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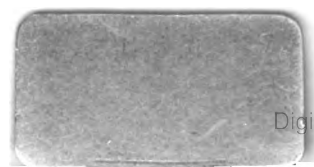
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MEUBLES  
DE LA ROYNE DESCOSSE  
DOUAIRIERE DE FRANCE.





**Inventaires**  
**de la Royne Descosse**  
**Douairiere de France.**

CATALOGUES OF THE JEWELS, DRESSES,  
FURNITURE, BOOKS, AND PAINTINGS  
OF  
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1556-1569.

EDINBURGH: MDCCCLXIII.

F. K.

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## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE crowds which hurried to the shore of the Forth, on the morning of the nineteenth of August 1561, to welcome the return of their young Queen, heard with wonder of the multitude and splendour of the dresses, the diamonds, the plate, the furniture, and the tapestry which she was bringing with her. Fairer or costlier gems, it was told, were nowhere to be seen in Europe;<sup>1</sup> and such, it was whispered among the followers of the Reformed faith, was the sumptuousness of her apparel and household stuff, that her kinsman, the dreaded Cardinal of Lorraine, would fain have hindered their leaving the banks of the Seine.<sup>2</sup> It was easy to dazzle a people, the sight of whose poverty brought tears to the eyes of their sovereign;<sup>3</sup> but the appointments of the rich Dowager of

<sup>1</sup> 'Attour the Quenes Hienes forniture, hingingis, and appareill, quhillk wes schippit at Newheavin and careit in Scotland, was also, in hir awin cumpanye, transportit with hir Majestie in Scotland, mony costlie jewells and goldin wark, precious stanis, orient pearle, maist excellent of any that was in Europe, and mony coistly abilyementis for hir body, with meikill silver wark of coistlye cupbordis, cowpis, plaite.'—(Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 299.)

'Shee brought with her als faire jewells, pretious stones and pearles as wer to be found in Europe.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 267, note 4. Mr. David Laing's edit. Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 142. Wodrow Society's edit.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Interea Carolus [Gusius] Cardinalis [Lotharin-

gus], inter tot publicas curas sui non oblitus, consulebat Reginae, ut supellectilem, mundumque muliebrem, magni precii, Regina velut in alium orbem transitura, apud se deponeret, donec de sui itineris eventu certius cognosceret. Illa facile intellecta fraude, ut quae hominis ingenium probe nosset, respondit, Cum se periculo committeret, non videre, cur mundo magis quam sibi caveret.'—(G. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. xvii. cap. 7; Opera, vol. i. p. 328, edit. 1715.)

<sup>3</sup> 'La Reyne y alla à cheval, et ses dames et seigneurs sur des hacquenées guilledines du pays, telles quelles, et harnachées de mesme: donc, sur tel appareil, la Reyne se mist à pleurer et dire que ce n'estoit pas les pompes, les apprestz, les magnificences, ni les superbes montures de la France, dont

France<sup>1</sup> seem to have been admired by men who were familiar with the grandest court of the age.<sup>2</sup>

Lists of the Queen's ornaments and attire were drawn up for different purposes at different periods of her reign ; and it is the object of this volume to bring together such of these Inventories as are now known to exist.<sup>3</sup>

*Inventory of Jewels  
etc. sent to Queen  
Mary in France, in  
June 1556.*

The first, in order of time, is of the summer of 1556, when Mary Stewart was a girl of fourteen at the court of France.

The jewels and plate left by the King her father had come, in 1542, into

elle avoit jolïy si long-temps ; mais puisqu'il lui falloit changer son paradis en un enfer, qu'il falloit prendre patience.'—(Brantôme, *Vies des Dames Illustres*, disc. iii. Marie Stuart ; *Oeuvres*, t. v. p. 95. edit. Paris, 1823.)

Mary had not been a month in Scotland before the quick eye of the English envoy discovered that 'the povertie of her subjectes greatlie advanceth whatsom-ever she intendethe.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 12. Sept. 1561, in *Selections illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland*, p. 96. Maitland Club.)

Queen Mary's  
French dowry.

<sup>1</sup> Her dowry, as settled by her marriage-contract in April 1558, and by an ordinance of King Charles IX. in December 1560, was 60,000 livres a year.—(*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 512. M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. i. pp. 734-739.)

It appears from a letter of Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil (13. June 1568), that Queen Mary's French jointure was reckoned in sterling money at L. 12,000 a year.—(*Anderson's Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scotland*, vol. iv. part i. p. 79.)

This was probably twice as much as the Crown revenue of Scotland in that day. But, poor in one respect as her kingdom was, Queen Mary brought no mean portion to her French husband, as he was reminded in the fine verses which the great Latin poet of Europe wrote upon the match :—

'Ampla si dote moveris  
Accipe dotales Mavortia pectora Scotos.

Hanc tibi dat conjux dotem, tot secula fidam  
Conjunctamque tuis sociali foedere gentem,' etc.

—(G. Buchanani *Silvae*, iv. 'Francisci Valesii et

Mariae Stuartae, Regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium.')]

<sup>2</sup> 'Estant habillée à la sauvage (comme je l'ay veüe) et à la barbaresque mode des sauvages de son pays, elle paroissoit, en un corps mortel et habit barbare et grossier, une vraye déesse. . . . Que pouvoit elle donc parestre se representant en ses belles et riches parures, fust à la Françoisse ou à l'Espaignolle, ou avec le bonnet à l'Italienne, ou en ses autres habits de son grand deuil blanc.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 85.)

<sup>3</sup> There are traces of several Inventories which appear now to be lost.

A list of all the dresses which she had had since she left Scotland in August 1548, was sent by the Queen in France to her mother in Scotland, in December 1555 : 'Je vous envoie l'inventaire de tous mes habits depuis que je suis en France.'—(Letter of Queen Mary, printed by Prince Labanoff in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i. pp. 29-32.)

A marginal note on one of the Inventories of 1561, refers to a list of the Queen's linen, drawn up by the keeper of the house of Fecamp, when she left France (p. 47). Mary visited Fecamp in July or August 1561, to pay her last duty to the remains of her mother, which then lay in state there, on their way from Scotland, where she died, to their last resting-place in her sister's abbey of St. Pierre at Rheims.

