearl forms the ear-ring. Round the coin is the inscription FRAN. ET. MA. D.G. R.R. SCOTOR. DELPHIN. VIEN. [*See* Plate I., No. 8.] The same models were used for the heads on "the King and Queen's Ducat," which was issued under an order of the Scottish Privy Council, dated January 23, 1558–9, that there should be coined "ane new penny of gold in our soverane lord and ladys names, of xxij carat fyne—and this pece to be callit the king and quene's ducatt—and the hail to haif passage for iii *li* and the half thairof for xxxs. to haif the imprent following, That is to say upoune the Richt syd of the said pece our soverane lord and ladys faces with ane clos croune above thair hedis and this superscriptioune, FRANCISCVS ET MARIA DEI GRATIA REX ET REGINA SCOTORVM DELPHINVS ET DELPHINA VIENNENSES, and upoune the other syd ane croce of aucht dolphinis conjunct with ane closs crown at ilk quarter; in the middis Sanct androis croce and ane croce of Lorane at ilk quarter with this superscriptioune —HORVM TVTA FIDES, and the yeire of God in cipheris." [*See* Plate I., No. 4.]

This gold ducat is of extreme rarity, the only two examples known being preserved in the British Museum and in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It is probable that this ducat was that coined by John Achesoun on May 15, 1559.

A silver testoon, also of great rarity, has the same arrangement of the heads as the marriage medallion, and the same inscription on the obverse. On the reverse is an escutcheon with the arms of Dauphiné and Scotland, and the inscription FŒCIT VTRAQVE VNVM, 1558. [*See* Plate I., No. 7.] Later variations occur without any difference so far as the portraiture is concerned.

In the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, in a room known as the "Salle des Petits Portraits," there will be found a frame containing miniature portraits of Henri II. and Catherine de' Médicis surrounded by similar portraits of their immediate family, the whole resembling the aforesaid collection of miniature portraits in the *Livre d'Heures* of Catherine de' Medicis in the Louvre. Among these are miniature portraits of François II. and Mary Stuart. The portrait of Mary Stuart is of particular interest, for, whereas the miniature portrait of Mary Stuart in the *Livre d'Heures*, already described, is evidently taken from the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the miniature at Florence represents her in a rich black dress, slashed with white, and wearing a black hat or

bonnet à l'Italienne, with diamond ornaments and white feather. This collection of miniature portraits has particular interest and authority as having been probably sent as a gift, if not by Catherine de' Médicis to her family at home, perhaps at a later date by Marie de' Médicis. [*See* Plate VI., No. 1.]

So important an event as the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the Dauphin of France was sure to produce a number of divers objects made to commemorate the occasion. It is difficult, however, to say with certainty when such objects can be regarded as contemporary or only of later execution. In the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch there is a cameo cut on agate, which contains portrait busts of Mary Stuart and François in profile to the right; this may be contemporary with the marriage, but as a somewhat similar agate-cameo with a portrait of Elizabeth exists in the royal collection at Windsor Castle, both are probably the work of an Italian hand at a later date.

A few months after the marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin, on November 17, 1558, Mary Tudor, Queen of England, died, and was succeeded on the throne by her half-sister, Elizabeth. This event caused a great sensation at the various Courts of Europe, at which the divorce of Catherine of Arragon had never been recognised.

Mary Stuart from miniatures in the Uffizii Gallery and the Museo Nazionale at Florence.

Elizabeth was, therefore, considered to be of illegitimate birth and an usurper of the throne. Mary Stuart, as the next legitimate heir to the throne of England, was accepted as the lawful sovereign of England. Mary and her husband, therefore, assumed the title of King and Queen of England and Ireland in addition to that of King and Queen of Scotland. In this action they were supported by the Church of Rome, in whose eyes Elizabeth was not only a bastard, but also a heretic and a dangerous enemy.

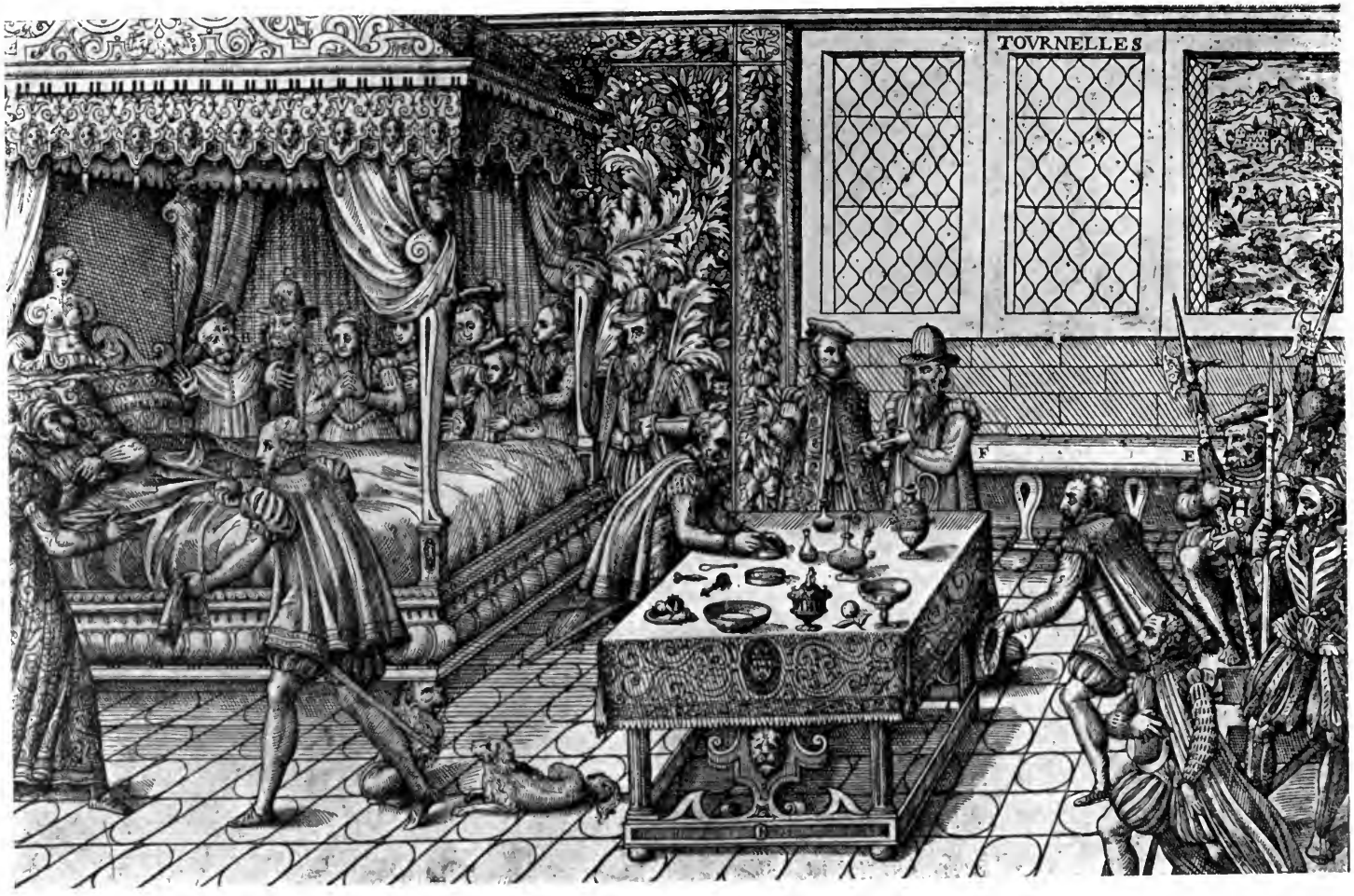
A great seal was struck bearing the royal figures of François and Mary and the date 1559, with the inscription round it, FRANCISCVS . ET . MARIA . D . G . R . R . FRANCOR . SCOT . ANGL . ET . HYBER. The figures are, however, conventional, and contribute nothing to the question of portraiture.

Matters were further complicated by the death, on July 10, 1559, of Henri II., King of France, and the accession to that throne of his son, François. In a very rare engraving by Tortorel and Perrissin, representing the deathbed of Henri II., a group of his immediate family is seen standing by the bedside. The figure of Mary Stuart can be identified in the group in the background by the bedpost, though as a portrait it has naturally little value. [*See* Plate VII.] Mary thereupon became Queen of France by right of her husband, Queen of Scotland in her own right, and Queen of England and Ireland by assumption. Unfortunately,

no painted portrait of Mary Stuart as actual Queen of France can be authenticated. An important engraving, however, of Mary Stuart as Queen of France was published at Antwerp by the well-known art publisher, Hieronymus Cock. This publisher appears to have issued two pairs of engravings representing François II. and Mary Stuart. In the earlier pair are represented François as Dauphin, inscribed FRANCISCVS HENRICI II GALLORV. REGIS CHRISTIANISS. FILIVS. AC D. FAVENTE CLEMENTIA DELPHINVS, and Mary Stuart, as Queen of Scotland alone, MARIA JACOBI SCOTORVM REGIS FILIA SCOTORVMQVE NUNC REGINA. This pair of engravings was probably issued at the time of the marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, at a time when it was perhaps difficult to obtain a trustworthy likeness. The portrait of Mary Stuart does not in any way resemble her, having large staring eyes, a small mouth, and other features quite different to those already described. The lady holds a feathered fan and is richly dressed. The portrait may possibly be that of Marie of Lorraine.*

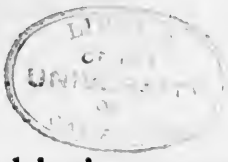
The two portraits of François and Mary are signed with the monogram of the engraver, Petrus à Merica (Merecinus or Miricenus). A few years later the same publisher issued a second pair of plates, apparently by the same engraver,

* The portrait was copied by N. Nelli for a series of portraits published by D. Zenoi at Venice in 1569, entitled "*Imagines quorundam principum et illustrium virorum.*"



THE DEATH OF HENRI II.

From a woodcut, by Tortorel and Perrissin, in the Print-room, British Museum



and this time on more certain ground. These portraits record the accession of François and Mary as King and Queen of France. François is in profile to the right in armour, FRANCISCVS DEI GRATIA FRANCORVM ET SCOTIÆ REX ANNO 1559. For the portrait of Mary Stuart, the engraver seems to have had before him the same materials for a portrait of Mary Stuart as the engraver of the marriage medallion.

The queen is standing; her body, seen to below the hips, slightly turned to the left; her face in sharp profile to the left. The features are much as before, the round chin, large ear, heavy eyelid, and prominent forehead being very evident. Her hair is brushed back from the forehead, and cased in a rich jewelled and embroidered caul, flat at the back as in the drawing of 1552. A large jewel is fixed in the hair on the top of the head, with the point upwards, just in front of the caul, and this remarkable jewel can also be seen in the marriage medallion. A similar pointed jewel is seen at the fastening of the dress at the collar. The queen is richly dressed as before, the gauze covering to her neck rising up to the chin, ending in a small ruff and encircled by a rich necklace. A chain of pearls is looped over her breast, and to it is suspended a large jewel of rich design. In her left hand she holds a glove, which rests on a tasselled cushion, apparently pressed against her hip, but which probably in the original drawing was

intended to be resting on a table. The portrait is encased in an oval frame, on which is the inscription, MARIA SCOTIÆ REGINA FRANCORVM REGIS CONIVNX ANNO 1559. [*See* Plate VIII.]

A similar portrait of Mary Stuart was engraved by the artist using the initials F. H. (probably Frans Huys, and not Hogenberg as usually described), and published at Antwerp by Hans Liefrinck. In this engraving the queen stands at full length on a plain floor, the costume being the same, except for the difference due to the length of the figure. In the upper corner is an escutcheon, lozenge-shaped, bearing the lion of Scotland surmounted by a crown. This engraving is lettered simply MARIA SCOTIÆ REGINA. It is evidently an adaptation either from the engraving published by Cock, or from the same drawing that Huys or Hogenberg had before him, being enlarged to form one of a series of engravings of similar character that includes a portrait of Elizabeth. The drawing may have been made by Liefrinck himself, who appears to have visited Paris, where he made some copies from crayon portraits, attributed to Clouet. Two examples of his copies are in the Print Room at the British Museum. The alterations in the costume show that the later engraving was not made in France.

A remarkable medallion was also struck, apparently from the same model as the engraving published by Cock, if not, as is probable, copied from

MARY STUART, AS QUEEN OF FRANCE

From an engraving published by Hieronymus Cock

the engraving itself. On one side is the head of Mary Stuart, within an oval border of fruit and flowers, inscribed MARIA REGINA FRANCIÆ, and on the other the head of François II. in a similar border, inscribed FRANCISCVS II . D.G.FRANCOR. REX. One example of this medallion in silver is in the possession of Mrs. Alfred Morrison. Another, without the border of fruit, is in the possession of Lord Currie. Another example, wrought in copper gilt, was in the collection of M. Lucas-Desains, and sold in 1850 to M. Combrouse. Another medal in copper-gilt, on a smaller scale, is in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

A woodcut engraving of this medal was published in the *Promptuarium Iconum*, by Rouillius at Lyons in 1578.*

An interesting ivory tankard is in the possession of Elizabeth, Countess of Chichester, by inheritance from her father, Sir John Duncan Bligh, formerly Minister in Sweden (where he acquired the tankard) and at Hanover. On this tankard are carved portraits of Mary Stuart and François, with emblems relating to the Dauphin. These portraits are probably copied from the later pair of engravings published by H. Cock. It was perhaps brought to Sweden from Prague by Gustavus Adolphus.

* See Didron ainé, *Annales Archéologiques*, xi. 108. 1851.

Mary Stuart's tenure of the throne of France was very short, and could have given her little gaiety or pleasure. At her side stood the grim and masterful figure of her mother-in-law, Catherine de' Médicis, in whose hands the boy-king, François II., had been a mere puppet, but who was devoted to his playmate of old days. Mary's uncles, the Guises, were in direct hostility to the Queen-Mother, who resented their influence. Mary's own mother, Marie de Lorraine, died at Edinburgh on June 11, 1560. On December 5 following, Mary Stuart's boy husband, François II., ended his sickly life, and was succeeded by his equally unhealthy brother, Charles IX. Catherine de' Médicis now regained her supremacy, and the power of the Guises was shattered for ever. Mary found herself at the age of eighteen both a childless widow and an orphan, alone at a Court where she was disliked and distrusted.

It is much to be regretted that so little is known of Mary Stuart's life at the Court of Henri II. In the gloomy romance of her life, her girlhood in France is the only bright spot. The Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Capello, who saw Mary playing with François, spoke of her as "une très jolie fille de douze à treize ans." As a child her chief playmates were the Dauphin and his sister Elizabeth, the future Queen of Spain. It is usually assumed, that the surroundings, among which she was brought up, were not only gay but corrupt

and vicious. But this is open to question, in spite of any view which may be taken of the characters of Henri II. and Catherine de' Médicis, or of the brothers in the House of Guise. As a girl Mary was brought a great deal under the influence of Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchesse de Guise, her grandmother, a lady who was stern and decorous even to the verge of Puritanism. Even Catherine de' Medicis, ill-omened as her name may seem in history, knew among the tortuous byways of diplomacy and religious fanaticism how to insist upon a prudery and decorum in external appearance, such as was new to a Court trained under the gay and debonnaire François I. Catherine would not allow her ladies to have their necks and bosoms bare, and her *régime* in dress is dated by the white lawn or silk *chemisette* or partlet, the high tight-fitting collar and the veil, which are so characteristic of the early portraits of Mary Stuart. Mary Stuart's uncles also, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise were men of conspicuous ability, and their names are among the most illustrious in the history of France. Posterity has judged the French Court too much from the statements of Brantôme, who, writing at the end of a rather embittered life, dipped his pen not only in fulsome flattery, but in scurrility and scandal, which can only be compared to that of Suetonius, who in his time did so much to influence the opinion of posterity as to the private character of the Roman Emperors.

Though a mere child when she married, and little more than that when she was left a widow, she had touched the hearts of poets and courtiers at the French Court. Even in that Court scandal hardly touched her name. There the northern queen must have shone fair among the various princesses and ladies of the Court, many of whose portraits have from time to time been confused with hers. Pierre de Boscorel de Chastelard followed her love-stricken to Scotland, and laid down his life there for her, as a true, if somewhat stagy, hero of romance. Ronsard enshrined the memory of Mary Stuart in some of his most exquisite verses. Pierre de Bourdeille, secular Abbé de Brantôme, the historian, in his sugared chronicle and precious tittle-tattle of the time, is honey-sweet in his praise of Mary Stuart. He says of the Queen of Scotland, whom he had known and adored, and helped to escort to Scotland, "Voyez quelle vertu avoit une telle beauté et telle grace, de faire tourner un barbarisme grossier en une douce civilité et gracieuse mondanité! Et ne s'en faut esbahir de cela, qu'estant habillée à la sauvage (comme je l'ay veüe) à la barbaresque mode des Sauvages de son Pays elle paroissoit, en un corps mortel et habit barbare et grossier, une vraye Déesse. Ceux qui l'ont veüe ainsi habillée le pourront ainsi confesser en toute verité, et ceux qui ne l'ont veüe en pourront avoir veu son portrait, éstant ainsi habillée. Si que j'ai veu dire à la Reyne et au Roy, qu'elle se montroit en-

cor en celuy-la plus belle, plus agréable et plus désirable qu'en tous les autres. Que pouvoit elle donc paroistre se représentant en ses belles et riches parures, fust à la Françoise ou Espagnolle, ou avec le bonnet à l'Italienne, ou en ses autres habits de son grand deuil blanc, avec lequel il la faisoit très beau voir? Car la blancheur de son visage contendoit avec la blancheur de son voile, à qui l'emporteroit; mais enfin, l'artifice de son voile le perdoit, et la neige de son beau visage effaçoit l'autre; aussi se fit-il à la Cour une chanson d'elle portant le deuil, qui estoit telle."

"L'on voit, sons blanc atour,
En grand deuil & Tristesse,
Se promener maint tour
De beauté la Déesse,
Tenant le trait en main
De son fils inhumain;
Et amour, sans fronteau,
Voleter autour d'elle,
Deguisant son bandeau
En une funebre voile,
Où sont les mots escrits:
Mourir ou Estre Pris."

Elsewhere Brantôme extols Mary Stuart's *belle main blanche*, her *beaux doigts*, and her *pasle teint*. Too much importance must not be attached to the words of a Court flatterer, written, moreover, some time after the execution of Mary Stuart. What, however, was the costume, or the fashion of her barbarous and savage costume, to which Brantôme alludes; and where is the portrait of

Mary Stuart in this costume, if we are to assume from Brantôme's words that such a portrait did really exist? Of Scotland and Scottish habits Mary could know very little, having left there as a child of five years, chiefly spent at Linlithgow, Stirling, and Dumbarton. Possibly a Scottish nurse accompanied the little queen to France, and amused her with tales and sports of Scottish origin. Too little is known of the native costume in Scotland at that date to form any idea. A contemporary woodcut, however, depicts "La Sauvage d'Escosse" as wrapped in a long robe lined with sheepskin, enveloping the whole body, with large skin-shoes, the whole costume resembling that of a Russian peasant at the present day. Such a garment may very likely have been brought from Scotland by Mary Stuart, and worn by her as a fancy dress to amuse her companions at Court.*

The costume *à l'Espagnolle* would be a close-fitting dress, with fur round the neck and fur trimmings to the puffed sleeves at the shoulders, a costume seen in a well-known portrait of Mary Tudor. No portrait of Mary Stuart in this costume can be authenticated, but there are portraits, purporting to represent her, 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.

Portraits of ladies at the Court of France, dressed

* See Bouchot, *Les Femmes de Brantôme.* Paris, Quantin. 1890.

Mary Stuart as Queen of France
in widow's dress
From the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

à la Française or *à l'Italienne*, with a small hood or a little hat or *toque* with a feather, are very numerous, and many distinguished ladies of the period, depicted in this costume, have been presented to an admiring public and accepted as Mary Stuart. It is not impossible that among these portraits one of Mary Stuart may some day be safely identified, but it is difficult to achieve this at present.

With the portrait *en deuil blanc* so highly extolled by Brantôme, safer ground is reached. The original chalk drawing for this portrait, usually ascribed to Janet, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, belonging to the same series as the drawing described before from the Library of the Abbey of S. Genévieve. All the strongly-marked features, as described, are present in this drawing, so far as the dress permits of their being seen. The face, however, is rounder and fuller, more that of a grown-up woman than a girl as before. The yellow-brown hair is crimped into bunches of curls at the sides of the head under the white cap. [*See* Plate IX.]

From this drawing are derived various portraits in oil, the more important of which are in the royal collection. Two versions of this portrait were in the collection of Charles I., one of which is now at Windsor Castle, the other at Hampton Court.

It is noteworthy, however, that neither of these two portraits belonged to the crown before the days of Charles I. In Van der Doort's catalogue of the King's collection of Limnings, the two portraits in question are described as in the "King's chair-room in the privy-gallery" at Whitehall, as follows: "No. 14. Item a defaced picture of Queen Mary of Scotland in her white morning habit; given to the King by the Lord Marquiss of Hamilton"; and "No. 15. Said to be done by Jennet. Item. Another like unto the aforesaid piece more curiously done of Queen Mary of Scotland in her white morning habit, in a black ebony frame; given to the King by the Lord Denby." Both portraits have the same dimensions: length 1 foot, breadth nine inches. In these paintings, as in the earlier miniature-painting, the hand of the painter has, in its careful and scrupulous accuracy, intensified and hardened the lines of the features, so as to give a much less pleasing and less life-like aspect than that represented in the drawing.

The "deuil blanc" consists in a wired cap or hood, fitting tight round the hood, and pressed down on the flat crown of the head, so as to leave space above the ears for the hair to show in bunches of curls. In the drawing it would appear that a light frilled cambric cap fitted between the head and the hood, a frill showing above the forehead in the drawing, but only a plain edging in the painting.

From this wired hood a white streamer falls down the back from the head, and a white gauze veil completely covers the body from the neck downwards, fitting tight round the neck with a fold in many pleats falling from the chin down the front of the dress. Through the gauze veil can be seen the black dress cut low in the neck, and rising in a curve to cover the bosom. [*See* Plate X.]

The general appearance of the queen in this interesting portrait quite bears out the description quoted above from Brantôme, how the whiteness of the dress vied unsuccessfully with the exquisite pallor of the queen's complexion. The same costume is seen in a portrait in the Picture Gallery at Turin, stated to be that of Marguérite de Valois, and attributed to François Clouet.

Both the portraits now in the royal collection came, as stated above, into the collection of Mary Stuart's grandson, Charles I. George Vertue, the engraver, in a memorandum dated March 1, 1744–5, says that "in the Palace of Kensington amongst the Royal pictures that did belong to K. Charles I. there still remains two pictures of Mary, Qu. of Scotts both alike and on board done in France as is said—on small pannells—she being represented in white linnen head-dress and mourning cloths, her face pale—this picture was much esteemed by K. Ch. I.—now at present in a sale of Pictures Catalog. of M^{r} S. Paris

late dealer in pictures who went abroad to purchase them at Paris &c. has brought over with him one other picture of Qu. of Scots just the same thing manner and size—also another fellow and pair to it, Francis the Dolphin King her husband which such as is at Kensington. These are said to be painted by Janet, painter to the King of France."* The third version mentioned by Vertue as coming from France is probably the good replica, formerly in the collection of the Rev. Dr. Henry Wellesley, and now in the possession of Mrs. Alfred Morrison. Another was contributed to the exhibition of National Portraits at the Trocadéro, in Paris, in 1878 by M. Delaherche of Beauvais. Another, stated to have been purchased by Prince William of Prussia, in London, is described as being at Schloss Fischbach in Silesia. Other versions of the same portrait are in the Wallace Collection and in the Musée Carnavalet at Paris (possibly identical with the Delaherche portrait), and on a more extended scale, probably painted in the eighteenth century, in the National Portrait Gallery (from the British Museum), and at Jesus College, Cambridge, formerly in the collection of the Rev. Thomas Kerrich. A poor copy by M. Serrur is in the Musée Nationale at Versailles.

Brantôme narrates that Charles IX. was deeply enamoured of his widowed sister-in-law, and

* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 23073, f. 28.

"que jamais il ne regardoit son pourtraict qu'il n'y tinst l'œil tellement fixé et ravy qu'il ne s'en pouvoit jamais oster n'y s'en rassasier et dire souvent que c'etoit la plus belle princesse, qui nasquit jamais au monde."

Few in number as the authentic portraits of Mary Stuart are, it is very remarkable that hitherto no original painted portrait of her has been discovered in France, the country so much identified with her early life. Three versions of the *deuil blanc* portrait seem to have come to England from France, but at the present day the most assiduous research has failed to discover in France any portraits of Mary Stuart, both contemporary and authentic, other than the three drawings at Chantilly and in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Fabrications of a later date are common in France as in England. Recently M. Jean J. Marquet de Vasselot, when engaged in cataloguing the bronzes in the Louvre, recognised in a small bronze bust, stated to be that of Marguérite de Valois, the features of Mary Stuart. The head is encircled by a crown of fleur-de-lys, denoting a royal personage. The date of the work points to the bust being that either of Mary Stuart, or of Louise de Lorraine, queen of Henri III. As the work resembles that of Germain Pilon, M. Marquet de Vasselot does not consider this bust to be contemporary. It may, however, be accepted as an authentic attempt as a likeness of Mary Stuart, in spite of certain

arrangements of the hair and other features, due to the style adopted by that sculptor, as shown in the monument of Henry II. and Catherine de' Médicis at S. Denis, and in the famous group of the Three Graces supporting the urn which contained the heart of Henry II., a replica of which group is in the Louvre.* [*See* Plate XI.]

The second period of Mary Stuart's life begins with the death of her husband, the King of France, and the accession of his brother, Charles IX. Under the baneful regency of the queen-mother, Catherine de' Médicis, the young widowed queen of France and Scotland found life at the Court of France unendurable. As early as January 18, after her husband's death, she sent messengers to warn the government in Scotland of her approaching return to her native country, where her presence had become necessary if her authority was to be maintained. After a short sojourn with her uncles of Guise, Mary Stuart returned to Court for the coronation of her brother-in-law, Charles IX., at Reims, on May 15, 1561. On July 25 she left the French Court for ever and, quitting Calais on August 15, arrived after an eventful voyage at Leith on August 19, whence she proceeded at once to her palace of Holyrood House. The change from

* See Marquet de Vasselot. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France; Séance du* 24 Sept. 1902.

either Mary
or Marguerite
de Valois
by Germain
Pilon – not
contemporary.

Mary Stuart as Queen of France
From the bronze bust in the Louvre.

the bright, pleasure-loving Court of France to the gloomy cells and passages of Holyrood must have been disagreeable at first to Mary Stuart. There was little room for luxury or for the pursuit of the arts and letters in the rough and almost uncivilised metropolis of the North. But in Holyrood, at all events, Mary Stuart must have felt on her own ground.

The Queen of Scotland, moreover, gained little in the way of repose or pleasure through her removal from France to Scotland. She had hardly landed before her troubles began, and she found herself the chief actor in a drama of hatred and intrigue, which was to develop so quickly into one of passion, violence, and dishonour, with its melancholy end in captivity and on the scaffold.

The attitude adopted by Mary Stuart and her husband towards Elizabeth upon that queen's accession to the throne of England was not calculated to cause harmony between them, either as queens or cousins. Elizabeth, smarting under the stigma on her birth, published far and wide by Mary Stuart's assumption of the title of Queen of England and Ireland, could not help seeing in Mary Stuart her most dangerous enemy and rival. The enmity between them was dissimulated by rich presents and sugared words, but continued to increase in intensity until the bitter end. Mary Stuart was further unfortunate in her first choice of counsellors, her half-brother, James

Stuart, the Earl of Huntly, and William Maitland of Lethington. James Stuart, the natural son of James V., afterwards better known as the Earl of Moray, stood as it were on the steps of the throne. Ambitious, unscrupulous, and tyrannical, he proved his sister's worst and most dangerous enemy. Huntly, who might have proved a powerful friend to Mary, quickly drew on himself the jealousy and enmity of Moray, who did not rest until he had hunted his rival down to death. Maitland of Lethington was clever enough to retain the confidence of Mary, while enjoying that of Elizabeth and Lord Burghley, and at the same time to leave the question of his falseness or fidelity an enigma for posterity to solve.

Shadows of coming events were cast when the ambassador of Savoy came to greet the queen of Scotland, bringing David Riccio in his train. A year or so later occurred the tragedy of Chastelard, with its injury to the good fame of the queen. Two days after Chastelard's execution, Mary's uncle, the Duke of Guise, her most important friend and ally, was assassinated. Then came the succession of marriage proposals for so important a political person as the young widow. Archdukes, royal dukes, and other princes were dangled before Mary's eyes in vain. Elizabeth inflicted a further insult by offering Mary the hand of her own lover, Robert Dudley. Finally came the fatal proposal from Mary's aunt, Margaret,

Countess of Lenox, that the queen should give her hand to her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl and Countess of Lenox, and the next heir after Mary herself to the thrones of Scotland and England. After many intrigues Mary Stuart was married to Henry, Lord Darnley, at Holyrood on July 29, 1565, and conferred on him the title of King of Scotland. Six days later James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, returned to Scotland to be the evil genius of Mary Stuart's future career.

During the whole of this period there is no trace of any fresh portrait of Mary Stuart as Queen of Scotland. It may even be doubted if the art of painting, other than for mere decorative purposes, was at that time known, or at all events practised, at the Scottish Court. As Mr. J. L. Caw, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, says: "It is significant that amongst the authentic portraits of Queen Mary there is not one that was painted at home. The joyous days of her youth in France and the sad years of her English imprisonment have their portraits; but, except the rude effigies on her coinage, nothing remains to show how she looked during her reign in her own country." * Even the portraits of Darnley all seem to date from his youth in England. The double portrait of Mary

* "Scottish Portraits," with an Historical and Critical Introduction by James L. Caw. Edinburgh, T. C. & G. C. Jack, 1902.

Stuart's parents, James V. and Mary of Guise, now at Chatsworth, is perhaps a compilation of a somewhat later date, founded on original portraits, painted by some foreign artist, imported by Marie of Lorraine. As late as April 1586, when Mary Stuart wrote to M. D'Esneval, the French ambassador in Edinburgh, to ask him to obtain for her a portrait of her son, "drawn from his own person," D'Esneval replied "that he has given orders to a painter, the only one that was at Lislebourg, to make a portrait of the King, her son, not indeed from the life, but from a good portrait lately painted of him, and that her son seemed greatly obliged by this mark of affectionate regard in his mother." *

Failing any portrait, drawn or painted, of Mary Stuart at this period of her life, it is necessary to fall back upon such evidence as is given by coins and medals, as before.

In 1561 John Achesoun, the "master-moneyer," who, as has been stated before, had quitted Scotland for France in the summer of 1560 and entered the service of "the queinis maiestie, the kingis grace Mother," designed a small coin or testoon, with a new head of Mary Stuart on it. On this coin, which was struck in silver as a testoon and also as a half-testoon, the queen's head is in profile to the

* "Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots." Miss Strickland, ii. 172.

left. Scharf says: "In the clearer impression of coins of this type the actual form of the profile is distinctly shown, the ample rounded forehead melting into the curve of the nose with a low dip at the end of the nose below the line of the nostril and the pushed forward lips with a recess under the lower lip are all peculiarly characteristic of Mary's countenance."

The dress, which rises high up to the neck, ending in a small ruff, is similar in character to that on the marriage medal. The hair, however, is not only drawn back into a rich embroidered and jewelled caul, but also escapes from this caul in a long plait or *queue* down the back. This fashion of wearing the hair was much in vogue in Italy about this date, especially at the Courts of Ferrara and Urbino, and this may be the *bonnet à l'Italienne* referred to by Brantôme. [*See* Plate I., Nos. 5 and 6.]

John Achesoun returned to Scotland and resumed his place at the royal mint. The testoon, though dated 1561, does not appear to have been put into circulation before 1562. The obverse is inscribed . MARIA . DEI . GRA . SCOTOR . REGINA . with the date, 1561, on a tablet. On the reverse is an escutcheon surmounted by a crown and bearing the Arms of France and Scotland, with the letter M, over which is a crown on either side, and the inscription, SALVVM . FAC . POPVLVM . TVVM . DOMINE .

On the occasion of the marriage of Mary Stuart with Henry, Lord Darnley, which was celebrated

on July 29, 1565, a medal was struck, bearing the heads of Mary and Henry. This medal was evidently based upon the previous marriage medal of Mary and François. The work is less fine, and consequently the heads are of less value as guides to portraiture. Darnley's bust appears in profile to right, clad in armour in the convention of the time; Mary Stuart's appears in profile to the left. Both heads are crowned. Mary wears a rich costume fitting up to the chin as before, but her hair is differently arranged, being arrayed very full behind the ear and descending as far as the neck. Round the medal is the inscription, MARIA & HENRIC . D.G. REGI . & REX . SCOTORVM . and below the busts is the date, 1565.

In another medal, struck on the same occasion with the same date and inscription, Darnley is bareheaded and Mary wears her hair dressed closer to the head, and a small hat or bonnet with a feather projecting from it behind. This coin or medal is of great rarity, an example being preserved in the British Museum.

Of greater importance than these two small coins or medals was the silver coin, known as a 'ryal,' issued at the same date. The arrangement of the heads are the same, but both Mary and Darnley are bareheaded. Darnley does not wear armour, and Mary Stuart, besides having her hair confined in a caul as before, wears a different dress, cut square across the bosom, showing the *chemisette*

with a collar open at the neck. This coin is inscribed, HENRICVS & MARIA. D. GRA. R. & R. SCOTORVM. with the date 1565 under the busts as before. On the reverse is the escutcheon of Scotland between two thistle-heads, and the inscription, QVOS DEVS COIVNXIT . HOMO NON . SEPARET. This 'ryal' is of great rarity also, one example being in the British Museum. Its rarity can be accounted for, since the coin is mentioned in a despatch from Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, to Sir William Cecil in December 1565, in which Randolph says that it was almost immediately called in. This was perhaps due to the undue prominence given to Henry in the inscription. [*See* Plate I., No. 10.]

It is unnecessary in these pages to do more than allude to the disastrous events which followed on the marriage of Mary Stuart and Darnley, and which succeeded each other with such fatal rapidity. In little more than seven months occurred the murder of Riccio. A few months later came the birth of Mary's son, James, followed quickly by her narrow escape from death through fever at Jedburgh. From this Mary Stuart had scarcely recovered, before she was implicated, knowingly or otherwise, in the tragedy of Kirk o' Field, followed by the surrender of Mary Stuart to Bothwell, and her marriage to him within four

months from Darnley's death. As Bothwell's wife, Mary Stuart—discrowned in favour of her infant son—became first a captive at Carberry Hill, and then a prisoner at Lochleven. A few months later Mary Stuart had escaped from Lochleven, seen her cause shattered at Langside, and thrown herself, a miserable refugee, into the hands of her deadliest enemy, Elizabeth of England, in the futile hope of meeting with mercy and sympathy from her cousin. It was evident that there could have been little opportunity for portraiture during these tumultuous days. The whole story reads like one of the wild sagas of the north, rather than the honeyed and silken chronicles of Brantôme.

The third and concluding period of Mary Stuart's life began on May 16, 1568, when, an exile from her own kingdom, over which her son had already been crowned in her place as king, she crossed the Solway Firth, and landed from a small fishing-boat at Workington in Cumberland, whence she wrote a despairing letter to Elizabeth, imploring her protection. Mary was received by Mr. Richard Lowther, deputy governor of Carlisle, and conducted to Carlisle, where she was placed under the charge of Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope, the governor of Carlisle, with his wife. Mary remained under strict supervision at Carlisle until July 16, when she was taken as a

(*a*) SILVER TESTOON (ENLARGED) WITH THE HEAD OF MARY STUART, WHEN DAUPHINE
From the unique specimen in the British Museum

(*b*) MEDALLION BY PRIMAVERA, WITH A PORTRAIT OF MARY STUART IN LATER LIFE

prisoner to Lord Scrope's Castle of Bolton in Yorkshire. On January 26, 1568/9, Mary was removed from Bolton, and travelled by Ripon, Pontefract, Rotherham, and Chesterfield to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, where she was entrusted to the charge of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was then the greatest landowner in the Midlands of England. His chief seat was at Sheffield Castle, in the park of which was also situated Sheffield Manor-house. Besides these he owned the manor-houses of Wingfield and Worksop, the Castle of Tutbury, Rufford Abbey, and the Hall at Buxton. In addition to all this his wife, the famous Bess of Hardwick, owned Chatsworth and Hardwick in her own right.

At Tutbury Mary Stuart was kept a close prisoner, and remained there, with the exception of two short visits to Wingfield, in Derbyshire, and to Coventry, until May 1570, when she was removed to Chatsworth. In the following November, probably in consequence of an attempt to escape from Chatsworth, Mary Stuart was removed for greater security to Sheffield Castle, another seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury. At Sheffield, either in the castle or the manor-house, the unfortunate Queen of Scotland remained in captivity for fourteen years, only varied by occasional visits to Chatsworth and Worksop, or to the baths at

Buxton on account of her ill-health. In every instance she was lodged under the Earl of Shrewsbury's roof.