After the Queen was sent to Lochleven, on the 17th of June 1567, the Confederated Lords 'went down to the Palace of Halyrud hous, and tooke up an inventar of the plait, jewells, and other movables.'—(*Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 366.)

the custody of the Earl of Arran, who, as next heir to the throne, was appointed Governor of Scotland, and Tutor to the infant Queen. He gave up these high offices in 1554, when he had royal and parliamentary discharges,<sup>1</sup> in the amplest terms, of all the property of the crown which had been in his keeping. But some jewels, tapestry, and cloths of state, were still left in his hands; and these, in the summer of 1556, he sent to France, by Sir James Hamilton, a gentleman of his household, who received an acquittance from the Queen, which takes the first place in the following sheets.<sup>2</sup> Among the articles which it enumerates, is a richly jewelled dagger, the gift, as we learn elsewhere, of King Francis the First of France to his son-in-law, King James the Fifth of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> It was brought back to Holyrood in 1561, and

Jewelled dagger  
given by Francis I.  
to James V.

The Inventories made during the eighteen years of Mary's captivity do not fall within the scope of this volume. Prince Labanoff has printed the most interesting of them—the 'Inventaire de la Garde-Robe,' made at Chartley in June 1586; the 'Inventaire de différentes Broderies et Ouvrages,' made at Chartley in July 1586; the 'Inventaire des Bijoux, de l'Argenterie et d'autres menus objets,' made at Chartley in August 1586; and the 'Inventory of the Jewells Plate Money and other goods found in the custody of the severall servants of the late Quene of Scottes,' made at Fotheringhay, in February 1587.—(Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. pp. 229-274.)

<sup>1</sup> They acquit him of 'all poisis sowmes of money plait wescheill of silvir or gold with all vthir gold and silvir baith cunyeit and vncunyeit jowellis ringis targattis precius stanis baith sett in ringis targattis and abilyementis or vthirwayis or yit vnsett in ony thing arraymentis clething with all kynd of abilyementis hornis buttonis of gold or silvir and all vthir accoutrementis thairof all tappessaries hingaris ornamentis of housis and chalmeris bedding with all maner of plennissing and insyght of palacijs hallis chalmeris and housis quhatsumeuer,' and 'all bannatis coveringis of beddis clathis of estait veschellis caparisonis harnissingis sadillis and vtheris accoutrementis for horsis with all garnissingis thairof veluote and all vther kynd of silkis schain or vnschain with all vthir guidis geir jowellis and thingis quhatsumeuer.'—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 600-604. Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv. pp. 112-115.)

The terms of this enumeration have obvious reference to the contents of the 'Inventaris of the Silver Werk Jowellis and Abilyementis' of King James V. in 1542, printed in the late Mr. Thomas Thomson's Collection of Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse, pp. 55-106. Edinb. 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 3-6.

It is apparently to these jewels that the Queen refers in a letter to her mother, conjectured by Prince Labanoff to be of the year 1552, but more probably of the year 1555 or 1556: 'J'é entendu par les gens de mon cousin le Conte de Chateleraut [Arran], que son père me vouloit envoyer un gentil-lome qui m'aporterait quelques bagues à ses paques, toutesfois je n'en suis pas certaine.'—(Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. i. p. 6.)

The acquittance in the text is included in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 116-120.

The original is in the charter-room of the Duke of Hamilton, to whom it has descended with the titles and estates of his ancestor, the first Duke of Chatelherault, or, as he wrote himself during his Regency, 'James, by the grace of God, Earl of Arran and Lord Hamilton, Governor and Prince of Scotland.'—(Epistolae Regum Scotorum, vol. ii. pp. 154, 155, 159, 162, 164, 165, 176, 177.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 6. It is described in the Inventory of King James V. in 1542, as 'ane quhinyear with ane scheith of gold quhilk the King of France gait to the Kingis Grace set with ane gryt sapheir on the heid with xix rubeis and thrie dyamonttis upoun the heft and upoun the scheith twantic sevin rubeis gryt and small sex

is last heard of, five years afterwards, in the hands of that Lord Ruthven who rose from his deathbed to play such a memorable part in the murder of Riccio.<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear how far the scanty list of 1556 is to be received as an account of all that then remained in the Jewel-House and Wardrobe of Scotland. We are told only that most part of the not inconsiderable treasures which they contained at the death of the Queen's father, had been sold to support the war with England during the first years of the Regency.<sup>2</sup> More than one object of note would seem thus to have been lost, such as the coat worn by King James the Fifth when, receiving honours never before paid to any foreign prince, he rode through the streets of Paris to seek the hand of the eldest Daughter of France;<sup>3</sup> the little cups of gold, basin of agate, ewer of jasper,

Loss of historical  
jewels, etc.

amerantis greit and small sex dymontis tablit with ane gryt knop of gold and fass of gold wyre and silver set with small rubeis and perle upoun the end of the fass.—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 70.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 13: 'Ledit poygnar a estez enuoye a Millor Roven en Engleterre.'

Lord Ruthven fled to England immediately after Riccio's murder, 'his conscience bearing him record,' as he wrote to Cecil, that all that he had done was 'for the good of religion.' He died there on the 13th of May 1566. Morton, his companion in exile, described his end as 'so godly that all men that saw it did rejoice.'—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. pp. 231-233, 838. Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxvi. fol. 30. ms. Register House.)

Lord Ruthven and his second wife, Janet Stewart, were in such favour with the Queen, that, in order to have them beside her, she gave them one of the conventual buildings within the precinct of Holyrood.—(Registrum Magni Sigilli, i. Decemb. 1564, lib. xxxii. no. 335. ms. Register House.)

Lord Ruthven's remarkable narrative of the assassination of Rizzio, reports a conversation between him and the Queen, while she was yet ignorant of the fate of the Italian: 'Remember ye not, said she, what the Earl of Murray would have had me done to you for giving me the ring? The said Lord Ruthven answered that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as to that ring, it had no more virtue than another, and was one little ring with a pointed diamond in

it. Remember ye not, said her Majesty, that ye said it had a virtue to keep me from poisoning? Yea, madam, said he; I said so much that the ring had that virtue, only to take that evil opinion out of your head of poisoning, which you conceived that the Protestants would have done.'—(Lord Ruthven's Relation of the Death of David Rizzi, in Scotia Rediviva, pp. 347, 348.)—Among Queen Mary's jewels at Fotheringhay were two stones, one 'medicinable against poyson,' the other 'medicinable for the collicke.'—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. p. 255.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The noble and mychtie prince James duke of Chattellarawlt erle of Arrane lord Hammiltoun . . . having fund . . . this . . . realme . . . vndir cruell weris regnand betuix the samyn . . . and the realme of Ingland . . . hes . . . expendit . . . all kynd of jowellis ringis preciouss stanis abulyementis garnist and vngarnist with stanis and vthirwayis hingaris tapesreis . . . and all vthir thingis quhatsumeuer quhilkis pertenit to vmquhile Oure Souerane Ladijs fader . . . the tyme of his deceiss.'—(Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 603.)