The task entrusted to the Earl of Shrewsbury was no light one. The chief Courts of Europe were interested in her fate, and her friends never relaxed their efforts to obtain her release or effect her escape, in the hope that a fourth marriage, if judiciously negotiated, might secure in her person the united thrones of England and Scotland and re-establish the Church of Rome in England. The only obstacle lay in the Queen of England, Elizabeth, whose life was worth but little in such a political game. Mary Stuart herself lent a willing ear, whenever she could, to these plots and intrigues, though it was difficult for her and her fellow-conspirators to evade the vigilance or escape the snares of Burghley and Walsingham. The whole history of Mary Stuart's captivity is one of plot and intrigue, of lying and treachery, by no means only on her side. Every servant, every tradesman, every messenger was a possible secret agent. It is important to bear this in mind when considering the question as to how far Mary Stuart, during her captivity, could have had any opportunity for sitting to any stranger for her portrait.

During the first years of her captivity at Tutbury and elsewhere her confinement seems to have been very rigorous, and it can hardly be supposed that indiscriminate access to the royal captive was

permitted for outsiders. Public opinion in England became subsequently greatly inflamed against Mary Stuart by the Ridolfi plot and the complicity of the Duke of Norfolk, but more especially by the famous Massacre of St. Bartholomew on August 24, 1572, in the blame for which Burghley and others tried to involve the unfortunate Queen of Scotland. When the horror caused by this event had abated, and after Mary Stuart had been some years longer at Sheffield, she seems to have been more kindly and less rigorously treated by the Earl of Shrewsbury. She even excited the jealousy, at one time, of the termagant old countess, who alleged that the queen had exercised her powers of fascination on the Earl of Shrewsbury too far.

A record, which seems to be fairly complete so far as events go, of Mary Stuart's later life in captivity, is to be found in the correspondence and evidence of her secretary, Claude Nau, who obtained his position in 1575, after the death of Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, whom he had served in a similar capacity. Mary Stuart had lost her former secretary, Roullet, by death, and Nau's brother had been in her service before. The fact that he was recommended to Mary by Elizabeth is rendered suspicious by his being in Elizabeth's pay, though there was nothing in his conduct to suggest treachery to his mistress. In January during this year Mary wrote to James

Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, her envoy and representative at the Court of France and administrator of her revenues as Queen Dowager of France, and asked him to "obtain for me, I pray you, a fine gold mirror, to hang from the waist, with a chain to hang it to; and let there be upon the mirror a cipher of the Queen and mine and some appropriate motto which the Cardinal, my uncle, will suggest. There are some of my friends in this country who ask for my portrait. (*Il y a de mes amis en ce pays qui demandent de mes peinctures.*) I pray you, have four of these made, which must be set in gold, and sent to me secretly, and as soon as possible."

It is possible that this commission was never carried out. The Cardinal of Lorraine had died at Avignon on December 26 of the preceding year, but her uncle, Louis, Cardinal de Guise, was still alive. The four *peinctures* to "be set in gold and sent to me secretly" must have been intended to be miniature-paintings. The letter is moreover of special interest, as showing that there were apparently no available portraits of Mary Stuart in circulation either in England or Scotland, and that she had nothing by her in her captivity. It must be noted, however, that in the history of Scotland, published at Rome in 1578 by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, under the title of "De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum," an engraved plate is introduced which contains medallion

MARY STUART, AND HER SON, JAMES VI.

From the engraving in "De origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum": by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, 1578

portraits of Mary Stuart, and also of her son James VI. at the age of twelve. Mary wears a dress cut low in the neck in undulating curves, a veil falls from her cap, on which is a crown. The features are unduly thin and sharp. [*See* Plate XIII.] The engraving would appear to have been done by an Italian artist from a miniature portrait. It was sufficiently, however, esteemed as a likeness on the continent for a copy to be taken in miniature for the famous collection formed by the Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, at Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, which collection, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, was commenced in 1578 and terminated by the Archduke's death in 1595. John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, was one of Mary Stuart's most trusted friends and councillors, and wrote the Latin history referred to, while representing her interests at the Papal Court in Rome. The bishop is not likely to have published any likeness of Mary Stuart on which reliance could not be placed.

It may have been the failure to obtain these portraits from abroad which led to permission being granted by the Earl of Shrewsbury for a painter to have access to the Queen of Scotland at Sheffield. Perhaps, however, a simpler cause may have led to the painter's presence. The Countess of Shrewsbury, who was as ambitious as she was grandiose in her ideas of building, made a secret agreement with Margaret Douglas, Countess of

Lenox, mother of the deceased Lord Darnley, for a marriage between Darnley's younger brother, Charles Stuart, now Earl of Lenox, and Elizabeth Cavendish, younger daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish. By this marriage the Countess of Shrewsbury secured to her daughter's issue the reversion of the thrones of England and Scotland in the event of both Elizabeth and James VI. dying without children. Elizabeth was frantic at this manœuvre, and both the intriguing countesses were locked up in prison for a time. But this marriage brought nothing but bitterness and sorrow. The young Earl left his wife a widow in December 1576, leaving one little child, Arabella Stuart, Mary Stuart's niece, to be the future heiress and victim of this and other political intrigues.

At Hardwick Hall there are portraits of the Earl and Countess of Lenox and their infant child. It is possible that the Countess of Shrewsbury may have summoned a painter to Sheffield Castle to take these portraits, and that Mary may have obtained leave from her gaolers to sit for her portrait to the same painter. At all events, on August 31, 1577, Nau wrote from Sheffield to the Archbishop of Glasgow in France, and said: "Je pensois faire accompagner la présente d'un portraict de sa Majesté, mais le peintre ne luy a ceus donner sa perfection avant le partement de

cettedespesch e." It is generally believed that the portrait, then in course of completion, was the full-length portrait by P. Oudry, which still remains in the possession of the Cavendish family at Hardwick Hall. The fact that it has always belonged to the Cavendish descendants of the Countess of Shrewsbury makes it the more probable that this portrait, at all events, was done at the instance of the Countess of Shrewsbury rather than that of Mary Stuart herself. On the other hand, it is not absolutely certain, when this portrait of Mary Stuart first came into the Cavendish family, since it is not one of the numerous portraits detailed in the Countess of Shrewsbury's will, which she made in April 1601.

The following is Scharf's description of this interesting portrait:

"This portrait is painted in oil, upon solid panel, the size of life. The Queen is represented standing, turned slightly towards the spectator's left, the face being seen in three-quarters in the same direction. Her yellow-brown eyes look piercingly at the spectator. She is dressed entirely in black, and her long gown entirely conceals the feet. She rests her right hand flat on a red-covered table, and her left hangs down, with the fingers widespread, touching the end of her rosary. Behind her, to the right, are the gathered-up folds of a greenish-brown curtain. On the opposite side, above the table, is a tablet containing the

following inscription in dark-yellow capital letters:

MARIA D . G . SCOTIÆ PIISSIMA REGINA FRANCIÆ DOWERIA ANNO ÆTATIS REGNI^{Q} [*sic but* REGNI *on the picture itself*] 36, ANGLICÆ CAPTIV^{IT} . [*sic but* CAPTIVÆ *on the picture*] IO . S . H . 1578.

"The edge of her black dress is arched in front across the chest, and above that, extending to the folds of her richly-bordered ruff, is a covering of quilted white linen. Her white muslin and lace-edged cap is bowed down on the forehead in the style usually associated with her hair. But the forehead is extraordinarily high. The rich dark-brown hair, clustered in round curls, bunches out on each side of the temples. She wears a small gold ear-ring, with a plain round drop of black jet hanging from it. The ruff is not closed in front, but tied across the neck by a fine white thread in a bow, the loops of which may be seen lying beneath a finely patterned necklace of black beads, interlacing in geometric lines, and forming an open net-work, with the well-known device of Mary, composed of two letters 'M' combined, the one up and the other down, and a small black crown pendant in the centre. From the front edge of her ruff hang four white strings, two on each side, each terminating in tassels, consisting of small white balls clustered. This, although a small feature, is a peculiarity to be noticed hereafter. A richly-wrought chain, apparently of

polished metal, is festooned across the upper part of her black dress, and hangs low down in front. From a plain black riband passing round her neck is suspended at her breast a small crucifix, consisting of a yellow cross, terminating almost in a point, and the figure of our Lord in flesh colour extended upon it. A larger cross, very different in character from this, is attached to the dark chain on her left side. This cross is of the Latin form, with a Gothic letter S on each of the golden limb and a disc in the centre, surrounded by a border with the words ANGVSTIÆ VNDIQVE upon it. In the centre are three figures, a female between two men, one of them wearing a scarlet robe, and the group undoubtedly represents Susanna and the Elders, which, together with the surrounding motto, bore significant allusion to the Queen's peculiar situation. To this cross is attached a rosary, consisting of richly-ornamented beads, some of gold and others of a dark material patterned red. Over her shoulders falls a long transparent muslin veil, which reaches to the ground. It is bowed out with wire over the shoulders, on each side of the head, so as to form wings, as seen in portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Catherine de'Medicis, and all ladies of high rank at this period. She wears lace ruffles at the wrists to match the ruff round her neck. The dress is quite plain black. The pattern of the Persian carpet on which she stands is drawn

without any regard to perspective. On the wooden cross rail of the table is written with a brush in black paint, P. OVDRY PINXIT. The picture is painted upon three broad planks, fixed vertically. Its general appearance is harsh and unattractive, and may be termed Chinese in taste and execution, but there is nevertheless an unmistakable air of truth about it. The man who painted this portrait was neither an artist nor an inventor. He must have had a reality before him. I am disposed to lay the greatest stress upon this picture as the original source from which so many modified types were derived." [*See* Plate XIV.] In the National Portrait Gallery there hangs a repetition of the 'Sheffield' portrait, but on a different scale, as it shows the figure only to above the knees. That this portrait preserves its original dimensions is evident from the fact that the left hand is raised so as to rest on the hip, the elbow being extended akimbo, in front of the long lawn veil. In other respects the details are the same in design, though with numerous minor differences. In the National Portrait Gallery portrait the face is long, the forehead hard and high, the outline of face and neck sharply in line, the chin well-set, the nose long and slightly aquiline, the left nostril indicated, the eyes dark-brown with a piercing expression, the mouth small and well-shaped, and the lips pale red. In the 'Sheffield' portrait the features have a slightly older look, the nose is

Mary Stuart
in captivity at Sheffield Castle
From the painting by P. Oudry in the collection of the
Duke of Devonshire. K. G. at Hardwick Hall.

slightly larger with no nostril indicated, and the chin somewhat rounder and fuller. Generally speaking the hand of the artist is better discerned in the much-damaged and badly restored portrait at the National Portrait Gallery than in that at Hardwick. In the costume, where the details are the same in character, the ruff in the National Portrait Gallery portrait is more defined at the neck, the white partlet or *chemisette* extends to, but not over, the shoulders, the black lace (or jet?) collarette is slenderer, better defined, and less obtrusive, and the strings of the ruff are of equal length. The white slashes, which are so conspicuous in the dress in the 'Sheffield' portrait, are less so in the other, where they seem rather to indicate the juncture of the sleeves with the bodice of the dress, than actual slashes and pulling of the stuff through. In the National Portrait Gallery portrait the white lawn of the veil is diaphanous, but clearly visible, and falls behind the arms on either side of the body, being clearly seen below the right arm, which rests upon the table. In the 'Sheffield' portrait the veil is so diaphanous that it can hardly be seen over the black dress, and on the right side it is not seen at all between the body and the table. In the National Portrait Gallery portrait the ornaments, jet, enamel, and gold, are very finely executed, although they have in some cases been damaged by the restorer, this excellence being specially noticeable in the case of the small

enamel and gold crucifix which hangs on a black riband from the Queen's neck. The National Portrait Gallery portrait is inscribed MARIA D. G. SCOTIÆ PIISSIMA REGINA FRANCIÆ DOTARIA ANNO ÆTATIS REGNIQ 36 ANGLICÆ CAPTIVIT IO S H 1578, whereas the 'Sheffield' portrait has at present two errors in the inscription, as already indicated. The National Portrait Gallery portrait is painted on four stout oak panels, one of which bears the brand of Charles I., the C.R. with the arched crown. It cannot be identified with certainty in the catalogue of Charles I.'s collection, compiled by Van der Doort in 1637, but may have been acquired by the King between that date and the commencement of the Civil War. It reappeared in the possession of the well-known family of Brocas at Beaurepaire, in Hampshire, whence it was purchased by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery in June 1876. Unfortunately it has suffered terribly from the hands of one or more unskilful or ignorant restorers. [*See* Plate XV.] In its present state, however, it asserts its claim to distinction, even if it can hardly be said to please the spectator or flatter its subject. Its importance was first pointed out to the present writer by M. L. Dimier, of Valenciennes, who stated his opinion that the National Portrait Gallery portrait could not in any way be regarded as a copy from the 'Sheffield' portrait at Hardwick, to which it was superior in every way as a

Mary Stuart
From the picture by P. Oudry
in the National Portrait Gallery.

work of art. After a careful examination the present writer has come to share M. Dimier's opinion, which is further corroborated by that of Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A., Director of the National Gallery.

M. Dimier further states his opinion that the portrait at Hardwick, though signed by P. Oudry, is the work of a mechanical copyist, and not of an original artist. If this be the case it becomes necessary to look elsewhere for the portrait, which, as we know from Claude Nau, was in course of completion at Sheffield in August 1577 to be sent as a present to the Archbishop of Glasgow in Paris. It should be noted that the 'Sheffield' portrait and those corresponding to it are all dated 1578. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems unlikely that Nau should have been able to despatch from Sheffield Castle to Paris, unless under exceptional circumstances, any portrait of such bulk as the 'Sheffield,' or even the National Portrait Gallery portrait. It would be more probable that the portrait which Nau intended to send to France was of miniature size. Such small portraits, or limnings, are still extant, one small oval miniature, much faded, being in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. Another similar miniature, in better preservation, was in the collection of Lady Orde. [*See* Plate XVI.] It is evident that some portrait of this description was sent to France, for it subsequently formed the foundation of an

interesting engraving by Jean Rabel. A copy, moreover, of such a miniature portrait of Mary Stuart was pasted into the "Livre d'Heures" of Catherine de' Medicis, mentioned above, probably by Louise de Lorraine, Queen of France, into whose possession the manuscript came in 1589, or by her husband, Henri III., who amused himself by cutting out illuminations for manuscripts, as a way to pass his time.

This being the case, it follows that the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery and those at Hardwick, Cobham, and Hatfield, are all expanded versions of the miniature painting. The fact of their having been painted away from their subjects would account for the hard, unpleasing effect, which they all, in different degree, present to the spectator.

It should be noted that in these interesting portraits Mary Stuart appears in mourning costume. Her third husband, the Earl of Bothwell, died in Denmark, and Mary received the news in Sheffield in May 1576. Her brother-in-law, the young Earl of Lenox, died in December of the same year, and her mother-in-law, the Countess of Lenox, on March 10 following. She appears, however, to have adopted this mourning costume deliberately, as indicating her unhappy situation. The cap, which has become so much associated with her name, is of the same shape and colour as that worn by her as the widowed Queen of France.

Marie Stuart
From a miniature painting in the collection of Lady Orde.

White, however, was peculiarly becoming to the pallor of her complexion. The partlet or *chemisette*, quilted in lozenges, closely resembles that worn by her in France, as shown in the earliest drawings of her. It is true that this hard and arid presentation of Mary Stuart is hardly an attractive one, but the fault lay in the original painter, who was probably one of the mediocre journeyman painters who were scattered over England. There can be little doubt but that the original version of this portrait was taken from the life. If the features appear hard and sharp, they yet present all the special details which have been previously noticed. It must be remembered that Mary Stuart continually suffered from ill-health. The roughness and violence she underwent so soon after the birth of her child must have caused her much pain and suffering, to say nothing of the mental distress and anxiety which pertained to her situation. During her captivity her health got considerably worse, and it is evident that she suffered from some internal ailment, which might at any time have anticipated the scaffold at Fotheringhay. Although Mary Stuart was not averse to playing her ill-health as a card towards obtaining her release from captivity, her enemies continually testify to the fact, and the ravages caused thereby. It is not surprising that in 1577 or 1578, after ten years of captivity, Mary Stuart should appear tall and gaunt, with wan cheeks and thin nose, now slightly

tapering to the aquiline. A few years later her hair was quite grey, and already at this date it had probably begun to turn so. The hair in the 'Sheffield' portrait is obviously artificial.

The variations on the 'Sheffield' portrait may be divided into the following classes: (1) Repetitions; (2) Adaptations; (3) The memorial portraits.

Of the repetitions, one of the most faithful is preserved at Cobham Hall, the fine property granted by James I. to his cousin, Lodowick Stuart, second Duke of Lenox, after the attainder of Lord Cobham. The Duke of Lenox was the son of Esme Stuart, successively Earl and Duke of Lenox, first cousin to Darnley and his brother. He was the nearest relative of the King on the Stuart side. At the death of the last Duke of Lenox in 1672 the property passed to his sister, Lady Catherine O'Brien; and although the contents of Cobham Hall were partly dispersed, the mansion and estate remain in the possession of the present and eighth Earl of Darnley, as the heir of the Lenox family.

Another repetition on the same scale is at Hatfield House, the seat of the Marquess of Salisbury. There is nothing surprising in finding a portrait of Mary Stuart in the possession of the Cecil

Mary Stuart
From the painting by Daniel Mytens
at St James's Palace.

family, considering how largely Lord Burghley was concerned in her fate. According also to tradition this portrait was sent to the Duke of Norfolk, and intercepted on its way by Burghley's orders. Possibly, however, the Hatfield version may be identical with one formerly in the collection of Charles I., in the catalogue of whose collection it is described as a portrait of "Queen Mary of Scotland, King James's mother," and "at length, painted upon a board in a black wooden frame. Brought from Scotland." Vertue engraved this portrait for Rapin's "History of England,"* and described it as "in the Royal Palace of St. James's, an Antient Painting, 1580"; but in the edition, which he published of King Charles's catalogue in 1756, Vertue adds a note of his own against this portrait. "I have seen this at Hatfield, and copied it to engrave inthe 'History of England.' *Vide* Rapin, vol. 2." The portrait of Hatfield stands in nearer relation to that in the National Portrait Gallery than to that at Hardwick. The lawn veil is more clearly defined, and falls between the right side of the body and the table on which the right hand rests. The other details are the same, and the inscription is correctly given as in the National Portrait Gallery version.

A full-sized copy on canvas with a few alterations was formerly in the hall of the Scottish Corpora-

* Vol. II. p. 60.

tion, Crane Court, Fleet Street, E.C., to which it had been presented in 1747 by Mr. W. Douglas. This portrait was destroyed by fire in November 1877. Another full-sized copy, probably made, with others relating to the family history, for William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, is at Welbeck in the collection of the Duke of Portland. This version shows many differences, but is evidently a copy from the portrait at Hardwick, as the inscription, which repeats the errors of the Hardwick portrait, would seem to indicate.