It is said that when the Regent Murray, after his victory at Langside, seized Hamilton Palace, he found in it some of the household stuff of King James v.—(G. Buchanani Rerum Scotticarum Historia, lib. xix. c. 12.)—But we must not give too much trust to one who, born a Lennox man, was the hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ane cott of sad cramasy velvott quhilke was the Kingis Graces enterie coitt in Pareis reschit all our

Ring given to  
the Queen as a  
charm against  
poison.

and flagon of rock-crystal, made for his fond bride when she was a child ;<sup>1</sup> the church-plate and vestments, and the dresses which she brought with her to the country where she was so soon to find a grave;<sup>2</sup> a mystical cap or diadem blessed at Rome by the successor of St. Peter, on Christmas eve,—either the cap which Pope Julius the Second sent to King James the Fourth, along with what is now shown as the Sword of State of the Scottish Regalia,<sup>3</sup> or, more probably, the cap which Pope Paul the Third sent to King James the Fifth, along with a sword which he was vainly exhorted to draw against the King, his near kinsman and neighbour, who had been too long allowed to bear that title of Defender of the Faith which was now offered to the King of the Scots.<sup>4</sup> A loss still more to be regretted is that of the cup from which Bruce was used to drink.<sup>5</sup> It was the last memorial of the great King which remained in the Treasury. His four mazers<sup>6</sup> had disappeared in the previous reign,

Relics of King  
Robert Bruce.

with gold cuttit out on plane clayth of gold freinyeit with gold and all cuttit out knit with hornis and lynit with reid taffate.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 80, 81. M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. i. pp. 122-125. Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 151.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Twa lytill small culppis of gold maid to Quene Magdalene quhane scho was ane bairne. Item ane bassing and laver siclyk maid for hir in hir barneheid the tane of aget the uthor of jespe sett in gold with ane lytill flacone of cristalline of the samyne sort.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 63.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The Alter grayth quhillk wes Quene Magdalenis . . . The Claythis quhillk pertinit to umquhill Quene Magdalene quhome God assoilyie.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 58, 100, 101.)

<sup>3</sup> 'The Hatt that cam fra the Paipe of gray velvet with the Haly Gaist sett all with orient perle.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 49, 76.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Julius the Secound, Paip for the tyme, send ane ambassadour to the King, declaring him to be Protectour and Defendour of Christen faythe, and in signe thairof, send unto him ane purpoure diadame wrocht with flouris of gold, with ane sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold, sett with precious stains.'—(Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 75. Leslai

*De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. viii. p. 345, edit. 1578. Papers relative to the Regalia of Scotland, pp. 23, 44. Sir W. Scott's *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, vol. vii. pp. 307, 308, edit. 1834.)

In saying that the title of Defender of the Faith was given to King James IV., Bishop Lesley has apparently confused the Papal Embassy of 1507, with the Papal Embassy of 1536. The letter of thanks sent by King James IV. to Pope Julius II. acknowledges the cap and sword—'ensem et pileum, sacratissima Nativitatis Domini nocte, tua felici manu benedictum'—but is silent as to any gift of style or title.—(*Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 82.)

<sup>5</sup> History of Scotland, by William Drummond of Hawthornden, pp. 304-306, edit. 1681; Works, pp. 101, 102, Edinb. 1711. Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 223, edit. 1845.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ane culp quhillk was King Robert Bruicis gilt.'—(Inventar of the Silver Wark in the Register Hous within the Castell [29. November 1542], in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 73, 111.)

<sup>7</sup> 'Foure Masaris callit King Robert the Brocis with a cover . . . Item the hecle of silver of ane of the coveris of masar.'—(Jowellis fund in the Castell [17. June 1488], in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 8.)

The mazer was a bowl or drinking vessel of wood,

Bruce's cup.

Bruce's mazers



together with his shirt,<sup>1</sup> which had long hung in the Castle, and his sword,<sup>2</sup> which had been recovered from the battlefield on which King James the Third lost his life. The spoil of cloth of gold and silk won by that sword at Bannockburn still clothed the priests, and glittered on the altars of many an abbey and cathedral church;<sup>3</sup> but these trophies also were soon to perish in the tumult of the Reformation, or the more fatal neglect which followed, suffering even the sepulchre of Bruce himself to be swept away.

*Inventories of the Crown Jewels of France delivered by Queen Mary to Catharine of Medicis, in February 1561.*

The two Inventories next in date belong to the first days of the Scottish Queen's first widowhood.

generally the knotty-grained maple, often richly mounted with silver or gold.—(Note by Mr. Albert Way, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, vol. ii. p. 328.) Two or three mazers are mentioned among the spoil taken by King Edward I. from the Castle of Edinburgh in 1296.—(*Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 247. Lond. 1856.) 'The mazer of St. Erkenwald' appears in an Inventory of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's at London, in 1295. 'The mazer of St. Thomas of Canterbury' was among the treasures of King Charles vi. of France, in 1399. 'The mazer of St. Louis' was shown at St. Denis in 1470.—(M. le Comte de Laborde, *Notice des Emaux, Bijoux et Objets Divers, exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Louvre*, par. ii., 'Glossaire,' pp. 371-377, edit. 1853.)

Bruce's shirt.

<sup>1</sup> 'Item ressavit in the cloissat of Davidis Tour . . . King Robert Brucis serk.'—(Jowellis fund in the Castell [17. June 1488], in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 8.)

Shirt of St. Lewis.

In the same way the shirt of King Lewis ix.—'la chemise Saint Loys, dont il fault une manche'—was preserved among the treasures of France.—(Inventory of King Charles vi. in 1420, quoted by M. le Comte de Laborde, *Notice des Emaux*, par. ii., 'Glossaire,' p. 481.)

St. Margaret's shirt.

The shirt of our own St. Margaret—'camisia Beate Margarete Regine'; 'Sanct Margaretis sark'—was kept beside her shrine in Dunfermline; and the Queens of Scotland still continued, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to clothe themselves in it in their hour of travail.—(Rotuli Scaccarii Regum

Scotorum, no. 211, A.D. 1450-1451. MS. Register House. *Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum*, 10. Martii 1511-1512. MS. Register House.)

In the fourteenth century, the Earls of Ross went to battle in the shirt of St. Duthac, which hung in one of the churches within his sanctuary at Tain.—(J. Major *De Gestis Scotorum*, lib. v. cap. xii.)

St. Duthac's shirt.

So early as the close of the seventh century the shirt in which St. Columba died—'tunica qua etiam hora exitus ejus de carne indutus erat'—was believed to be endowed with preternatural powers, and was used by the monks of Iona, as a charm to bring down rain upon their corn-fields.—(Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, pp. 175, 321-323. Dr. Reeves's edit.)

St. Columba's shirt.

<sup>2</sup> 'Waltero Simsoun pro . . . recuperacione . . . cuiusdam gladii quondam Regis Roberti Bruce in bello prope Striueling in die Sancti Barnabe apostoli et Domino Regi deliberati.'—(*Compotum Camerarii de Menteth*, 1488-1489, Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, no. 295. MS. Register House.)

Bruce's sword.

It was, perhaps, a sword of Bruce which was shown in the armoury of the French King in 1499, as 'the sword of the Hardy King of Scots': 'Une espée, la poignée de fouet blanc, au pommeau une Nostre Dame d'un costé et Saint Michel de l'autre, nomme l'Espée du Roy d'Escosse, qui fust fort Hardy, laquelle fust donnée au feu Roy Loys quant il espousa Madame la Dauphine.'—(*Inventaire du Château d'Amboise*, quoted by M. le Comte de Laborde in his *Notice des Emaux*, par. ii., 'Glossaire,' p. 482.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Tapetes autem quos multos ex regio ceperat tentorio ex bysso pretiosissima auro intextos coenobiis

Spoils of Bannockburn.

Her sickly husband, King Francis the Second, died in December 1560; and Mary, hastening to quit a court which was now under the sway of one whom, in her brief day of power, she had taunted with being a merchant's daughter,<sup>1</sup> followed the Duke of Guise to Joinville in March 1561. On the eve of her departure, she made over to Catharine of Medicis, the Queen Mother, the crown jewels of France, as described in two lists, which set forth the price at which each jewel was valued by a goldsmith of the French King, and by two goldsmiths of the King of Navarre.<sup>2</sup> A diamond cross, it will be seen, is reckoned at 50,000 crowns; a large diamond, which had been bought by King Francis the First, at 65,000 crowns; a big ruby, known as the Egg of Naples, at 70,000 crowns. In all, the forty-two pieces enumerated are estimated to be worth 490,914 crowns.

It was stipulated in Queen Mary's marriage-contract, that if she survived her husband, she might either abide in France, or return to Scotland, at her

*Inventory of  
Queen Mary's  
Jewels at her  
leaving France,  
in August 1561.*

Praedicatorum per regnum diuisit, vt inde ad sacrorum vsum ornamenta fierent: quae hac nostra adhuc extant memoria.'—(H. Boethii Scotorum Historiae, lib. xiv. fol. 303. edit. 1575.)

'The goldin and silkin claithis, of quhilkis King Edwardis palyonis war maid, war distribut amang the abbayis of Scotland, to be vestamentis and frontallis to thair altaris; of quhilkis mony yit remanis to our days.'—(Archdean Bellenden's Translation of H. Boece's History of Scotland, book xiv. chap. xi.)

'King Edwardis tent, all of ane clayth of gold, . . .

Wes consecrat to Halie Kirk, to be

Maid vestiment, quhilk yit is for to se

In sindrie places now of the Black Freiris,

And yit wilbe lang efter mony yeiris.'

—(Stewart's Bulk of the Chroniclis of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 237, 238.)

'Vna capella vetus ex auro textili dicta cherbulink ex spolio conflictus de Bannokburne continens vnam cappam vnam casulam vnam tunicellam et dalmaticam cum quindecim paramentis duobus antependijs ante et retro pro summo altari longitudinis eiusdem.'—(Inuentarium Ornamentorum Summi Altaris Ecclesie

Cathedralis Aberdonensis A. D. 1549, in the Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.)

Perhaps we should recognise tokens of Bruce's great victory in the chasuble, tunics, and copes described in one of the Inventories of 1569 as embroidered with the arms of 'King Edward' (p. 184).

<sup>1</sup> 'La Regina di Scotia un giorno gli disse che non sarrebbe mai altro che *figlia di un mercante*.'—(Letter of the Pope's Nuncio in France, quoted by M. Cheruel in his Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis, p. 17. Paris, 1858.)

'Our Quen, then Douagiere of France, retired hir self be litle and litle farther and farther fra the Court of France, that it suld not seam that sche was in any sort compellit therunto, as of a treuth sche was, be the Quen Mothers rygorous and vengeable dealing; wha allegit that sche was dyspyed be hir gud dochter, during the schort regne of King Francis the Secund hir husband, be the instigation of the house of Guise.'—(Memoirs of his Own Life, by Sir James Melville of Halhill, p. 88, edit. 1827.)

<sup>2</sup> Appendix I. and II. pp. 191-205.

They are now printed for the first time from tran-

pleasure, taking with her such plate, rings, gems, apparel, and the like, as the Queens of France had been accustomed to have, after the demise of the Kings their consorts.<sup>1</sup> The next Inventory<sup>2</sup> appears to be of the jewels which fell to her in this way, mixed up with others sent to her from Scotland,<sup>3</sup> or acquired in France by gift, inheritance, or purchase.<sup>4</sup> The list is without date, but it must have been written after the fifth of December 1560, when King Francis the Second died, for it speaks of the Queen as the Dowager of France;<sup>5</sup> and before the fifteenth of August 1561,<sup>6</sup> when she set sail from the French shore, for it describes, as still in her possession, a string of pearls which, as we are told by a note on the margin, was afterwards taken for caps to her cousins of Lorraine,<sup>7</sup> and a necklace of rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, which, as another note informs us, was given to her aunt the Duchess of Guise, at Calais<sup>8</sup>—the port where Mary took ship for Scotland, and received the last farewells of the brilliant escort of her French kinsfolks.<sup>9</sup>

scripts from the originals in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris (MS. François, no. 10370), for which the Editor is indebted to the courtesy of M. Teulet, whose learned and accurate researches in the French archives have done so much for the history of Scotland in its relations with France.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et si emportera ses derniers vaisselle bagues joyaulx habillemens meubles pretieux biens et aultres choses que les Roynes de France doient et ont accoustume d'avoir apres le trespas des Roys de France leurs marys.'—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 512.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 7-17.

It is now printed, for the first time, from the original in the Register House.