A copy, showing the upper portion of the figure only, is at Latimer, in Buckinghamshire, the seat of Lord Chesham, the representative of a junior branch of the Cavendish family. In this copy also the inscription, as in the Welbeck portrait, repeats the errors, which are found in the inscription on the portrait at Hardwick.

Another portrait of Mary Stuart, seen to the waist, of the same type as the 'Sheffield' portrait, painted on panel, and life-size, is preserved in the British Museum. For many years it lay concealed under a coat of repaint, an ignorant restoration or perhaps a supposed embellishment, and in this condition it was inspected by Scharf and rejected by him as of little value. Lately, however, this portrait has been submitted to a thorough cleaning, and the repaint on the surface has been removed. There is now shown a portrait of Mary Stuart, somewhat coarsely painted, but corresponding to

the miniature-portraits described above, and evidently adapted from the 'Sheffield' portrait.

Of Class 2, or adaptations from the 'Sheffield' portrait, the most important is that known as the 'Morton' portrait. This interesting painting belongs to the Earl of Morton, and is preserved at Dalmahoy, near Edinburgh, at present in the occupation of the dowager Countess of Morton. According to tradition this portrait is said to have been presented by the Queen at Loch Leven to her liberator, George Douglas, and from him to have passed to James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton. Apart from the inherent improbability of so important a painting being executed during Mary Stuart's strict confinement in Loch Leven Castle, it is evident from the portrait itself that it represents Mary Stuart at the same age, and practically in the same widow's costume, as the 'Sheffield' portrait. The description of the 'Morton' portrait, given by Scharf, is as follows:

"The Morton picture is on panel, the size of life, seen nearly to the knees. The figure is standing, and turned in the same direction as the Sheffield one, which it resembles mainly in point of costume. The face is seen in three-quarters turned to the left, and the very dark brown eyes look fixedly at the spectator. In this picture, as in the Sheffield one, the side of the nose is moderately in shadow.

On carefully comparing the two pictures (this and the Sheffield one) we find that they possess the same component portions of costume in common. The form of cap, veil, and ruff, down even to the white strings and the four tassels, are quite the same. The tassels, it may be remembered, do not appear in the Mytens version at Hampton Court;* but they will be found in the monument at Westminster. The top of her black dress is arched across the chest, and over the shoulders it is broken into square plates or tablets of the same material, so common in English costume early in the seventeenth century. These tablets take the place of a row of small white puffs in the original Sheffield type of 1578.

"In the Morton picture all decorations of a devotional character, and all religious emblems, are omitted. We here see neither cross nor crucifix. No black necklace with the interlaced letters 'M' lies under the ruff. Instead of a black drop to the ear-ring a pearl is suspended. The lace ruffles at her wrists are replaced by small plain white bands or cuffs. Her left hand, instead of touching the beads of her rosary, holds a white handkerchief bordered with lace, and having two white tassels projecting stiffly from the corners. Her manner of holding it is very peculiar; the upper part is bunched and forced out between her thumb and forefinger. The introduction of a handkerchief like

* See post, p. 89.

this, held down in one hand, very frequently occurs in portraits by Susterman and Coello, and also by Honthorst.

"There is a marked peculiarity about the veil or gauze mantle covering her shoulders. It is lighter and more transparent than in the Sheffield picture, and brought more forward, so that the vertical edges almost meet in front. It is also shorter, and terminates higher than her wrists, giving, with a horizontal lace bordering, the effect of a short cloak. Instead of the wired gauze wings above the shoulders, as in the Sheffield type, her laced veil is here gathered up on each side of the ruff, so as to form curved folds, a fashion seen in miniatures of the time of James I. The face is pale and the masses of hair at the sides very solid and of a deep brown colour. There is much less space between these masses of hair and the corners of the eyes than in the Sheffield portrait or the monumental effigy at Westminster. The ends of her curved white cap encroach more upon the face. Instead of the small crucifix suspended by a plain black riband in the Sheffield picture, she here has a large square plate of ruby red, surrounded by a border of pearls attached to a narrow chain of red and gold. Her right hand is raised, holding between the thumb and forefinger a large pearl hanging from the square plate of ruby red. This was a favourite action with the earlier portrait-painters, and was adopted also in the portraits of her father,

King James V., as in that at Hardwick. The background is of a uniform tint, nearly as deep in colour as her hair. There is no indication of either pilaster or curtain." [*See* Plate XVIII.] The 'Morton' portrait is the work of a practised artist, and as such cannot help commanding attention. It is the most pleasing presentation of Mary Stuart extant, and it is evident that the artist had instructions to modify the unsatisfactory and distasteful appearance, given by Oudry in the 'Sheffield' portrait. Inferior as the 'Sheffield' portrait is to the 'Morton' * portrait as a work of art, it is much more convincing as a likeness. The 'Morton' portrait is painted in a much broader and freer manner, more in the style of some thirty years later than the 'Sheffield' portrait. The absence of all the religious emblems in the accessories denotes a later period, and possibly points to the portrait having been painted in Scotland. The actions of the hands are borrowed, and the whole composition is conventional and not life-life. Scharf suggests that it may have been painted by Gerard Honthorst for Mary Stuart's granddaughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia. There seems to be little ground for this, as the portrait has for long

* A small copy of the 'Morton' portrait, drawn in water-colour by W. Hilton R.A., in 1817, for the engraving by Picart, published in Lodge's "Illustrious Portraits," is in the collection of the Earl of Derby. The portrait was also copied by Martin in 1818 for the engraving by R. Cooper, published in Chalmers's "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots."

Mary Stuart
From the painting in the collection of the
Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy.

belonged to the Earls of Morton, for whose family it has so legitimate an interest.

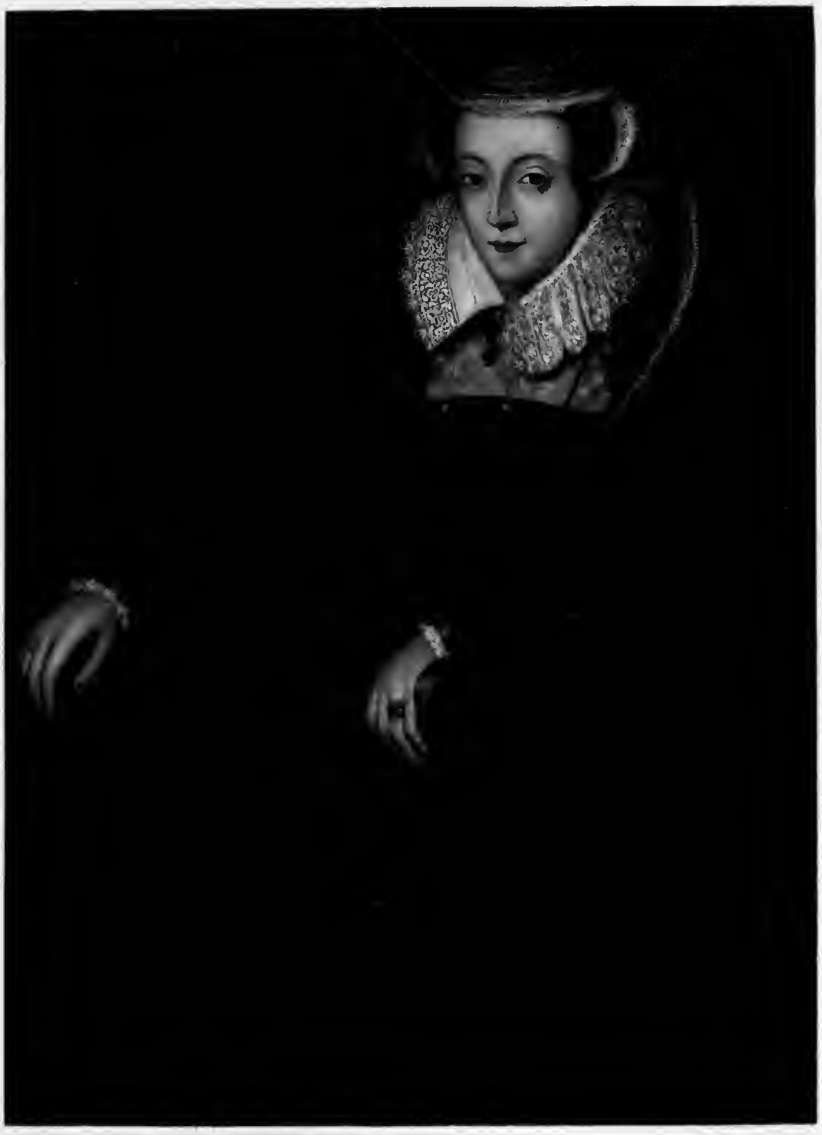
Another curious and interesting variation on the 'Sheffield' portrait is shown in the seated portrait of Mary Stuart, formerly in the collection of Prince Alexander Labanoff-Rostoff, and now in the Imperial Gallery in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. In this interesting painting Mary Stuart sits in a green velvet armchair, on the arms of which the queen's arms and hands are resting. Her cap and ruff and black jet ornaments are the same as in the Sheffield portrait. The black mourning dress has, however, been changed for one of red velvet, under a black velvet mantle. A very heavy gold chain falls over the shoulders, and is looped up in a loose knot on the breast, falling from there on to her knees and ending in a gold knob. The queen wears heavy rings on her fingers. A small crucifix is suspended by a single gold string from her neck. A gauze veil, stretched on wire so as to rise behind the neck, falls down her back, and apparently over the back of the chair. The eyes, which are of a greyish tint, are turned to the spectator, and have a lively expression. [*See* Plate XIX.]

The whole style of this portrait is that of the Flemish School of a rather later date, perhaps that of the Pourbus family, who were so much

employed at the Court of France. The portrait is painted in oil on a panel, which is said to have been originally used for a painting of two nude women in the decadent Flemish style. It is said to have been obtained by Prince Labanoff from a lady descended from one of the four Marys, who were ladies-in-waiting to the Queen of Scotland, and to have been painted during her captivity at Fotheringhay by a French artist of the Clouet school, who was styled "valet de chambre de la Reine." This pedigree only serves to illustrate the general untruthfulness of nearly all the supposed traditions as to Mary Stuart's portraits. The four Marys could never have seen their mistress in the costume in which she is here represented. The Queen of Scotland was only at Fotheringhay for a short time, as a state prisoner, and, it may be said, as a criminal awaiting her trial. Her household was severely limited, her possessions of the scantiest, and all under the strictest surveillance.

The 'Labanoff' portrait cannot be regarded as anything else but a later variation of the 'Sheffield' portrait.

A fairly good copy of the 'Labanoff' portrait, with some differences, painted on canvas, was formerly in the possession of the Countess of Blessington, at Gore House, Kensington, at the sale of whose effects in 1851 it was purchased by Mr. Butterworth, and is now in the possession of



Mary Stuart
From the painting in the Imperial Gallery
in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Mr. Joshua Butterworth, of Russell Road, Kensington, W.

The other variation on the Sheffield portrait which remains to be noticed is of a much later date. Charles I., wishing to have a series of full-length portraits of his ancestors in what was known as the Bear Gallery, in Whitehall Palace, employed Daniel Mytens, his court-painter, to paint some of those required. The portraits then painted by Mytens included those of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland, Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lenox, and Mary, Queen of Scots. In the catalogue of Charles I.'s collection, prepared by Van der Doort in 1639 (and subsequently published by Vertue) occurs the entry: "Item. Done by Daniell Mytens. The picture painted upon the right light upon cloth, of Queen Mary of Scotland, being King James the VIths mother, at length, in a wooden gilded frame, 7 ft. by 4 ft. 6." This portrait is a fairly accurate copy of the 'Sheffield' portrait, only that the figure is turned in the opposite direction. The figure of the Queen, too, is fuller, and much less gaunt than in the 'Sheffield' portrait. As Scharf says: "All the principal incidents in the Sheffield picture have been retained by Mytens. The black jet ornaments of the necklace lying under her ruff, the small enamelled crucifix suspended

by a black riband, and the larger cross with Susanna and the Elders, and the 'Augustine' legend, have all been copied with remarkable care. The painter has added a small closed brown book lying on the table, and a richly patterned curtain hangs above it; but the small white tassels hanging from the ruff have been left out. In accordance with a curious fancy adopted by artists of this period, the inscription is introduced on a white ground, made to look like a paper neatly folded and fastened by red sealing-wax to the surface of the picture itself. This sheet of paper is fixed in the right-hand corner below the table. It is altered from the inscription on all the earlier pictures and runs thus: 'MARIA . D.G. SCOTIÆ PIISSIMA REGINA FRANCIÆ DOTARIA ANNO ÆTATIS REGNIQ 38 (then follows a long blank) 1580.' The name of the artist does not appear. The great care with which all the details of dress have been adopted in this Hampton Court picture, done under the direction of King Charles I., implies a strong confidence in the genuineness of the Sheffield portrait." [*See* Plate XVII.]

This portrait of Mary Stuart was subsequently removed to St. James's Palace, and thence to Hampton Court. In 1902 it was returned with those of Queen Margaret and the Countess of Lenox to St. James's Palace. Copies of Mytens's portrait are not unfrequent. One at full-length is in the collection of the Duke of Grafton at Euston

Hall, and another was in that of Mrs. Keith Stewart Mackenzie, of Seaforth, at Brahan Castle. A copy to the waist only is in the Trinity House at Leith, where it is called "Mary of Guise," and a copy showing the bust only belongs to the Earl of Crawford.

The third class of variations on the Sheffield portrait comprises the various portraits of Mary Stuart, painted as memorials of the unfortunate Queen after her execution.

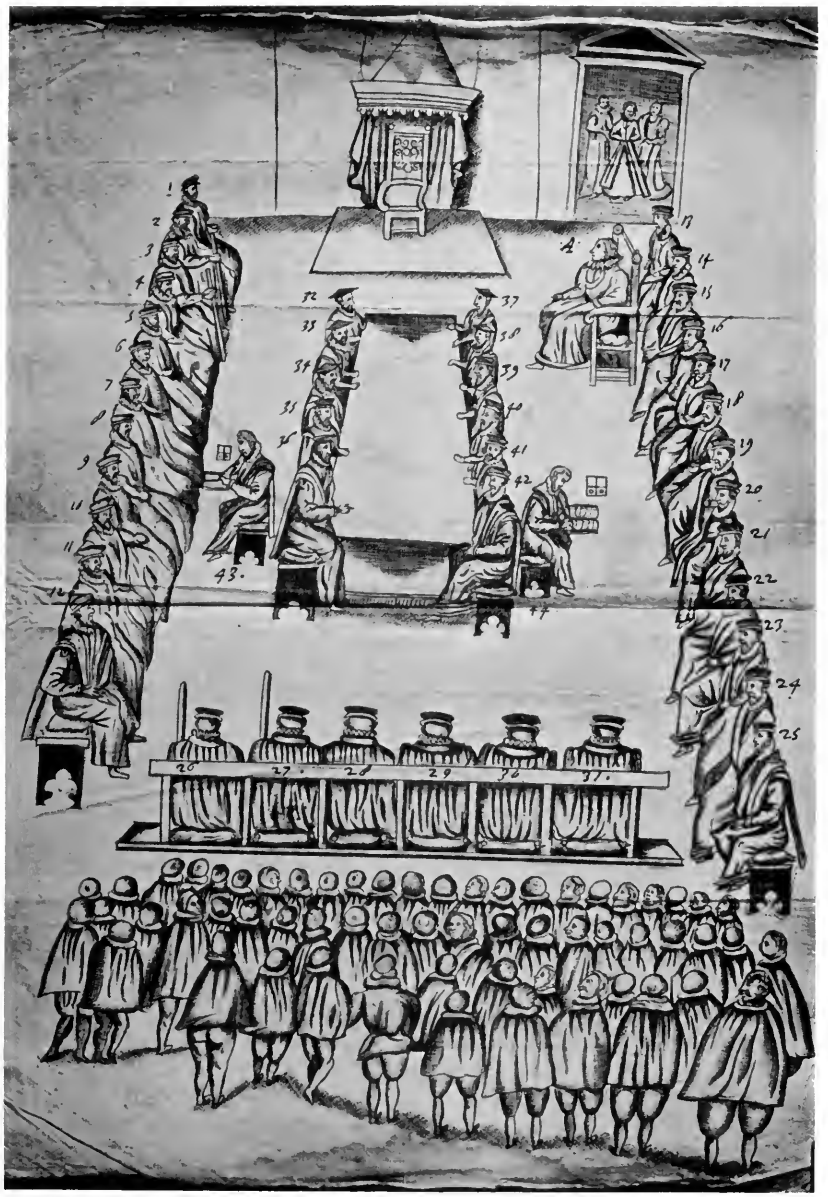
In September 1584, in consequence of charges made against the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mary Stuart was removed from his custody and transferred to that of Sir Ralph Sadler. She quitted Sheffield, and was confined for a time at Wingfield, and then again at Tutbury. In April 1585 Mary Stuart was intrusted at Tutbury to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, a man of great honour, but a stern and rigid Puritan, and in every way hostile to the Queen of Scotland and her cause. On December 24 of the same year she was transferred to Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire.

This is not the place to discuss the plots and counterplots, the assassinations, real, attempted, or plotted, the whole web of intrigue, which was spun by Burghley and Walsingham on the one hand, and by the unfortunate Queen of Scotland

on the other. They came to a head in Babington's conspiracy, in which Mary Stuart was hopelessly involved, as much apparently by the design of her enemies as through her own will and hand. Matters passed quickly to their obvious end. On August 8, 1586, Mary Stuart was transferred to Tixall in almost solitary confinement, while her papers and other property were ransacked at Chartley. On August 30 she was brought back to Chartley, and on September 25 she made her last journey alive to the fateful castle of Fotheringhay. Meanwhile a commission was appointed by Elizabeth to examine the unfortunate Queen, whose life was now at stake.

Mary Stuart was brought to trial in Fotheringhay Castle on October 14 and 15 before the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord High Treasurer, Lord Burghley, Chief Justice Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Baron Sir Roger Manwood, and various noblemen, gentry, and lawyers, including Mary's gaolers, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and Sir Amias Paulet, forty-four persons in all. An interesting sketch of the trial scene at Fotheringhay accompanies the account of the proceedings drawn up by Robert Beale, the clerk of the Council, the manuscript of which is now in the possession of Lord Calthorpe. [*See* Plate XX.]