<sup>3</sup> Compare p. 13 and p. 6; p. 15 and p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 'La Roynie vostre fille, a desjà assez d'aultres semblables bagues [émerauldes]; et advenant qu'elle se veuille parer, la cognoissant honneste comme je faictz, je ne refuseray à luy prester des vostres; et puis s'il vous plaist luy aulmosner de celles que vous avez, ainsy qu'il vous a pleu nous promettre, nous aurons moyen de la faire bien jolye quant il en sera besoing.'—(Letter from the Cardinal of Lorraine to his sister the Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland,

25. February 1552-53, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i. p. 12.)

Queen Mary of Guise had a dowry in France of 10,000 livres a year, as Duchess Dowager of Longueville.—(MS. Register House.)

<sup>5</sup> P. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Inventory may have been drawn up in March 1561, when the Queen passed a day or two in Paris to 'look upon such robes and jewels as she had there.'—(Letter from Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 31. March 1561, quoted by Miss Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 167.)

<sup>7</sup> P. 11.

<sup>8</sup> P. 10.

<sup>9</sup> 'Estant acheminée par terre à Calais, accompagnée de Messieurs tous ses oncles, M. de Nemours, et de la pluspart des grands et honnestes de la Court, ensemble des dames, comme de Madame de Guyse et autres, tous regrettans et pleurans à chaudes larmes l'absence d'une telle Reyne.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 92. Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 297.)

Mary was accompanied to Scotland by three of her uncles (the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior of France, and the Marquis of Elbeuf), by M. Danville, son of the Duke of Montmorency, and by more than

The Inventory enumerates one hundred and fifty-nine articles, of which forty-three were in the Queen's cabinet,<sup>1</sup> a piece of furniture which was then only coming into use. Among its contents will be seen a large diamond set in gold, with a gold chain, and a large ruby attached, which, under the name of the Great Harry, came afterwards to be regarded as one of the chief jewels of the Scottish crown. It appears to have been a gift to the Queen from her boy husband's father, King Henry the Second of France, whose cypher it bore.<sup>2</sup> A miniature of King James the Fifth, in a gold case shaped like an apple,<sup>3</sup> would be doubly interesting if we could be assured that it was the work of Scottish hands. Another article in the list, is one of the roses of gold yearly blessed by the Pope, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and sent by him to such Christian prince or potentate as he wishes specially to honour.<sup>4</sup> It seems to have been presented by the dissolute Borgia to the noblest of the Stewarts,<sup>5</sup>—by Pope Alexander the Sixth, to King James the Fourth.<sup>6</sup> The marginal note which records the gift of certain pearls to 'Merna' or 'Marnac,'<sup>7</sup> brings before us a humble name, which yet has found a place in one of the sternest pages of religious his-

The Great Harry, a jewel given by Henry II. to Queen Mary.

Miniature of King James V.

Golden Rose sent by Pope Alexander VI. to James IV.

a hundred gentlemen, among whom were the ever lively, self-satisfied Brantôme, and the kinsman of the chivalrous Bayard, the hapless Chastellard.—(Brantôme, t. ii. p. 368; t. v. pp. 92, 122.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 7, 75, 90, 93. Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 196, 197, 200, 265, 291, 307, 318, 329.

<sup>3</sup> P. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, tom. v. col. 1497, voce 'Rosa Aurea,' edit. 1733-6.

The usage, it would seem, still continues. It is but the other day that the newspapers told us that the Golden Rose had been sent by Pope Pius IX. to the Queen of Naples.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, it would appear that the Rose was a mark of tribute due to the newly-restored Praefect of Rome, whose prerogative had not yet been shorn by Pope Innocent III. The Archbishop of Lyons writes to the Bishop of Glasgow, between the years 1199 and 1202: 'In Dominica, qua cantatur *Ladate Jerusalem*, expleta solemn-

proessione, in qua Rosam Auream idem summus Pontifex circumportat, ipsum [Praefectum urbis Romae] quasi pro debiti exequutione eadem Rosa remunerat.'—(Mabillonii Vetera Analecta, pp. 478-9, edit. 1723.)

<sup>5</sup> A fortunate digression of Erasmus, on the ambition of princes, shows how high a place King James IV. of Scotland held in the opinion of contemporary Europe: 'Erat ea corporis specie, ut vel procul Regem posses agnoscere. Ingenii vis mira, incredibilis rerum omnium cognitio, invicta animi magnitudo, vere regia pectoris sublimitas, summa comitas, effusissima liberalitas. Denique nulla virtus erat quae magnum deceret principem, in qua ille non sic excelleret, ut inimicorum quoque suffragio laudaretur.'—(Adagia, voce 'Spartam nactus es, hanc orna,' col. 1634, edit. Aurel. Allobrog. 1606.)

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 1494. 'The Paip Alexander the Sixt send ane protonotar callit Forman in Scotland, with ane roise and septour of gold to the King.'—(Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 63.)

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 11, 82.

Diamond heart  
sent by Queen  
Mary to Queen  
Elizabeth.

tory,—the French valet, who, as Knox writes, not without exultation, could scarcely find handkerchiefs to dry the flood of tears to which the Queen gave way under the vehemence of the Reformer's rebuke.<sup>1</sup> We see no trace of the diamond heart, which was sent by Mary, soon after her arrival in Scotland, to Queen Elizabeth,<sup>2</sup> along with some French verses, written, it has been said, by the Scottish Queen herself, and turned into Latin in the courts of both countries,—by Buchanan at Holyrood, and by Sir Thomas Chaloner at Whitehall.<sup>3</sup> It was, doubtless, bought or fashioned for the occasion.

*Inventory of her  
mother's move-  
ables, delivered to  
the Queen in  
September 1561.*

Hitherto we have had to speak of Inventories made in France. The first Inventory taken in Scotland<sup>4</sup> is of moveables left by Mary's mother, the Queen Regent, and delivered, in September 1561, to Servais de Conde, a trusted valet of the Queen's chamber, afterwards appointed keeper of her Palace of Holyrood.<sup>5</sup> Ninety-six articles are enumerated. There are five

<sup>1</sup> 'And with these wordis, skarslie could Mar-nock, hir secreat-chalmer boy, gett neapkynes to hold hyr eyes drye for the tearis; and the owling, besydes womanlie weaping, stayed hir speiche.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 387.)

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 185. Jebb, De Vita Mariae Reginae Scotorum, t. ii. pp. 23, 24, 196.

<sup>3</sup> 'Adamas in cordis effigiem sculptus, annuloque insertus, quem Maria Scotorum Regina ad Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam misit.'—(G. Buchanani Hendecasyllabon, xi.)—'Translatio quorundam carminum quae Gallico primum sermone conscripta, a serenissima Scotiae Regina in mutuae amicitiae pignus, una cum excellentis operis annulo, in quo insignis adamas prominebat, ad serenissimam Angliae Reginam Elizabetham missa fuerant.'—(Sir Thomas Chaloner, De Republica Anglorum Instauranda, p. 353. Lond. 1579.)