Her fate had practically been sealed beforehand, and sentence of death was passed on her at West-



THE TRIAL OF MARY STUART AT FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE

From a drawing in Beale's MSS., in the possession of Lord Calthorpe

minster on October 25. Elizabeth, however, still shrank from signing the death-warrant, although she rejected the appeals from the Kings of France and Scotland on behalf of Mary Stuart. At last, on February 1, 1586–7, the fatal warrant was signed, and the order despatched to Peterborough the same day. Even the stern Sir Amias Paulet was shocked into disobedience, and was supported by Sir Drue Drury, who had been appointed to share his task. On February 4, Robert Beale was sent down to Fotheringhay with strict orders to Sir Amias Paulet. Three days later the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent, accompanied by the sheriff of Northamptonshire, Thomas Andrews, arrived at Fotheringhay and announced to Mary Stuart that she was to die the next morning at eight o'clock. The unfortunate Queen, after distributing her property among her servants, passed the night in prayer and preparation for the end. At a quarter to eight on the morning of February 8, 1586–7, the Queen of Scotland, accompanied by her servants, came into the great hall of Fotheringhay Castle, where the temporary scaffold had been erected. Here the execution took place.

The following account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay Castle is important in view of the memorial portraits to be described hereafter. The despatch from Robert

Wynckfield which contains this account, is endorsed in Lord Burghley's handwriting,

"8 *febru.* 1856. *The mañer of y^e^ Q. of Scotts deth at fodrȳghay wr. by Ro. wy.*"

It is preserved in the British Museum among the Lansdowne MSS. [No. 51, art. 46.]

"*A reporte of the manner of the execucion of the Sc: Q. performed the viijth. of February, Anno* 1586, *in the great hall of Fotheringhay, with relacion of Speeches uttered and accions happening in the said execucion, from the delivery of the said Sc: Q: to Mr. Thomas Androwes Esquire Sherife of the county of Northampton unto the end of the said execucion.*

"*First, the said Sc: Q: being caryed by two of Sir Amias Pauletts gentlemen, and the Sherife going before her, cam most willingly out of her chamber into an entry next the hall. At which place the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earle of Kente, commissioners for the execucion, with the two gouvernors of her person and divers knightes and gentlemen, did meete her, where they found one of the Sc: Q. servauntes, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees, who uttered these wordes with teares to the Q. of Sc: his mistris, 'Madam, it wilbe the sorowfullest messuage that ever I caryed, when I shall report that my Queene and deare Mistris is dead.' Then the Qu. of Sc: shedding teares, aunswered him, 'You ought to rejoyce rather then weepe for that the end of* Mary Stewards *troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvin, that all this worlde is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorowes; cary this messuage from me and tell my frendes that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman, and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my ende; and he that is the true Judge of all secrett thoughtes knoweth my mynde, how that ever it hath been my desire to have* Scotlande *and* Englande *united together. Comend me to my sonne, and tell him that I have not donn any thinge that may prejudice his kingdom of* Scotlande; *and so, good Melvin, farewell'; and kissing him, she badd him pray for her.*

Then she turned her to the lordes and told them that she had certayne requestes to make unto them. One was for a somme of mony, which she said Sir Amias Paulett *knewe of, to be paide to one Curle her servaunte; next, that all her poore servauntes might enjoy that quietly*

which by her will and testamente she had given unto them; and lastly, that they might be all well intreated, and sent home safely and honestly into their contryes. 'And this I doe conjure you, my Lordes, to doe.' Aunswere was made by Sir Amias Paulett, *'I doe well remember the mony your Grace speaketh of, and your Grace neede not to make any doubte of the not performance of your requestes, for I doe surely thinke they shalbe graunted.'*

'I have,' said she, 'one other request to make unto you, my Lordes, that you will suffer my poore servauntes to be present about me at my death, that they may reporte when they come into their countryes how I dyed a true woman to my religion.'

Then the Earle of Kente, one of the commissioners, aunswered, 'Madam, it cannot welbe graunted, for that it is feared least some of them wold with speeches both trouble and grieve your Grace and disquiett the company, of which we have had allready some experience, or seeke to wipe their napkins in some of your bloode, which were not convenient.' 'My Lord,' said the Q. of Sc: 'I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not doe any such thinge as your Lo: hath named. Alas! poore sowles, yt wold doe them good to bidd me farewell. And I hope your Mistris, being a mayden Queene, in regard of womanhood, will suffer me to have some of my owne people aboute me at my death. And I know she hath not given you so straight a commission but that you may graunt me more then this, if I were a farr meaner woman then I am.' And then (seeming to be greeved) with some teares uttered thes wordes; 'You know that I am cosen to your Queene, and discended from the bloode of Henry *the seventh, a maryed Queene of Fraunce, and the anoynted Queene of Scotlande.'*

"Whereupon, after some consultacion, they graunted that she might have some of her servauntes accordinge to her Graces request, and therefore desired her to make choice of halfe a dosen of her men and women: who presently said, that of her men she wold have Melvin, her poticary, her surgeon, and one other old man besides; and of her women, those two that did use to lye in her chamber.

"After this she, being supported by Sir Amias *two gentlemen aforesaid, and Melvin carying up her trayne, and also accompanied with the lordes, knightes, and gentlemen aforenamed, the sherife going before her, she passed out of the entry into the great hall, with her countenaunce carelesse, importing thereby rather mirth then mornefull cheare, and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the hall, being two foote high and twelve broade, with rayles round aboute, hangd and couvered with blacke, with a lowe stoole,*

long cushion, and blocke, couvered with blacke also. Then, having the stoole brought her, she satt her downe; by her, on the right hand, satt the Erle of Shrewsbury and the Erle of Kente, and on the left hand stoode the sherife, and before her the two executioners; round about the rayles stood knightes, gentlemen, and others.

"Then, silence being made, the Q. Majesties Comission for the execucion of the Q. of Sc: was openly redd by Mr. Beale clarke of the Counsell; and thes wordes pronounced by the assembly, 'God save the Queene.' During the reading of which Comission the Q. of Sc: was silent, listening unto it with as smalle regarde as if it had not concerned her at all; and with as cherefull a countenaunce as if it had been a pardon from her Majestie for her life; using as much straungenes in worde and deede as if she had never knowne any of the assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language.

"Then Mr. Docter Fletcher, Dean of Peterborowe, standing directly before her, without the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortacion following: 'Madame, the Q. most excellent Ma^tie.' &c. and iterating theis wordes three or fowre tymes, she told him, 'Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient Catholique Romayne religion, and mynd to spend my bloode in defence of it.' Then Mr. Dean said, 'Madame, chaung your opinion and repent you of your former wickednes, and settle your faith onely in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved.' Then she aunswered agayne and againe, 'Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more, for I am setled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die.' Then the E. of Shrewsbury and the E. of Kente, perceavinge her so obstinate, tolde her that sithence she wold not heere the exhortacion begonn by Mr. Dean, 'We will pray for your Grace, that if [it] stande with Gods will you may have your harte lightened, even at the last howre, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein.' Then she aunswered, 'If you will pray for me, my Lordes, I will thanke you; but to joyne in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion.'

"Then the Lordes called for Mr. Dean, who kneeling on the skaffold staires, began this prayer, 'O most gratious God and mercifull Father,' &c., all the Assembly, saving the Q. of Sc: and her servauntes, saying after him. During the saying of which prayer, the Q. of Sc: sitting upon a stoole, having aboute her necke an Agnes Dei, *in her hand a* Crucifex, *at her girdle a paire of beades with a golden crosse at the end of them, a Latin booke in her hand, began with teares and with loude and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the middest of her prayers she slided of from her stoole, and kneeling*

said divers Latin prayers: and after the end of Mr. Deans prayer, she kneelinge prayed in English to this effecte: 'for Christ his afflicted church, and for an end of their troubles; for her sonne; and for the Q. Majestie, that she might prosper and serve God aright.' She confessed that she hoped to be saved 'by and in the bloode of Christ, at the foote of whose Crucifex *she wold shedd her bloode.' Then said the E. of Kente, 'Madam, settle Christ Jesus in your harte, and leave those trumperyes.' Then she litle regarding, or nothing at all, his H. good counsell, went forward with her prayers, desiring 'that God wold averte his wrath from this Ilande, and that he wold give her greife and forgivenes for her sinnes.' These, with other prayers she made in English, saying she forgave her enemyes with all her harte that had longe sought her bloode, and desired God to converte them to the truthe; and in the end of her prayer she desired all Saintes to make intercession for her to Jesus Christ, and so kissing the* Crucifex, *and crossing of her also, said thes wordes, 'Even as thy armes, O Jesus, was spredd here upon the Crosse, so receive me into thy armes of mercy, and forgive me all my sinnes.'*

"Her prayer being ended, the executioners, kneeling, desired her Grace to forgive them her death; who aunswered, 'I forgive you with all my harte, for now, I hope, you shall make an end of all my troubles.' Then they, with her two women, helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparell; then, she, laying her Crucifex *upon the stoole, one of the executioners tooke from her necke the* Agnus Dei, *which she, laying handes of it, gave it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he shold be aunswered mony for it. Then she suffered them, with her two women, to disrobe her of her chayne of pomander beades and all other her apparell most willingly, and, with joy rather then sorrowe, helped to make unready her selfe, putting on a paire of sleeves with her owne handes which they had pulled of, and that with some hast, as if she had longed to be gonn.*

"All this tyme they were pulling of her apparell, she never chaunged her countenaunce, but with smiling cheere she uttered thes wordes, 'that she never had such groomes to make her unready, and that she never put of her clothes before such a company.'

"Then she, being stripped of all her apparell saving her peticote and kirtle, her two women beholding her made great lamentacion and crying, and crossing themselves prayed in Latin; she, turning herselfe to them, imbrasinge them, said thes wordes in French, 'Ne crie vous, j'ay prome pour vous,' *and so crossing and kissing them, bad them pray for her and rejoyce and not weepe, for that now they should see an ende of all their Mistris troubles.*

"Then she, with a smiling countenaunce, turning to her men servauntes, as Melvin and the rest, standing upon a bench nigh the scaffold, who sometyme weeping sometyme crying out alowde, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin, crossing them with her hand bad them farewell; and wishing them to pray for her even untill the last hower.

"This donn, one of her women having a Corpus Christi cloth lapped up three-corner-wayes, kissing it, put it over the Q. of Sc: face, and pinned it fast to the caule of her head. Then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling downe upon the cushion most resolutely, and without any token or feare of death, she spake alowde this psalme in Latin, 'In te Domine confido, non confundar in eternam,' *&c. Then, groping for the blocke, she layed downe her head, putting her chynne over the blocke with both her handes, which, holding there, still had been cutt of had they not been espyed. Then lying upon the blocke most quietly, and stretching out her armes cryed* 'In manus tuas, Domine,' *&c. three or fowre tymes. Then she, lying very still on the blocke, one of the executioners holding of her slitely with one of his handes, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, she making very smale noyse or none at all, and not stirring any parte of her from the place where she lay; and so the executioner cutt of her head, saving one litle grisle, which being cutt asunder, he lift up her head to the view of all the assembly, and bad 'God save the Queene.' Then, her dressing of lawne falling of from her head, it appeared as grey as one of threescore and tenn yeares old, polled very shorte, her face in a moment being so much altered from the forme she had whe[n she] was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face. Her lippes stirred up and downe a quarter of an hower after her head was cutt of.*

"Then Mr. Dean said with a lowde voice, 'So perish all the Q. enemyes'; and afterward the E. of Kente came to the dead body, and standing over it, with a lowde voice said, 'Such end of all the Q. and the Gospells enemyes.'

"Then one of the executioners pulling of her garters, espied her litle dogg which was crept under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, yet afterward wold not departe from the dead corpes, but came and lay betwcene her head and her shoulders, which being imbrued with her bloode, was caryed away and washed, as all thinges ells were that had any bloode was either burned or clean washed: and the executioners sent away with mony for their fees, not havinge any one thing that belonged unto her. And so, every man being comaunded out of the hall, except the Sherife and his men, she

was caryed by them up into a great chamber lying ready for the surgeons to imbalme her."

Thomas Hearne in his Collections and Memoranda* notes on Feb. 12, 1712–13, "The Queen of Scots a very tall woman and big, and lame when she appear'd before the Commissioners for her Tryal at Fotheringay. See the Account of the Proceedings MS. Mus. 25. This account written by one present. The Queen often wept and blubberid."

"The Queen of Scots was of stature high, bigg made, and somewhat round-shouldered. Her face full and flat, double chinned, and hasel eyed.—Ibid."

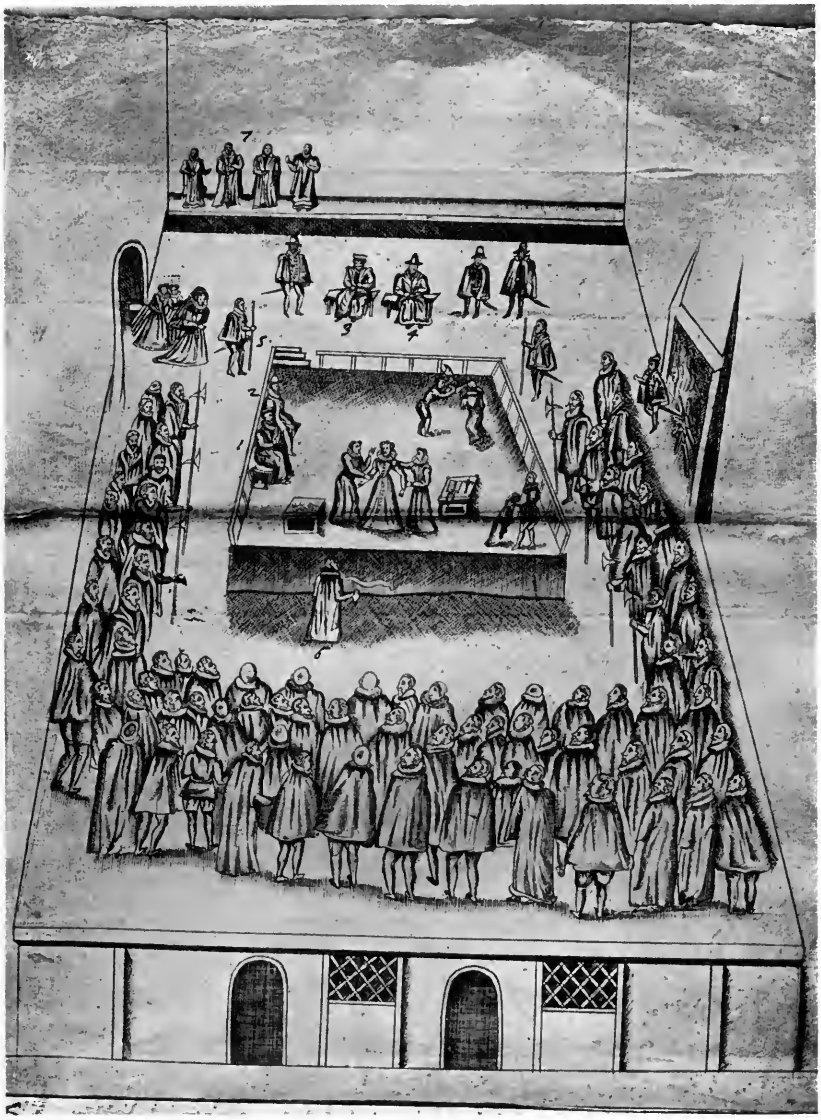
"When she went to Execution her countenance careless, importing rather Mirth than Mourning. —Ibid."

"When the Commission for her Execution was read she listened to it with small Regard, as if it had not concerned her at all, and appeared with a cheerfull countenance.—All the time her Apparell was pulling off for her execution she never changed countenance, but with smiling chear she uttered these Words, that she never had such Groumes to make her unready, and that she did never put off her Cloaths before such a company."

"The Queen of Scots executed by two Executioners, one of them held her doune by y^e^ Middle, (as she was stretched out), and the other cut off her

* Oxford Historical Society's Publications, Vol. xxxiv., 1897.

head at two strokes, y^e^ first falling upon the Bone of the Head behind. Her Head was gray as one of 70 years of age, powled, very short, her Face being so altered at the time of her Death as few could remember her by her dead Face. She gasped after her head was cut off by the space of half a Quarter of an Hour. One of the Executioners pulling off her Nether Stocks, her little waiting Dogg was got under her clothes, which could not be got forth but by force, which afterwards came and lay betwixt her Head and her Shoulders, which being inbruid with her Bloud was caryed away and washed as all things els, that had any bloud of it, was eyther burnte or cleane washed." The MS. referred to is now in the Bodleian Library, and numbered E. Museo. 178, and was presented to the University in 1652 by Sir Humfrey Tracy. It has no author's name attached to it. The description of her personal appearance continues after "hasel-eyed" as follows: "her borowed heare aborne havinge on her head a dressynge of laune edged with boane lace, a pomander chaine, and an Agnus Dei about her necke a crucifix of gold; and in her hand a crucifix of boane with a wodden crosse, and a payre of beads at her gyrdle, with a medal in thend of them; a vaile of laune fasteind to her caule, bowed out with wire, and egged round about with boane lace. A gowne of blacke satten, printed, with longe sleves to the ground, sette with schornes, buttons of jette, and trymmed



THE EXECUTION OF MARY STUART AT FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE

From a drawing in Beale's MSS., in the possession of Lord Calthorpe

with perle, and short sleves of satten, cut with a payre of sleves of purple velvett whole; under her kyrtle of fygurid satten blacke her peticote upper-bodies with red satten, and neythe skyrt of crimison velvett, an inner waistcoat of whit fustian, her upper closures of the same, her hose were wosted, watched-coloured, wrought with silver about the clocke, and whit jarzie under them. Her shues double soled of Spanish lether and the fleshie syd outward blacke."

A very important and interesting sketch of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots accompanies the manuscript account of the proceedings by Robert Beale already alluded to. The sketch shows the entry of the Queen into the hall, her unrobing, and the actual beheading. [*See* Plate XXI.]

Sir Amias Paulet was present, and Sir Drue Drury, and they are shown sitting at the end of the hall; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent were present as commissioners from the Queen, and they are shown sitting on the scaffold.

Thomas Andrews, in his legal capacity as sheriff of the county, is leading the Queen into the hall; and Robert Beale was present as clerk of the Privy Council.

Dr. Richard Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, who had been summoned to assist with spiritual

admonition, stands below the scaffold. The Queen had been permitted to take six of her own men and women, and had chosen from her menservants her faithful servant Robert Melvin (or Melville) with "her poticary, surgeon, and one other old man besides." These four are shown standing at the far end of the hall. From her women she selected "those two, that did use to lye in her chamber," whose names were Jane Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle; they are shown assisting the Queen with her dress.

It is to Elizabeth Curle that we owe the last painted portrait of Mary Stuart, which can be accepted as an authentic likeness.