The original French seems to be lost.

Buchanan wrote other two sets of Latin verses on the same diamond. 'De adamante misso a Regina Scotiae ad Reginam Angliae.' 'Loquitur adamas in cordis effigiem sculptus quem Maria Elizabethae Anglae

misit.'—(G. Buchanani Epigrammatum, lib. i. no. 59, lib. iii. no. 8.)

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 18-27.

It is printed from the original in the Register House.

Although it gives account of things received in September 1561, it would seem to have been written (probably from an older Inventory) after the Earl of Murray had assumed the Regency in August 1567. It is authenticated by the signature of his secretary, Mr. John Wood of Tilliedavy, one of the Lords of Session; and may have been prepared, at the same time with another Inventory likewise authenticated by his signature, in November 1569 (pp. 179-187).

It is included in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 123-132.

In judging of the appointments of Holyrood from this Inventory, it is to be remembered that the Palace had been in the hands of the Reformers in July 1569.—(Leslaei De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 551. Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 364, 377, 378.)

<sup>5</sup> 'Ane lettre maid to Seruais de Condez warlett of hir Hienes chalmer gevand to him the keiping of hir Hienes Place of Haliruidhouss in oure absence indur-

palls or cloths of state, nine beds, two Turkey carpets, twelve suits of tapestry. Six maps, and a pair of globes are mentioned. Five of the maps—one of the world, and one of each of its four quarters—appear to have been in the Queen's possession till within a few months of her death;<sup>1</sup> the globes were found in her chamber after her execution at Fotheringhay.<sup>2</sup> There are ten paintings, all it would seem on panel, one of the Muses, another of 'Gro-tesque or Conceits,' and eight of the German Doctors, or, as they seem elsewhere to be called, the New Doctors.<sup>3</sup> Like most of the other lists, this has a great many notes explaining how certain articles had been disposed of. These notes in the original are written on the margin, for the most part in another hand; they are here printed in smaller type under the articles to which they refer.

We have next an Inventory of furniture in Holyrood in November 1561.<sup>4</sup> It contains a hundred and eighty-six entries, or about twice as many

*Inventory of the Queen's moveables in Holyrood, in November 1561.*

ing our will And the said Seruais to ansuer for all thingis that is within the said Palice that be deliuerit to him in keiping be Seigneur Frances superintendent of oure biggingis And gife ony thing inlaikis that be deliuerit to the said Seruais it salbe rebaittit in his feall Thairfore it is hir Hienes will that all the keyis of the Lordis chalmeris and Gentillwemen chalmeris with office houssis and vthiris and yettis within oure said Palice be deliuerit to the said Seruais at hir Hienes delugeing thairfra quhill hir hamecuming And for vsing and keiping of the said Palice oure Souerane Ladie gevis . . . to the said Seruais in yeirlie feall . . . ane hundreth merkis money . . . At Haliruidhous the twentie daye of Januare the yeir of God j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>o</sup> lxiiij yeiris Per signaturam.'—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxii. foll. 72, 73. MS. Register House.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 25, nn. 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Inventaire des Bijoux, de l'Argenterie et d'autres menus objets appartenant a Marie Stuart, made at Chartley, in August 1586, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. p. 249.

There seems to have been a map of Scotland at Holyrood in 1565. The English envoy relates that when Lord Darnley was shown 'in the Scotch mappe' the vast territories of which the Earl of Murray had already possessed himself, he exclaimed, 'It is too much.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 20. March 1564-5, in Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 195.)

Inventory of the Jewells Plate money and other goods of the Quene of Scottes, made at Fotheringhay, 20. February 1587, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> P. 25, nn. 70, 71; p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 28-48.

It is printed from the original in the Register House.

Although it gives account of things received in November 1561, it would seem to have been written (probably from an older Inventory) after the Earl of Murray had assumed the Regency in August 1567. It is authenticated by the signature of his secretary, Mr. John Wood, and may have been prepared at the

as the Inventory of the moveables of Queen Mary of Guise, made two months before. There are ten cloths of state, forty-five beds, thirty-six Turkey carpets, twenty-three suits of tapestry. One of the embroidered cloths of state, bearing the arms of Scotland and Lorraine,<sup>1</sup> seems to have followed the Queen to the last but one of her many places of captivity.<sup>2</sup> Twelve of the beds are described as embroidered, three as pasmented with gold or silver, five as plain, thirteen as old, and twelve as wooden, that is, simple frames without hangings. One of the suits of tapestry is spoken of as still in the embroiderers' hands.<sup>3</sup> Another, representing the Labours of Hercules, would seem to have lined the walls of Holyrood since the marriage of the Princess Margaret of England with King James the Fourth, in 1503.<sup>4</sup> A third figured the famous victory gained by the French under the youthful Gaston of Foix, at Ravenna, in 1512.<sup>5</sup> This appears to have been a favourite with the Queen; she had rooms at Chartley and at Fotheringhay<sup>6</sup> hung with it. Five canopies are mentioned, one of them in terms which show that it was used by the Queen as a parasol.<sup>7</sup> We find but

The Queen's  
Parasol.

same time with another Inventory likewise authenticated by his signature, in November 1569 (pp. 179-187).

It is included in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 133-152.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 28, 29, no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 'Un autre daiz de velloux violet, fait en broderie des armes d'Escoce et de Lorraine.'—(*Inventaire de la Garde-Robe de Marie Stuart*, made at Chartley, 13. June 1586, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 236.)

At Tutbury, in April 1585, Sir Amias Poulet removed the Scottish Queen's cloth of state from her great chamber, contending that there should be only one cloth of state in England. But a small cloth of state was suffered to remain in the room where the Queen dined and supped: 'It represented by letters the names of the Queen's father and mother, with the arms of Scotland in the middle quartered with the arms of Lorraine.'—(*G. Chalmers's Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 144, edit. 1822. *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 969.)

At Fotheringhay, after sentence of death had been given against her, Poulet ordered her cloth of state to

be torn down; and some of the last letters which she wrote complain of the act as a cruel indignity.—(*Jebb, De Vita Mariae Scotorum Reginae*, t. ii. pp. 41, 91, 293, 294. *Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vi. pp. 464, 469, 470, 478, 479.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 38, no. 74.