In addition to her regular private secretary, Claude Nau, Mary Stuart employed the services of Gilbert Curle, who acted as her secretary for more than twenty years. At the time of the discovery of Babington's plot, when Mary Stuart's property was searched and ransacked at Chartley, all papers belonging to both Nau and Curle were seized, and the two secretaries arrested and taken to London. There they were submitted to severe examination by Sir Francis Walsingham and compelled to certify to the truth of certain documents incriminating their mistress. Elizabeth Curle was sister to Gilbert, and, like her brother, evidently in the close confidence of the Queen, for she had been for eight years in attendance on the Queen in captivity. Among the other ladies-

in-waiting on the Queen was a young lady of good birth, Barbara Mowbray, daughter of John, Lord Mowbray, who subsequently became the wife of Gilbert Curle.

After the death of their mistress the Curles left England and settled at Antwerp. Barbara Curle died on July 31, 1616, aged 57, leaving two sons, James and Hippolytus, who both became Jesuit priests. Elizabeth Curle died on May 29, 1620, aged 60, after living a pious life of celibacy. Both were buried in the church of St. Andrew at Antwerp, in which Hippolytus Curle erected a monument to the memory of his mother and his aunt.

At some time or another Elizabeth Curle, in conjunction perhaps with Jane Kennedy, who had also assisted at the tragedy of Fotheringhay, caused to be painted a memorial portrait of their late mistress. This portrait was bequeathed by Elizabeth Curle to the Scottish College at Douai. Elizabeth Curle's will was dated April 24, 1620, and written in Spanish; and according to a translation made by the Rev. John Farquharson, President of the Scots College in 1793, at the time of the Revolution, the will contained the entry, "Je laisse audit Sémenaire (Douai) un joiau d'or qui renferme une petit portrait de la Reine Marie d'Ecosse, ma maitresse, chose que j'estime grandement, parce qu'elle me fut donné par sa Majesté la matinée même qu'elle fut martyrisée; de plus je laisse aussi un grand portrait de sa

Majestée vetu comme Elle etoit à son martyre." The little portrait in the gold case cannot now be identified, but the large portrait has fortunately been preserved.

In this portrait Mary Stuart is seen standing erect, turned slightly to the left and holding a crucifix in her right hand; in the background under her right hand is seen a view of her execution, and on the left in the background are the figures of her two ladies-in-waiting, Jane Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle. During the ravages of the French Revolution at Douai and in the neighbourhood, this precious picture was concealed in the flue of a chimney, and eventually removed in safety by the aforesaid Mr. Farquharson to the English convent in Paris, whence in 1831 it was taken over to Scotland by Dr. Paterson, Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, formerly vice-president of the Scots' College at Douai; it now hangs in Blair's College at Aberdeen. Two other versions of the same portrait exist. As Scharf says, "In these memorial pictures the Queen, a very tall majestic figure, stands quite erect, turned partly to the left, the face and eyes in the same direction, robed in black, with a pelisse, faced with fur in two long borders, hanging down the front of the figure. The sleeves are close fitting, with plain white cuffs at the wrists instead of the white lace ruffles seen in the pictures of the Sheffield period. In the Morton

portrait also she wears small, plain, white cuffs or bands. The lace edging along the front of her white cap is doubled, as seen in the Hampton Court picture by Mytens. She wears no earrings, and her plain ruff is large and radiating, in wheel fashion, without a break, similar to the ruffs worn in the next century in Holland, and so familiar to us through the portraits by Rembrandt. This fashion began as early as 1579, when Henri III. held the first chapter of the Order of the Saint Esprit. Round her neck, suspended by a plain black riband, the Queen wears the same crucifix as appears in the Sheffield picture, and holds forth in her right hand a larger crucifix with the body of our Lord, artistically carved in ivory, attached to an ebony cross terminating below in a green stand, with a skull and crossbones on it. Her left hand holds a small vellum-bound prayer-book, with her fingers partly within the leaves. Across her body, beneath the small crucifix, hangs a double row of large round beads. Her black dress is of damask, richly patterned, and is formed into a succession of square plates or tablets, already observed in the Morton portrait, but not earlier. Her two attendants, standing in the distance, wear similar ruffs and black veils or hoods over their heads. In these memorial pictures the eyes of the Queen are turned away from the spectator, but not gazing on the crucifix. The face is decidedly fuller and

more aged than in the previous portraits. The mouth is small and smiling, and the lips, firmly compressed, are pushed forward."

Scharf suggests that these memorial portraits were probably derived from a cast moulded in wax or plaster after death. In spite of this opinion the present writer, after careful examination, can see nothing in the Blair's College portrait, the undoubted original of the three existing versions, more than another version of the 'Sheffield' portrait. There is no trace in the features of the changes which set in so immediately after death. The more pleasing look is probably due to the directions of Elizabeth Curle, to whom also may be attributed all the exact details of the costume, in which the Queen appears. The details of the execution, seen in the background, correspond fairly accurately to the description sent to Lord Burghley and given above. In the Blair's College portrait, the royal arms of Scotland appear in the upper left-hand corner. In the upper right-hand corner is a long inscription:

MARIA SCOTIÆ REGINA GALLIÆ DOTARIA REGNORV
ANGLIÆ ET HYBERNIÆ VERE PRINCEPS LEGITIMA
IACOBI MAGNÆ BRITAN̄IÆ REGIS MATER, A SVIS
OPPRESSA AN° DN̄I 1568 AVXILI SPE ET OPINIONE A
COGNATA ELIZABETHA IN ANGLIA REGNANTE P̄MISSV
EŌ DESCENDIT, IBIQVE CONTRA IVS GENTIVM ET
PROMISSI FIDEM CAPTIVA RETENTA, POST CAPTI
VITATIS AN° 19, RELIGIONIS ERGO, EIVSDEM ELIZ.
PERFIDIA ET SENATVS ANGLICI CRVDELITATE,

HORRENDA CAPITIS LATA SENTENTIA NECI
TRADITVR, AC 12 CAL. MARTII 1587. IN
AVDITO EXEMPLO A SERVILI ET ABIEC
TO CARNEFICE TETRV IN MOREM CA
PITE TRVNCATA EST, ANNO ÆTATIS
REGNIQVE 45

This inscription is interesting as affording the evidence that the portrait was executed after the accession of James I. to the throne of England in 1603, and that it was not painted in England, as is evident from the assertion of Mary Stuart's legitimate right to the throne of England, and from the date being given as 1587 in accordance with the new style of calendar, which had been accepted on the continent, but not as yet in England.

The figures of the two ladies are inscribed IOANNA KENNETHIE and ELIZABETHA CVRLE. The scene of the execution is inscribed AVLA FODRINGHAMII, and below is a further inscription:

REGINAM SERENISSᴹ REGVM FILIAM,
VXOREM ET MATREM, ASTANTIBVS
COMMISSARIIS ET MINISTRIS R.
ELIZABETHÆ CAR̄IEX SECVRI
PERCVTIT ATQ̃ VNO ET ALTERO
ICTV TRVCVLENTER. SAVCIATÆ
TERTIO EI CAPVT ABSCINDIT.

Below the feet of the Queen is a further inscription:

SIC FVNESTVM ASCENDIT TABVLATVM REGINA QVONDAM
GALLIARV̄ ET SCOTIÆ FLORENTISᴹᴬ INVICTO SED PIO

ANIMO TYRANNIDEM EXPROBRAT ET PERFIDIAM
FIDEM CAT̃OLICAM PROFITETVR, ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ
SE SEMPER FVISSE ET ESSE FILIAM PALAM PLANEQ̃
TESTATVR

Above this inscription has been written, in larger letters at a later date, after the bequest of the portrait to the college at Douai:

PRIMA QVOAD VIXIT COL . SCOT . PARENS ET FVND .

Another version of this interesting portrait is at Windsor Castle. It is uncertain at what date this picture first came into the royal collection. It does not appear in the catalogue of King Charles I.'s collection, as compiled in 1639, and it does not seem likely that if Charles I. had owned this large portrait he would have commissioned Mytens to paint the large copy of the 'Sheffield' portrait, which has already been described. This portrait may, however, be identical with that mentioned in the sale of Charles I.'s collection (Harl. MS. 7352), as "among the Pictures at S^{t} James's appraised February y^{e} 16th 1649, as followeth, N° 81. The Queene of y^{e} Scotts by Gennett £10. Sold M^{r} Wright 21 May 1650 for £10 10s." The valuation shows that it was a large picture.* It was certainly at Windsor Castle in 1684, when it was seen by the Marchese Luca

* It is not easy to identify the portraits in these inventories. The appraisement took place in September and October 1649. There were then existing

(1) In the clossetts at Greenwich, No. 45, Marie Queen of Scotland att—£5. Unsold.

(2) In the Beare Gallery or Privy Lodgings at Whitehall, N° 15,

Mary Stuart
Memorial Portrait at Blair's College, Aberdeen.

Casimiro degl' Albizzi on his travels through Europe, a description of which was written by Dr. Pier Andrea Forzoni in that year.

The portraits correspond in every detail, the only difference being in the inscriptions. The names of the two ladies occur only in the original at Blair's College. In the portrait at Windsor the longer inscription reads MARIA SCOTIE REGINA, ANGLIE ET HIBERNIE VERA PRINCEPS, ET HERES LEGITIMA, JACOBI MAGNE BRITANNIE REGIS MATER, QVA [? CORAM SVO RVM] HERESI VEXATA, REBELLIONE OPPRESSA REFVGII CAVSA, VERBA ELIZAB. REGINE ET COGNATE INNIXA IN ANGLIA ANNO 1568 DESCENDENTE, 19 ANNOS CAPTIVA ꝑFIDIA RETINVIT, MILLEQVE CALVMNIIS TRADVXIT; CRVDELIQ SENATVS ANGLICI SENTENTIA HERESI INSTIGANTE NECI TRADITA 12 KALENDAS MARTIAS 1587 A

Mary, Queen of Scotland by Myttens £20. Sold Mr. Grinder and others in a Dividend as appraised 23 Oct. 1651

(3) In the Crosse Gallery at Somersett House, N° 322, Mary, Queen of Scotland at length £10. To Mr. Jackson and others in a dividend as aprized 29 Oct. 1651.

(4) Remaining at Hampton Court, N° 140. The King and Queen of Scotland, £40. Sold Mr. Marriott for £40 10s., 17 May 1650.

(5) N° 298. Queen Mary of Scotland att. £2. Sold Mr. Basse and others in a Dividend as aprized 19 Decr. 1651.

(6) Do. 331. A round peece of the Queen of Scotland, £2. 10. 0. Sold Mr. Harrison and others in a dividend as aprised 23 Oct. 1651.

(7) At Mr. Belcamp's. 101. The Queen of Scotts, being a copy. —10—Sold Mr. Smitt 8 July 1650 for 10s.

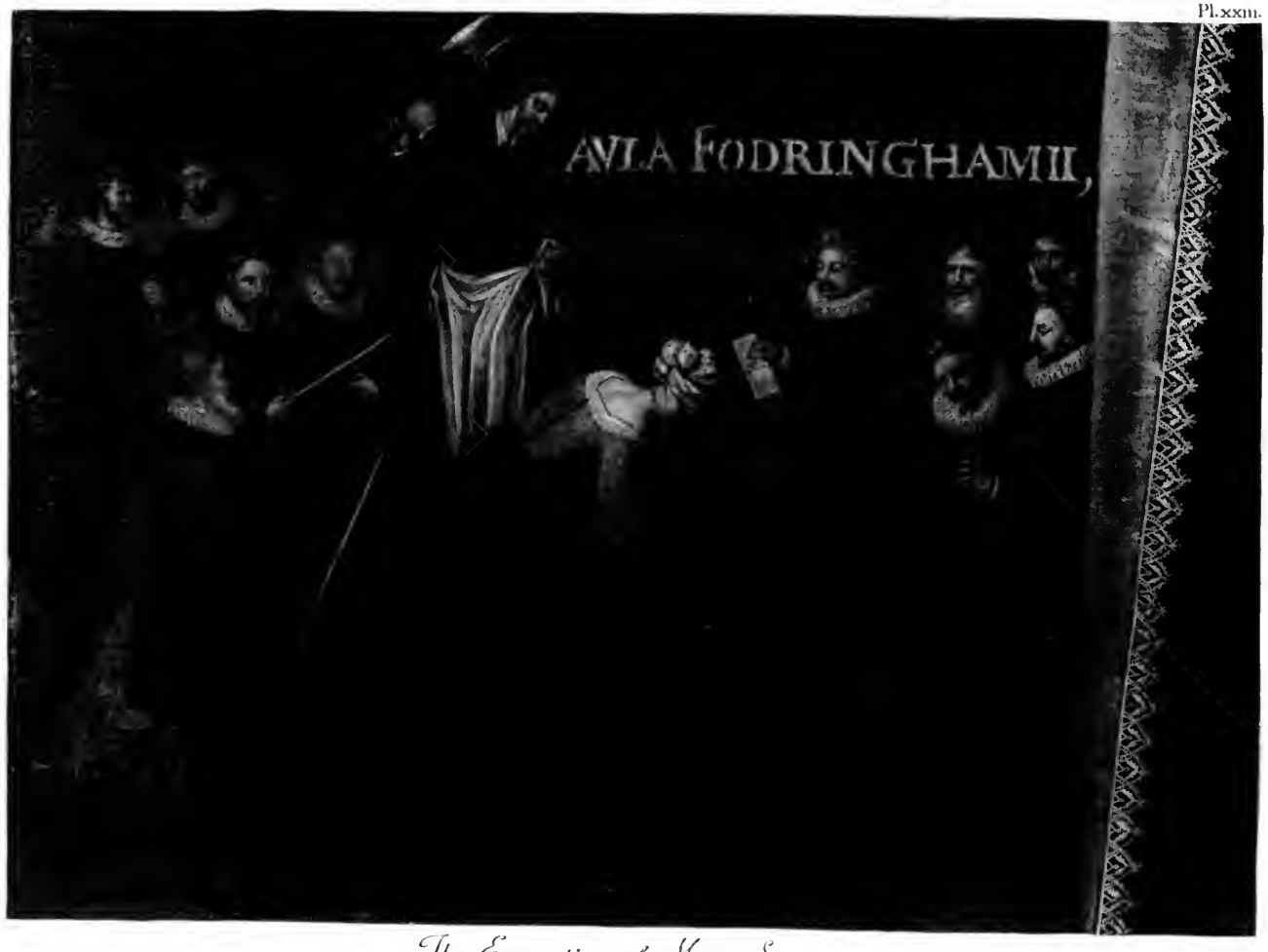
(8) At St. James's. N° 81. The Queene of ye Scotts by Gennett £10. Sold Mr. Wright 21 May 1650 for £10 10s.

In 1660 an inventory of the late King's goods Mr. Henry Browne, Keeper of the Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings at Somerset House, had in his possession a portrait of the Queen of Scots.

SERVILJ CARNIFICE OBTRVNCATVR, ANNOS ÆTATIS, REGNIQ. 45.

The remaining inscriptions have only slight verbal discrepancies.

A third version of the memorial portrait is in the possession of the Earl of Darnley, at Cobham Hall, which, as has been stated before, was the ancient seat of the Dukes of Lenox. It is uncertain when this picture came into the possession of the Earls of Darnley. In the inventory of the goods of Charles, last Duke of Richmond and Lenox, taken after his death in 1672, two portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, are mentioned. One of these appears undoubtedly to be the version of the Sheffield portrait already described, and the other, a smaller portrait, which passed with others into the possession of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat. On June 6, 1803, a painting corresponding to the memorial portraits was sold by Messrs. Christie from the collection of Lord Godolphin, and purchased by Messrs. Woodburn for the sum of five guineas. This portrait is elaborately described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1807, vol. i. p. 535. It is possible that the Cobham Hall and Godolphin versions are one and the same, and that the Godolphin version was purchased from Messrs. Woodburn by John Bligh, fourth Earl of Darnley, who was forming a notable collection of pictures about that date. There are a few differences in the composition, as shown



The Execution of Mary Stuart
Detail from the Memorial Portrait at Blairs College.

in the Cobham Hall version, but for purposes of portraiture the three versions are the same.*

The monument, erected by Hippolytus Curle to the memory of Elizabeth and Barbara Curle in the church of St. Andrew at Antwerp, which was the work of the sculptors Robert and Jan Colyns de Nole, contains in the upper part of the monument, in an oval, a portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, painted on heavy copper. This fashion of introducing a painted portrait into a marble monument was specially in vogue at this date in Antwerp, and both Rubens and Van Dyck painted portraits for this purpose. The portrait of Mary Stuart is a copy from the upper portion of the portrait bequeathed by Elizabeth Curle to the Scottish College at Douai. It must have been painted for the monument between 1620, the date of Elizabeth Curle's death, and 1624, in which year the sculptor, Jan Colyns de Nole, died, and was buried in the same church. The painting is disfigured by a modern addition of a metal crown. The royal arms of Scotland, which were formerly on this monument, were destroyed in 1796 during the troubles of the French Revolution.

A copy of this portrait is in the possession of the Earl Cathcart at Cathcart House, which appears to have been brought from Antwerp by the first

* The three versions of the memorial portrait were exhibited side by side at the Stuart Exhibition in the New Gallery, Regent Street, London, 1889.

Earl Cathcart early in the eighteenth century. A small miniature-portrait of Mary Stuart, evidently based on the memorial portrait, is in the Collection Carrand in the Museo Nazionale at Florence. [*See* Plate VI. (b).]

From the memorial portrait, when at Douai, the figure seems to have been taken for an interesting oblong engraving, in the manner of the Wierix, which represents Mary Stuart standing before the block on a scaffold in a hall (which is erroneously described as that of Fotheringhay Castle, but is quite imaginary). Two angels float in the air above her holding crowns of martyrdom over her head, and also palm branches, to which are attached the escutcheons of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland. The four crowns of her sovereignty lie on the scaffold at the queen's feet. [*See* Plate XXIV.]

A small and inferior copy from this engraving in an oval was made by Marten Basse, an engraver of Douai, the original plate of which is in the British Museum.

On a silver counter, or *jeton*, engraved by Simon Van der Passe, Mary Stuart appears full-length in a high collar, similar to those worn by Anne of Denmark.

The news of the execution of the Queen of Scotland rang throughout Europe. Apart from the political importance of the event, the execution

MARY STUART

From an early engraving after the Memorial Portrait

of Mary Stuart was regarded as a direct challenge to the Church of Rome. Mary Stuart was looked upon as a martyr, who died for the faith, and was worthy of beatification, an honour which was seriously mooted at the Vatican towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The Church was not slow in taking up the challenge. The principal press for the spread of the Roman faith was in Antwerp under the direction of the great Jesuit community there. There existed at the time in Antwerp an admirable school of engravers, of which the brothers Wierix were the chief exponents. These engravers were kept in constant employment by the Jesuit fathers, who grasped the importance of teaching by the eye as well as by the ear, and by the help of these admirable engravings, carried their faith into every part of the world, to which their missionary enterprise guided them.

It is not surprising to find that soon after Mary Stuart's death a large broadside engraving was issued at Antwerp to commemorate the death of the Queen. In the middle is an oval containing a portrait of Mary Stuart in mourning robes, conspicuous among which is a hard flat unpleated collar. Right and left are figures in niches representing Faith and Fortitude; above float two angels holding crowns of martyrdom, with the escutcheon of France and Scotland between them. Below are two representations of her exe-

cution, one showing the executioner in the act of striking, the other the executioner displaying the severed head to the spectators. The scene representing the actual beheading of the Queen appears in a rectangular form, as one of the plates to a small volume, entitled "Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri Temporis," by R. V., published at Antwerp by Adrian Huberti (Huybrechts) in 1588. The licence to print this volume is dated September 1587. No name of engraver appears on either of these engravings, but they are usually attributed to one or other of the three brothers Wierix.*

It is interesting to compare these engravings of Mary Stuart's execution with that depicted in the background of the Memorial Portrait at Blair's College. The central group of the executioner and the Queen would seem to have been copied either in the engraving from that in the painting, or *vice versa*. The rest of the grouping is different. In the painting there is an evident attempt to pourtray the chief spectators of the tragedy, who are scarcely indicated in the engraving. [*See* Plate XXIII.]

The prominence given in the engraving to the figure of one of the Queen's ladies, who stands in the corner to the spectator's right, may indicate that it was Elizabeth Curle, who was the chief

* See L. Alvin, "Catalogue Raisonné de l'œuvre des trois frères Jean, Jerome, et Antoine Wierix," pp. 332, 431.

agent in issuing the engravings at Antwerp. It should be noted that the costume of the figure in question resembles that of the ladies, as shown in the important sketch of the execution, given in Robert Beale's manuscript account, belonging to Lord Calthorpe, much more than the costume of the two ladies in the memorial portraits at Blair's College, Windsor, and Cobham, where they are depicted in the religious habits which they assumed after their mistress's death.

It should be noted also that in the Antwerp engravings, the scene is represented as taking place by torch-light, a detail omitted in the Beale drawing and in the memorial portraits, but one likely to be true, since the execution took place at eight o'clock on a winter morning.

The twenty lines of verse, beneath the broadside portrait described above, are signed G. C^{r}. Scotus, in which name it may be possible to discover that of Crichton, a Jesuit, and one of the accomplices in Mary Stuart's numerous intrigues.

The Antwerp broadside appears to be the work of one or other of the brothers Wierix. A small engraved portrait of Mary Stuart, inscribed "Maria Stuart, Scot. Regina, æt. 44, anno. 1583" is also included in the catalogue of the works of Jerome Wierix, but is described as of great rarity, and does not appear to have been seen by Alvin, the compiler of the catalogue himself. It may have been on this that a fine engraving was based at a

later date, with a similar inscription, published by J. C. Visscher at Amsterdam, but which corresponds to the Sheffield type.

The portrait in the Antwerp broadside is, however, nothing more than a copy from an engraving by the French engraver, Thomas De Leu, executed, as it would appear from the inscription, during the lifetime of Mary Stuart.

From information received from M. Henri Bouchot of the Cabinet d'Estampes at Paris, it appears that the painter Antoine Caron at Paris had three daughters, married respectively to the painter, Pierre Gourdelle, and the engravers, Thomas De Leu and Leonard Gaultier. Caron and his sons-in-law were probably the executants of the bulk of the portraits published at this date in Paris, in which the draughtsman and engraver vie in the excellence of their art, and which are such a valuable contribution to the history of their time.

The engraving by Thomas De Leu seems to have had great vogue after the death of Mary Stuart, and the impressions met with are often worn out and faulty. In its original state it is a work of great excellence. [*See* Plate XXV.] It is probably based upon a drawing by Antoine Caron, who in his turn seems to have had some difficulty in finding an original portrait to copy, inasmuch as he has figured the widowed queen in a tight-fitting dress with a broad flat ruff or

MARY STUART

From the engraving by Thomas De Leu

collar, a costume which appears in none of the accepted portraits of Mary Stuart, but which appears to have been adapted from the portraits of Catherine de' Médicis, when widowed queen of France.

De Leu's engraving was the foundation of numerous copies, all of indifferent value. The same may be said of the Antwerp broadside. Shortly after the death of Mary Stuart a portrait of her was drawn or painted by Pierre Gourdelle, which was engraved by Leonard Gaultier for a series of engraved portraits, illustrating the "Princes Ligueurs" and their families. This portrait was copied in its turn, with slight differences, by Johann Hogenberg, this engraved portrait being so scarce that only one impression is at present known to exist, that in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. [*See* Plate XXVI.] In all the engravings published at Paris the face is hard and unpleasing, and evidently a mere transcript, receding gradually from the truth of that original portrait which served as the first authority.

The execution scenes in the Antwerp engravings were repeated in numerous portraits of a later date, such as the engravings by Huret, Couvay, and Vignon. They appear in portions, as part of a curious concoction from the memorial portraits and engravings, in a portrait now in the royal residence at Würzburg, which corresponds to a

portrait described by Labanoff as in the possession of Count Graimberg at Heidelberg.

In the account of Mary Stuart's execution sent to Fotheringhay, it is stated at the end, "And so, every man being comaunded out of the hall, except the Sherife and his men, she was caryed by them up into a great chamber lying readyfor the surgeons to imbalme her." The Queen had herself asked for the attendance of her "poticary," and her surgeon at her death. It is probable that the surgeons then took a cast in plaster of the dead Queen's face, in order to make the effigy, which lay on the top of the coffin at every State funeral. A long time, however, elapsed before it was decided where the Queen of Scotland was to be buried, during which time the body of Mary Stuart lay in state in Fotheringhay Castle. It was finally decided that she should be buried in Peterborough Cathedral. It was not, however, till August 1, 1587, nearly six months after Mary Stuart's death, that her funeral actually took place. The whole funeral was contracted for by William Dethick, Garter King at Arms. Among the items to be provided was "a chariot or coach to convey the corps wrapped and soldred in lead, wth a representation of the said Scottish Qu. from Fotheringaye to Peterborough." Effigies of this description, called sometimes "pictures" or "re-

MARY STUART

From the engraving by Johann Hogenberg, in the Cabinet d'Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

presentations," were often preserved for some time after the occasion on which they were used.

After the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, as James I., one of the King's first thoughts was to do honour to his mother's memory. The King ordered a fine monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey. From entries in the Pell Records it appears that the monument was commenced by Cornelius Cure, master-mason to the King, in 1606, and on his death, in 1609, was completed by his son, William Cure. On October 11, 1612, the body of Mary Stuart was removed from Peterborough Cathedral and solemnly reinterred in Westminster Abbey. On August 11, 1613, William Cure received the sum of £85 10s. "in full payment of £825 10s. for making the tomb of His Majesty's deerest mother." On May 24, 1616, one James Mauncy, painter, was paid the sum of £265 for painting and gilding this monument.

On the monument under a canopy is a recumbent figure of Mary Stuart. This figure has great merit as a work of art. The costume of the Queen corresponds in some details to that in the 'Sheffield' portrait, but a royal mantle, lined with ermine, envelops the figure. The face has every appearance of having been copied from a death-mask. All the most prominent features before noticed are present, the high and round forehead, the heavy eyelids, the slightly protruding lips, and the firm

roundchin. The expression of the mouth has been softened and made more pleasing. The nose is slightly different, showing a decidedly aquiline appearance. In all her portraits there is nothing to indicate any such definite shape in her nose, which is always straight and well-shaped, with, if anything, a slight tendency in early years to be *retroussé* at the end. Probably the shape of the nose in the monument is due to the rapid contraction of the nose, which sets in after death, and would have taken place before the death mask could have been taken. As it is, the effigy of Mary Stuart on the monument in Westminster Abbey can be accepted as a fairly accurate representation of the unfortunate Queen of Scotland. [*See* Plate XXVII.]

With this effigy the list of authenticated portraits of Mary Stuart is closed. As Scharf says, all the portraits hitherto particularised "possess in common, with allowance for divergence of artistic qualities, a uniform amount of character and consistency."

In 1618 a book was published entitled "Basiliωlogia," by H. Holland, with portraits of the Kings and Queens of England. Among them is an engraved portrait by Renold Elstracke of Mary, Queen of Scots, in royal robes, which is evidently based upon the monument in Westminster Abbey.

Mary Stuart

Bust (in three positions) from the monument in Westminster Abbey.

The same engraver published a broadside with full-length portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry, Lord Darnley, standing side by side. This engraving is of extreme rarity as a print, but in portraiture its value is not great. The figure of Mary Stuart is still more obviously adapted from the monument in Westminster Abbey, while that of Lord Darnley seems to have been appropriated from some portrait of Charles IX. or Henri III. of France, rather than from the long bullet-headed figure of the ill-fated prince in question.

A large medallion, executed by Jacopo Primavera, bears a portrait of Mary Stuart, which in general character resembles the figure on the monument in Westminster Abbey. The medallion is undated, but inscribed MARIA STOVVAR REGI SCOTI ANGLI . and signed IA . PRIMAVE. Mary Stuart is here depicted in a tight-fitting dress buttoned close up to the throat, with a small frilled ruff round the neck. She wears a cap of the usual shape and a long veil. The hair is massed as in the Westminster monument, and the profile shows the slightly aquiline nose seen in the same figure, as described above. [*See* Plate XII. (b.)]

Little is known of Primavera as a medallist, and it is certain that he did not work in England. He executed a medallion of Queen Elizabeth, on the reverse of which is a device alluding to the Queen's recovery from small-pox in 1572.

On the strength of this Scharf attributed the medallion of Mary Stuart to approximately the same date. The general appearance of Mary's figure makes it impossible to attribute this portrait of her to so early a date. The features of Elizabeth also are those of the later years of her reign. It appears that the medallion of Mary was issued without a reverse, and it has been suggested that it was intended to be inserted in the lid of a box. It was subsequently copied with the addition of an allegory on the reverse borrowed from another medal, and the inscription SUPERANDA EST FORTVNA. The medallion of Elizabeth was probably issued, under similar circumstances, without a reverse, and the allegory on the existing reverse, alluding to the Queen's recovery, seems to have been borrowed from an earlier medal of 1572. Under these circumstances it becomes possible to assign both medallions to the early years of the seventeenth century.*

It is impossible, when endeavouring to elicit from the mass of portraits, purporting to represent Mary Stuart, those, which may be considered to

* See "Medallic Illustrations of English History," edited by Hawkins and Grueber, published by the British Museum in 1885, vol. i., p. 118.

be true likenesses of the Queen, to ignore certain portraits, which have well-established claims to represent Mary, but which do not tally with those already described.

It is more especially during the period of her residence in France that portraits are most wanting, so that any clue should be carefully followed up and examined, in the hope of recovering some further record of Mary's appearance during the happiest and gayest years of her life.

Miniature-portraits of the Queen seem to have existed, as already stated above. The Duke of Norfolk, Mary Stuart's ill-fated suitor, when confined in the Tower in 1569 and 1570, had in his possession "a lyttle tablet of gold, wherein was set the Quene of Scotts' picture"; this the Duke delivered to one Bannister, who was one of the chief witnesses against him. This miniature-portrait may have been sent to Norfolk by Mary Stuart herself, who was then a prisoner at Tutbury.

Another miniature-portrait of Mary Stuart, as Dauphine or Queen of France, in a pink and white dress and wearing a hat, is in the collection of the Queen of Holland; this may be contemporary, and if so, should be added to the list of authentic portraits of Mary Stuart at this date. The bulk, however, of the portraits, which purport to represent Mary Stuart during her residence in France, are either later concoctions, based on

the drawings and miniatures already described, or else actual portraits of other princesses and ladies at the French Court, to whom, owing to the similarity of costume or to some slight resemblance in features, the name of Mary Stuart has been attached. Of this class are the interesting painting at Greystoke, belonging to the Howard family, in which the princess represented in a red dress resembles Isabella of Valois rather than Mary Stuart; the portrait in the collection of Prince Czartoryski at Cracow, a smaller version of which is in the collection of the Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck Abbey; the portraits belonging to Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., and Mr. Howard of Corby; the full-length portrait, formerly in Cardinal Fesch's collection, described by Miss Strickland, and other portraits of this date in the collections of the late Duc d'Aumale, the late Mr. Beriah Botfield, Lord Battersea, Earl Spencer, K.G., and others, some of which have been painted up and altered to increase their resemblance to Mary Stuart.

At Hardwick Hall, the residence of the Duke of Devonshire, in which the famous 'Sheffield' portrait is preserved together with those of Mary Stuart's parents, James V. and Marie of Guise, her brother and sister-in-law, the Earl and Countess of Lenox, with their child, Arabella, and other personages connected with her family and her life, there is also preserved a small bust portrait, which

Supposed portrait of Mary Stuart
in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.
at Hardwick Hall.

has long borne the name of Mary, Queen of Scots. In this portrait the lady represented is in the gayest of garb. Her dress is pale crimson, slashed with white, a rich gold and turquoise necklace with pendant and two rich gold chains encircle her neck over a white silk partlet, and she wears a doubly folded ruff high up to the ears. Her hair is of a clear pale yellow colour and wavy, not curled or crimped. It is confined in a richly embroidered green caul or *crépine*, on which is set a flat red bonnet with a white feather over the right side of the head. Her eyes are pale-yellow or hazel, and her eyebrows a pale-yellow brown. The picture has, however, been so much repainted, that its original appearance can hardly be detected. [*See* Plate XXVIII.]

At first sight it would seem as if this attractive portrait might safely be accepted as a likeness of "La Royne Dauphine." Sir George Scharf was willing to accept it as such, and even to refer it to as early a date as 1552, when Mary Stuart was only ten years old, relying on the frequent habit of painters to depict children at an age greater than the truth. The present writer is unable to follow Scharf in his theory as to the age of the person represented, and after prolonged examination has been compelled to reject the portrait altogether as that of Mary Stuart. It is difficult to trace in this elegant beauty and coquette the marked features, which are so uniformly charac-

teristic in the drawings at Chantilly and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the miniature-portrait at Windsor, and that in the Livre d'Heures of Catherine de' Médicis. The eyebrows, nose, lips, and especially the ear, are not of the same character. The chin is somewhat similar, but seems to show a dimple or cleft, which Mary's chin did not possess.

This portrait, which measures 13 inches by 11, is thinly painted on panel, and the black outlines can be seen in places through the paint. The background is dark yellow-brown, and bears an inscription in a later hand only—*Maria . Reg . Scotiæ*, not *Scotorum* as in the authentic portraits. It probably represents some other princess or lady of high rank at the Court of Henri II.

Another small portrait, painted on canvas, stated to be that of Mary Stuart, is in the possession of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat. In this portrait the lady wears her hair frizzed under a caul and surmounted by a round black hat with broad brim and white feathers. The black dress, slashed with white and trimmed with pearls, rises high to the neck, and is open in front with a high double collar and ruff in the style of the miniature-portrait at Windsor. The features vary from the accepted portraits, and make it difficult to set the Longleat portrait alongside of those from Chantilly and

Supposed portrait of Mary Stuart
at Holyrood Palace.

Paris. Moreover, according to Scharf, who examined this portrait very carefully, the painting of the portrait, especially of the oval frame in which it is set, is weak and tame, and in the manner of the seventeenth century. There are good reasons for identifying this portrait as one of those purchased in 1704 by the then Viscount Weymouth from Cobham Hall, where many pictures and works of art were dispersed after the death of the last Duke of Richmond and Lenox in 1672. In the schedule of the Duke's goods at Cobham, taken after his death, there are mentioned in the dining-room "one picture of Queen Mary," and in the Wardrobe of Pictures "one of Mary, Queen of Scotts." One of these entries certainly points to the version of the 'Sheffield' portrait already described. The other entry may refer to the portrait now at Longleat.

A bust-portrait of Mary Stuart, resembling the Longleat portrait in certain details of costume, and possibly based on an original portrait of Mary Stuart, was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. John Carr of Skipton.

Features of a somewhat similar character to those in the Longleat portrait are to be found in a small portrait at full length, which was acquired by H.R.H. Prince Albert before 1857, and was long preserved at Barton Farm near Osborne House

in the Isle of Wight. It has now been removed to Buckingham Palace and placed in the private apartments of her Majesty Queen Alexandra. The portrait, which measures about 12 inches high by 8 inches in width, is painted in oil on oak panel. The figure is shown at full length, standing, the left hand resting on the arm of a high-backed arm-chair, the right holding a carefully folded pocket-handkerchief. Scharf describes the portrait as follows: "Her long dress, slashed with white, and adorned with golden studs and jewels, is open in front to show a nether garment of white. The skirt reaches the ground and conceals the feet. She wears a small white lace ruff open in front, exposing the neck, and a large collar of jewels below it. Her black cap, or bonnet, is also encircled with a band of jewels, and a plain white ostrich feather at the side curls over her right ear. Her dark brown eyes are fixed on the spectator, and the hair, although little is seen of it, is of a decided chestnut-brown colour. The complexion is very fair with delicate pink on her youthful cheeks. Eyebrows faintly marked. The figure possesses much elegance and dignity, and is extremely well painted. The composition and attitude remind one of portraits by Pourbus on a larger scale. The background here is of a plain, rich, brownish green, deepening in tone downwards to the level unpatterned brown floor. No gold is employed upon the picture." [*See* Plate XXX.]

Supposed portrait of Mary Stuart
From the portrait at Buckingham Palace.

This little portrait corresponds almost exactly with a drawing in the collection formed by M. de Gaignières, tutor to the sons of the Grand Dauphin, and given by him to Louis XIV. in 1711, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This drawing is described as "Tirée d'un Tableau original de la Gallerie de M. de Gaignières (Enluminé)." The original painting may be identical with that purchased by the Prince Consort. The principal difference is that in the drawing the white folded handkerchief is replaced by a pair of dark gloves, and a black hanging sleeve is seen in the drawing upon the left arm, which rests upon the chair.

The drawing in the Gaignières collection was engraved, very coarsely, for Montfaucon's "Monumens de la Monarchie Française" (Vol. v. Plate XIV.), published 1729–1733, and has consequently enjoyed much reputation. It was brought from Osborne by permission of her Majesty, Queen Victoria, for exhibition at the Society of Antiquaries at their meeting in Burlington House on November 19, 1888, when a valuable and learned paper was contributed by Sir George Scharf, since printed in "Archæologia," Vol. li. In spite of the enthusiastic advocacy of so great an authority as Scharf, the present writer is unable to attach the same importance to the Osborne portrait. It is difficult to reconcile the staring eyes, pinched features, and foolish expression of the

face in both the Gaignières drawing and the Osborne portrait with the strongly marked features, so full of character, in the authenticated portraits of Mary Stuart. It is possible, that the Gaignières drawing may be nothing but an amateur's transcript from an original painting, in which the features were more defined, and also that the portrait purchased by Prince Albert is nothing but a mere copy from the Gaignières drawing, and even from the plate in Montfaucon. Under any circumstances it is difficult to accept this portrait as a true likeness of Mary Stuart.