<sup>4</sup> P. 39, no. 88. Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 51, 103. *Relation of John Younge, Somerset Herald*, in *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iv. pp. 295, 296, edit. 1774. *Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tom. vii. p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> P. 38, no. 78. Mr. Thomson's Collections of Inventories, p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> *Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 236, 273.

<sup>7</sup> P. 33, no. 33; p. 156. Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 208.

Recent research has discovered the parasol in the paintings and sculptures of Egypt and Assyria. Du Cange quotes Aristophanes and Claudian for its use among the Greeks and the Romans. He finds the word umbrella in the twelfth century, used apparently to signify the modern parasol.—(*Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, tom. vi., coll. 1669-70, *vccc* 'Umbellum'.)

one table and one chair. The table is described as painted and gilt;<sup>1</sup> the chair as high, covered with velvet and cloth of gold embroidered. It was obviously a seat of state.<sup>2</sup> There are no more than two folding stools and three low stools, all of them covered with velvet.<sup>3</sup> As many as eighty-one cushions are enumerated; eleven covered with velvet, thirty-three with cloth of gold, fifteen with cloth of silver, thirteen with satin embroidered or brocaded, six with needlework of silk, three with needlework of worsted.<sup>4</sup> Of four table-covers, three are of velvet, one being embroidered with the lilies of France in thread of gold.<sup>5</sup> There are twenty-four linen table-cloths, two of them together measuring fourteen yards, other two, with a cloth for the cupboard (or, as we should now call it, the sideboard), being of damask.<sup>6</sup> There is mention of a litter,<sup>7</sup> covered with velvet fringed with gold and silk; and we learn elsewhere that the Queen had a coach,<sup>8</sup> although she seldom used it, choosing rather, in those early days, to ride on horseback, with a steel bonnet on her head, and a pistol at her saddle-bow, in time of war, regretting only, as she said, that she was not a man to know what life it was to lie all night

The Queen's  
Litter.

The Queen's  
Coach.

—Mr. T. Wright thinks that the umbrella, in our sense of the word, was known to the Anglo-Saxons.—(History of Domestic Manners in England, p. 75.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 42, no. 115.

<sup>2</sup> P. 34, no. 36.

<sup>3</sup> P. 34, nn. 37, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 36, 43-45.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 35, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 46-48.

<sup>7</sup> P. 41.

<sup>8</sup> 'To the smythis in Sanctandris for thair labouris in mending of the Quenis Graces coiche at the Maister Stabillaris command xx schillingis.'—(Computum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, March 1561-2. MS. Register House.)

'Vpoun the ferd day of Maij [1562], my Lord Arrane . . . come fra Sanctandris . . . to Edinburgh . . . in the Quenis Graces cosche, becaus of the frenasie.'—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 72.)

In 1550, there are said to have been but three coaches in Paris, of which Catharine of Medicis had one, Diana of France, another, and the unwieldy

lord of Bois-Dauphin, the third. They increased so rapidly, that in 1563 the parliament of Paris petitioned the King to forbid their use within the capital.—(M. D. Ramée, Histoire des Chars, Carosses et Voitures, pp. 68, 76. Paris 1856.) A coach of the reign of Henry II. (1547-1559), figured in this work, looks exactly like a four-post bed on wheels.

There is mention more than once of the chariot of Mary's mother, Queen Mary of Guise. In July 1538, there was a payment of 13s. from the Treasury 'to Alexander Naper for mending of the Quenis sadill and hir cheriot in Sanctandris;' and in January 1540-1, a payment of L. 7, 16s. 'to Patrik Sklater iij elnis blak veluet to mend the Quenis cheriot with, price of the eln lij schillingis.'—(Computum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum. MS. Register House.)

When the daughter of King Henry VII. came to Scotland in 1503 to marry King James IV., she travelled for the most part on horseback, making her entry into the towns in a litter borne by two horses.—(Relation of John Younger, Somerset Herald, in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 267.)



in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapscull, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword.<sup>1</sup>

*Inventory of the  
Earl of Huntly's  
moveables brought  
to Holyrood, in  
December 1562.*

The Inventory<sup>2</sup> next in order is of the household stuff of a great Scottish Earl, who had ruled half the kingdom as Lieutenant of the North, and held the office of Chancellor of the realm. Whatever may have been the object of the Queen's journey to Inverness in the autumn of 1562, it issued in the utter overthrow of the Gordons. She had scarcely returned to her capital, when two ships from Aberdeen, laden with fruits of her victory, dropped anchor at Leith. One brought the dead body of the Earl of Huntly, rudely embalmed, so that it might be placed at the bar of the Parliament, and arraigned for treason, according to the custom which Scotland had borrowed from the law of Rome.<sup>3</sup> The other brought the Queen's share of the pillage of the Earl's

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Randolph to Cecil, 18. September 1562, and 13. October 1565, quoted in G. Chalmers's *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. pp. 133, 240, and Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 223, 322. Cf. M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 118, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 49-56.

It is printed from the original in the Register House.

Although it gives account of things received in December 1562, it would seem to have been written (probably from an older Inventory) after the Earl of Murray had assumed the Regency in August 1567. It is authenticated by the signature of his secretary, Mr. John Wood, and may have been prepared at the same time with another Inventory, likewise authenticated by his signature, in November 1569 (pp. 179-187).

It is included in Mr. Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, pp. 153-158.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl was slain at Corrichie on the 28th October 1562. His body, which was very corpulent, was disembowelled at Aberdeen and filled with spices, by a physician, who received a fee of L.21. 10s. On its arrival at Edinburgh, a sum of L.28. 3s. 4d. was paid to a surgeon 'for expensis maid be him vpoun spicis vinagre aquauitie pulderis odouris and hardis

with sindrie vthiris necessaris and for his laubouris in the handling of the said Erle of Huntleys bodie that it suld nocht putrefie.'—(Comptotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Oct.—Dec. 1562. MS. Register House.

On the 28th of May 1563, the Earl's body was brought to the bar of Parliament, and sentence of forfeiture passed against it. It lay unburied in Edinburgh till April 1566, when it was carried north to the tomb of the Gordons in the cathedral at Elgin.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 572-576. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 76, 98, 99. Knox's *History of the Reformation*, pp. 359, 380, 381.)

The right of the crown, in certain cases, to move for doom of treason against a dead man, was unanimously affirmed by the Scottish Parliament in 1540, and seems to have been the law of Scotland till the Union.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 356. Sir George Mackenzie's *Observations on the Statutes*, in his Works, vol. i. pp. 247, 248; and his *Laws of Scotland in Matters Criminal*, part i. tit. vi. sect. xxii., in his Works, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74.)