Attention must now be directed to certain portraits which have long claimed to represent Mary Stuart, but which are decidedly erroneous, so far as the portraiture of Mary Stuart is concerned. With the great mass of bare-faced fabrications and dealers' fakes, which are scattered about the world, it is not the present writer's intention to deal further, than to warn amateurs and historians generally against the frequent, and, it is to be feared, too often successful, attempts to deceive them, which have been, and are still, practised by those who trade habitually on the credulity of their clients. There are, however, certain portraits which have been so long accepted as likenesses of Mary Stuart, that they have acquired some kind of authority, and must therefore be dealt with in

any work aspiring to be looked upon as serious and exhaustive.

First among these may be noticed an interesting portrait, which hangs in the apartment known as Lord Darnley's bedroom in Holyrood Palace, and is included among the property of the Duke of Hamilton, Hereditary Keeper of the Palace. The portrait, which is painted on panel, and measures about 35 x 28 inches, represents a lady in a rich crimson dress, the bodice and large falling sleeves of which are in a fashion similar to that of the dresses worn by Princess Mary and Princess Elizabeth in their youth before the former's accession to the Crown in 1553. This fashion was in vogue a few years later, but had almost entirely ceased to be so when Elizabeth became Queen in 1558. The lady represented in the portrait has hair of a dark and rich amber-brown, and eyes of the same colour in a lighter tint. On the portrait is the inscription A°ÆTA. SV. 16., on the strength of which Scharf accepted the portrait as a likeness of Mary Stuart, painted in 1558 after her marriage to the dauphin. At the time when Scharf wrote, he was unaware that the lower portion of the picture contained the further inscription HE 1565, the monogram being that usually ascribed to the painter Lucas D'Heere. If the portrait were that of Mary Stuart, the date would bring her to the age of 23 in the year of her marriage to Lord Darnley at Holyrood. [*See* Plate XXIX.]

It must be conceded, that it is difficult to reconcile the date 1565 with the costume worn by the lady depicted. Similar difficulties, however, occur with regard to other portraits bearing the same monogram. It is not impossible, therefore, that D'Heere, if he be the painter who used this monogram, sometimes painted portraits of bygone celebrities, either direct copies as in the great portrait of Henry VIII., after Holbein, at Trinity College, Cambridge, or from the drawings on which the painters of the sixteenth century, Holbein, Clouet and others, were wont to found their paintings.

The portrait at Holyrood would appear to represent some princess of the Tudor family, but it is more akin in features and general appearance to the early portraits of Mary Tudor, or those of Lady Jane Grey, than to the features of Mary Stuart, either in 1558, the year of the Janet drawing and the Windsor miniature, or in 1565, the year of the Darnley marriage medal.

It is difficult to agree with Scharf that in this painting "the face of Mary closely accords with her best authenticated portraits."

Specially noteworthy in the Holyrood portrait are the jewels, which are similar in design and character to those habitually worn by the Tudor princesses, but which are not characteristic of the costumes affected by Mary Stuart.

False Portrait of Mary Stuart, known as
"The Carleton Portrait" in the collection of the
Duke of Devonshire K.G. at Chatsworth.

The next "impostor" to be dealt with is perhaps the most familiar of all, and that which has been responsible for circulating a more extensive misconception as to the true likeness of Mary Stuart than any other. This is the so-called 'Carleton' portrait, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, formerly at Chiswick Villa and now at Chatsworth.

The lady represented stands at full length, life size, wearing a long rich crimson dress, with tight sleeves puffed at the shoulders, showing a yellow brocade *vertugadine* or bell-shaped skirt below. She holds a sprayof roses in her left hand and rests her right hand on a low-backed arm-chair, which stands in front of a window, through the diapered panes of which are seen the buildings of a town. She has dark brown eyes and chestnut brown hair, creased in a rich jewelled caul or *crépine*. The collar of the dress rises high up the neck, open at the throat, and showing a cambric lining to the collar. A very slight comparison between the authenticated portraits of Mary Stuart and this portrait will show that there is but the merest superficial resemblance, which the most cursory examination can dispel. [*See* Plate XXXI.]

Furthermore, in spite of the celebrity of this portrait, its history is sufficiently well-known to enable one to judge of its value in that respect.

The picture first comes on the *tapis* in 1713, when George Vertue, the engraver, notes in his day-book

(Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 23068, f. 77) as follows: "The Picture at whole length I saw at M^r Sykes painter of Mary, Queen of Scots, is a fine painted picture & seems to be younger than that at S^t James (said to be painted by Frederick Zucchero) (he said to me) it belongs to D— Norfolk (a story) (but he sold it afterwards to Lord Carlton—it is L^d Burlingtons now) and was borrowed purposely for to make a print after it by M^r Smith mezzotint." Sykes was a dealer in Lincoln's Inn Fields, whose collection of pictures was sold after his death in June 1733. He was considered an authority in his day, and was consulted in 1727 as to the value of Sir James Thornhill's paintings in Greenwich Hospital. The portrait was purchased as Mary, Queen of Scots, by Henry Boyle, Lord Carleton, who built the original 'Carlton House' in St. James's Park, and died unmarried in 1725. Carlton House was bequeathed by him to his nephew, Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, who gave it to his mother, Juliana, Countess of Cork and Burlington, who in her turn sold it to Frederick, Prince of Wales. The picture in question was removed by the Earl of Burlington to his new villa at Chiswick, and descended through his daughter and heiress to the Duke of Devonshire. At Chiswick it remained until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was removed to Chatsworth by the Duke of Devonshire.

Vertue himself has left a record of Sykes as a

dealer, for Horace Walpole, writing in 1762 to Dr. Ducarel on the subject of the *soi-disant* painting of "The Marriage of Henry VII," which was purchased from Sykes, finds fault with Vertue for having said that it was made up by Sykes. Vertue said, according to Walpole, "Sykes, knowing how to give names to pictures to make them sell, called this the Marriage of Henry VII., and afterwards he said, Sykes had the figures inserted in an old picture of a Church." Vertue had the reputation for strict honesty with regard to his engravings, and it would appear that he had doubts of the authenticity of the 'Carleton' portrait, according to a statement made by Horace Walpole to Sir Joseph Banks.

But Vertue is responsible for the vogue and popularity of the portrait. The mezzotint-engraving by John Smith was never completed, probably owing to the advanced age of the engraver, but a line-engraving from the portrait was made by Vertue himself, and published as frontispiece to a folio volume "De Vita et Rebus gestis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ," edited by Samuel Jebb, and published by Jacob Woodman and David Lyon in London in 1725. An English version of the same work by Dr. Jebb in octavo was published the same year with the same portrait. The engraving is at half-length only, and bears the title, "Maria Scotorum Regina ex Pictura Frederici Zuchari in Œdibus Nobilissimi et

Honoratissimi D^ni D^ni Baronis de Carlton. Georgius Vertue Londini Sculpsit 1725." In this engraving, which is far from being an accurate rendering, Vertue has added, probably under instructions from the Earl of Burlington, on the square back of the chair, on which the lady's hand rests, a thistle head with two leaves, surmounted by a crown, as seen on the coins of Scotland. This badge *does not exist*, and *never has existed*, in the original picture, and from this deliberate falsification the 'Carleton' portrait has derived its fame and authority. Even the absurd ascription of the portrait to Federigo Zuccaro, who did not reach England till 1574, when Mary Stuart was in captivity at Sheffield, has kept its ground.

The new portrait of Mary Stuart quickly became popular, and a demand for portraits of this type ensued. Copies from the engraving, great and small, were poured forth by enterprising dealers, and the supply is not yet exhausted, judging from the specimens contributed by enthusiastic amateurs to recent historical exhibitions. But no version of this portrait exists, which is older in date than Vertue's engraving.

The idea that this portrait, so interesting in itself, represents Mary, Queen of Scots, is generally abandoned. Attempts have been made to fit it with a name, and various French princesses of royal blood have been suggested, but without definite success.

The next *soi-disant* portrait of Mary Stuart to be exposed is one which has been almost as widely circulated as the 'Carleton' portrait, and consequently has produced a correspondingly extensive crop of erroneous ideas as to Mary Stuart's appearance. This portrait is in a black satin dress, trimmed with white fur, with a plain black head-dress, a fashion borrowed from Spain, and familiar from portraits of Mary Tudor, Lady Jane Grey, and other ladies in the middle of the sixteenth century. In this type of portrait the supposed Mary Stuart has a round fat face, thick lips, double chin, a strongly *retroussé* nose, large staring eyes, well-marked eyebrows, and flat smooth hair, all of which features are totally at variance with the authenticated portraits of Mary Stuart.

Fortunately the history of this type can be traced like that of the 'Carleton' portrait, with which its first appearance seems to be contemporary. It is again through George Vertue, the engraver, that the information is due. In one of his diaries (Brit: Mus. Add. MSS. 23073, f. 25), Vertue notes as follows: "The Dutchess of Hamilton that livd at the manorhouse at East Acton had great collections of Indian work and china and many curious limnings portraits some of them excellent and rare —in number about fifty or sixty . . . so many as was exposed to sale 1745. No. 28 Mary Qu. Scots, this is the original limning which the Duke of Hamilton had recoverd and valud most

extremely—showd it at Court and everywhere for the true genuine picture of the Queen everywhere from thence it was coppyd in water colours enamel many and many times for all persons pining after it thousands of ill immitated coppyes—spread everywhere—this the picture itself—tho amended by or repaird by L. Crosse who was ordered to make it as beautifull as he coud—by the Duke. Still is a *roundish* face not agreeable to those most certain pictures of her—but his attestation of its being genuine, latter part of Qu. Anns time it took and prest upon the publick in such a extraordinary manner."

The copies alluded to by Vertue appear to have been derived from two sources. The original miniature itself may have had some claims to be regarded as a likeness of Mary, Queen of Scots, but as Vertue testifies to the fact that the actual miniature itself was refreshed and beautified by Lawrence Crosse, himself a miniature-painter of great excellence, and by special order of its owner, the Duke of Hamilton, it is no longer possible to discover what it presented at the outset. Vertue's account would lead one to suppose that the miniature was sold at the dispersal of the effects belonging to the Duchess of Hamilton, who was probably Anne Spencer, widow of James, fifth Duke of Hamilton. A miniature, however, of this description was sold at the great Hamilton Palace Sale at Christie's in July 1882, and purchased by Mr. Grindlay for

FALSE PORTRAIT OF MARY STUART, THE "ORKNEY" TYPE

From the mezzotint-engraving by J. P. Simon

£1 10 5s. During the first years of the eighteenth century a number of copies of this miniature were executed by Bernard Lens, the younger, a miniature-painter of some note himself. These copies by Lens are to be found in many celebrated collections of miniatures, such as the Royal Library at Windsor, the Duke of Buccleuch's at Montagu House, the Duke of Marlborough's at Blenheim, and others.

At the time also of the "recovery" of this miniature a mezzotint-engraving, enlarged from the original, was made by John Simon, the eminent engraver. [*See* Plate XXXII.] This engraving appears to have been the foundation for numerous copies in oil-colours, which are frequently met with in private collections. One enlarged version, known as the 'Orkney' portrait, is in the collection of the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle. Similar portraits are not uncommon, one being in the possession of Mr. George Rabnett at Rosemount, Tudor Hill, Sutton Coldfield. The popularity of this portrait extended to its being adopted for fancy dress. Bernard Lens, the younger, is said to have painted miniature-portraits of fine ladies in this costume. In spite of this vogue it remains doubtful if the original miniature was ever a true likeness of Mary Stuart, and it is certain that all existing versions of it, whether paintings, miniatures, or engravings, do not represent the Scottish queen, except in an entirely fictitious manner.

A similar chain of misconception can be traced from a miniature-painting, which was formerly in the collection of the well-known Dr. Mead, and is now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. In this miniature the supposed Mary Stuart wears a black dress with a high-crowned black hat over a white cap, with a white lawn *chemisette* ending in a wide open ruff and a rich jewelled necklace over the lawn. The features have very little in common with those of Mary Stuart. Unfortunately the reputation enjoyed by this miniature, while it was in Dr. Mead's collection, caused it to be selected in 1738 to be engraved by Houbraken for Birch's "Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain," to replace one engraved by Nicolas Dauphin, which was not considered satisfactory. The great popularity of Dr. Birch's work, and the wide circulation of the engraved portraits therein published, have caused this portrait to be copied over and over again as a true portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, to whom it has so little real resemblance.

Another portrait, which has enjoyed great reputation in its day, must be abandoned, though not without regret. This is the once famous 'Fraser-Tytler' portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery. This portrait, which is well-known from its place of exhibition, and has been frequently

False portrait of Mary Stuart
(the Fraser-Tytler portrait)
From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery.

reproduced, was for long considered to be a portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots. It first appears, as such, in the possession of a Scottish portrait-painter, named Stewart, and then in that of a London dealer, named Gwennap, who sold it to Mr. Patrick Fraser-Tytler, the well-known historian of Scotland, who believed firmly in the portrait, and published a monograph on the subject, in which he sought to prove that it was the portrait painted in 1560, which was sent by Mary Stuart, through Lord Seton, to Queen Elizabeth. The portrait was transferred from panel to canvas while in Mr. Fraser-Tytler's possession. In February 1860 it was purchased by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery. [*See* Plate XXXIII.] This portrait is particularly notable as an example of elaborate French costume at the close of the sixteenth century. The jewels, which are profuse and of the richest execution, contain devices, which, if genuine, would connect the portrait with the Valois family, such as the salamander of François I. and the crowned pillar of François II. It needs, however, but a cursory glance to show that the lady with long pale face, the pale yellow hair, pale red lips, and large blue eyes, cannot be identical with the strong-featured, brown-eyed, auburn Mary Stuart. Relying, however, on the presumed connection with Mary Stuart, and on a shield of arms suspended to a tree in the background, Scharf sought to prove, by an elaborate

chain of argument, that the portrait was that of Mary of Lorraine, Mary Stuart's mother, painted while the queen-regent was besieged in Leith. It is difficult to reconcile this portrait with the undoubted portrait of Mary of Lorraine with her husband, James V., at Hardwick Hall, a portrait which in every way bears out all that which one could expect to find in the mother of Mary Stuart. The costume, moreover, of the lady represented belongs to a date at least fifty years later than that at which Scharf supposed the portrait to have been painted.

It is, however, the duty of the present writer, unpleasing though it may be, to record his opinion, after a careful scrutiny of this portrait, that the portrait is neither that of Mary, Queen of Scots, nor of her mother, and that the shield of arms, on which Mr. Fraser-Tytler and Sir George Scharf laid so much stress, is nothing but a "fake" which can be easily detected.* As a representation of costume the portrait will always have a value, but as a portrait it must be dethroned from its high position.

It has already been noted that a portrait of a lady with round staring eyes, and a feather fan, engraved by Peter Myricenys, and published by Hieronymus Cock as Mary Stuart, has considerable

* In this opinion the writer is supported by Mr. J. L. Caw, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and M. L. Dimier of Valenciennes.

resemblance to the 'Fraser-Tytler' portrait, and consequently has sometimes been accepted as the portrait of Mary of Lorraine.

Another portrait, which must be mentioned, as it has been a fertile source of error, is the portrait of a lady and her son, in the Draper's Hall in London, which has for long been supposed to represent the Queen of Scotland and her son, James VI. It is manifest that such a combination is impossible, as Mary Stuart never saw her son since he was in his cradle. Moreover, in spite of a similarity in the costume, which in itself is only the fashion of the period, the features of the lady in question have but the slightest resemblance to those of Mary Stuart. Unfortunately, however, the rather pleasing aspect of the head and head-dress has led to many copies being made of the upper part of the lady's figure and circulated as the portrait of Mary Stuart.

Another portrait, worth noticing for a similar reason, is the small and interesting portrait of a young lady in a wired black mantle or *heuk*, a Flemish costume, in the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, at Hatfield, which for a long time has been reputed as a likeness of Mary Stuart.* A

* This portrait was unscrupulously engraved as a frontispiece to Miss Benger's "Memoirs of Mary, Queen of Scots," published in 1828; the words, "aged 17," being added without any authority.

copy of this portrait in enamel, by Bone, is in the Wallace collection. This portrait shows little or no resemblance, except as regards the costume, to the Queen of Scots, and the Flemish *heuk* does not appear to have been worn at the Court of France.

In 1645 the well-known engraver, Wenzel Hollar, engraved at Antwerp a small rectangular portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots. This engraving, in which the likeness is highly flattered and embellished, seems to be an "improved" adaptation from the engraved medallion in Bishop Lesley's "History of Scotland." From Hollar's engraving it would appear that a small circular medallion portrait, painted in oils on copper, was made in the eighteenth century. This portrait was presented to the Trustees of the British Museum in May 1792 by Elizabeth Douglas Hamilton, Countess of Brooke and Warwick. This small portrait is absolutely fictitious, but has in its turn gained undue repute through an engraving having been made of it by Joseph Brown, from a drawing by T. Wageman, and published in Miss Costello's "Eminent Englishwomen."

It would be a waste of time and space to attempt to describe or even enumerate the numberless

portraits which exist, and have from time to time been dignified with the name of Mary Stuart. Some are palpable forgeries, such as the full-length portrait in a red dress at Holyrood, or the once famous portrait in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Some have absolutely no resemblance at all, such as the portrait at Workington Hall, Cumberland, where Mary Stuart first dwelt on English soil, or that at Longford Castle in Wiltshire; some are due to mere guesswork, owing to accessories, such as the portrait of a lady in a black veil with a crucifix in one hand and a crowned globe in the other, at Windsor Castle, so highly extolled by Miss Strickland, a copy of which was formerly at Murthly Castle; some are probably genuine portraits of some other French princess, as already stated. With those portraits, which are frankly modern creations, these pages have no concern. It is only necessary to assert once more, that even a slight acquaintance with the distinctive features of Mary Stuart, as shown in her undisputed portraits, should be sufficient to deter anybody from accepting as genuine any reputed portrait of Mary Stuart which presents features wholly or in chief part differing from those described in the early part of this work.

It seems to be still sufficient for any portrait to be dubbed 'Mary, Queen of Scots' for it to obtain, at all events, some credulous adherents. Miss Strickland goes so far as to accept both as genuine

and contemporary the painting of Mary Stuart's head on a charger, of which one version is at Abbotsford, dated 1587, and signed by a mythical artist, called Amyas Cawood, whose name is probably concocted from those of Sir Amias Paulet, Mary Stuart's gaoler, and Sebastian Carwood, one of her servants. In spite of this painting having belonged to no less a person than Sir Walter Scott, it cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century.

Prolonged research not only by the late Sir George Scharf, who made it his special study, and by the present writer, but also by the most competent authorities in England and in France, has failed to discover any new portrait of Mary Stuart, other than those already described, which has the slightest claim to authority.

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