I have seen an unpublished letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Regent Morton, pleading for the exemption of the corpse of Secretary Maitland from the last indignity of the Scottish law: 'For the bodie of

Trial of the dead  
for treason.

castle of Strathbogie, which, as already forfeited to the crown, was delivered to the valet of the chamber in charge of the Palace of Holyrood.<sup>1</sup>

The list recounts seventy-three articles. There are nine beds,<sup>2</sup> quite as costly to appearance as the beds, no more in number, left by Queen Mary of Guise. The tapestry is not reckoned by suits, but there are fifty-six pieces,<sup>3</sup> and we are told that six of them sufficed to hang the chamber in which the King was murdered at the Kirk of the Field.<sup>4</sup> Eleven pieces were of leather, stamped and gilt.<sup>5</sup> There is a cloth of state of satin figured with gold, which afterwards served the Queen in her prison at Lochleven.<sup>6</sup> Forty-eight table-cloths are mentioned, two of figured velvet, one of green velvet, four of green cloth, twenty of linen. There are twenty-two cloths for the cupboard or sideboard. There is no mention of plate, either the Earl's own, or that which we know had been intrusted to his keeping; both, doubtless, had been carried off by friendly hands before the castle gates were flung open to the plunderer. A velvet cushion for a book,<sup>7</sup> shows that letters were not wholly neglected at Strathbogie. We have still less doubtful tokens of taste

Book-cushion, gilded and coloured glass, enamels, sculpture, etc.

Liddington, who died before he was convict in judgment, and before any answer by him made to the crimes objected to him, it is not our manner in this country to shew cruelty upon the dead bodies so unconvicted, but to suffer them straight to be buried, and put in the earth. And so surely we think it mete to be done in this case, for (as we take it) it was God's pleasure he should by death be taken away from the execution of judgment, so we think consequently that it was his divine pleasure that the bodie now dead should not be lacerated, nor pulled in peeces, but be buried like to one who died in his bed, and by sickness, as he did.' This was written at Croydon, on the 19th of July 1573. Maitland died at Leith on the 9th of June, in the same year, 'some supponyng he tok a drink,' says Sir James Melville, 'and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.'—(Memoirs, p. 256.)

Queen Elizabeth was moved to intercede with Morton by a touching letter to Lord Burleigh from Lethington's widow, who had been one of the Four Marys, written from Edinburgh on the 21st of June 1573. It

is printed in G. Chalmers's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. iii. p. 615. Efforts had been made in other quarters to obtain leave to lay the Secretary's corpse in the grave.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 378.)

<sup>1</sup> In November 1562, a payment of L. 30. 7s. was made, by the Queen's command, 'to Maister Johnne Balfour for expensis maid be him for inbringing of George Erle of Huntley's gear this instant moneth of November to the town of Abirdene putting the samyn in pypis carriage and fraucht of Abirdene to the port of Leith.'—(Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Nov. 1562. MS. Register House.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 49-51.

<sup>3</sup> P. 51.

<sup>4</sup> P. 51, no. 18; p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> P. 51, no. 11.

<sup>6</sup> P. 50, no. 6.

Another pall, wrongly described as a cloth of estate (p. 53, no. 34), was a canopy or tabernacle for the procession on Corpus Christi day (p. 184).

<sup>7</sup> P. 52, no. 20.

and refinement in the list of ewers, basins, stoups, flagons, and cups of gilded or coloured glass; enamelled plates, cups, glasses, dishes, saucers, basins, and ewers; gilded chandeliers; figures of animals, and images of a monk, a nun, and the Earl's patron St. George; a white vase; a bust of a man, sculptured in marble; and the Woman of Samaria drawing water from the Well of Jacob, carved in wood.<sup>1</sup>

All this was but a part, although no doubt a large one, of the spoil of Strathbogie. The Queen divided the prey with her brother, by whose wisdom and courage it had been won. She gave him possession, in the hall of Darnaway, of the long-coveted Earldom of Murray; and he seems to have found furniture for the forsaken chambers of Randolph's forest castle, in a share of the Earl of Huntly's moveables. There is, unfortunately, no list of what thus fell to his lot. We know only that, some years afterwards, when the star of the Gordons was once more rising in the north, Murray was careful to guard himself against all claim for restitution of the jewels, furniture, and chattels of the Earl, whose lifeless body he had led away with him from the glen of Corrichie.<sup>2</sup>

It must not be supposed that Scotland could show many castles like Strathbogie. The pile had been newly enlarged and adorned in such a way, it is said, as to move the envy of the Queen Regent and her French retinue, whom it

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 54-56.

Some of these articles are found in the King's Jewel-house in 1578: 'Ane gilt basine of glas; tua blew flaconis garnist with tyn; ane uther blew flacon; foure gilt chandilleris; ane Samaritane Woman and hir Well maid of trie; fyve pleittis of quheit anamaling; ane pleitt hollit as gif it wer wandis; thre uther pleittis of divers cullouris; thre pleittis cullourit plane; aucht blew salceris ane brokin; tua litle barrellis and ane litle thre futtit pott; ane blew lawer with ane gilt coupe; ane litle lawer blew gilt; ane quhite vais; ane coup of jasp with the cover; thre heich gobblettis tua coverit and ane without a cover; aucht couppis of sindrie fassionis; sax litle culing fannis of litle wandis.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 241.)

<sup>2</sup> By a deed, dated at Holyrood, on the 18th of April

1567, George Earl of Huntly, binds himself, his mother, his brothers, and his sisters, 'to warrand releve and keip skaithles James Earl of Murray and Maister Johnne Wod Johnne Stewart and vtheris his serwandis of quhatsumeir gudis geir jowellis and vthir grayth quhatsumeuer intronettit with be thame pertening to our [the Earl of Huntly's] vmquhile fader the tyme of his deceis or that wes than in his possessioun. . . and neuer to move play call nor persew the said Erle of Murray nor his saidis serwandis thairfoir,' confessing 'that thair intronissiou with the saidis gudis procedit be our Soueranis commandement.'—(Register of Deeds, vol. vii. foll. 406-408. MS. Register House. Compare Malcolm Laing's Dissertation on the Murder of Darnley, in his History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 98, edit. 1804.)

received as guests in 1556.<sup>1</sup> More recently, the English envoy to the court of Holyrood, who spent two nights within its walls, described it as a fair house, the best furnished that he had seen since he passed the Tweed, and of marvellous great cheer.<sup>2</sup> Buchanan speaks of the Earl as by far the wealthiest noble in the land.<sup>3</sup> Knox tells how he was reputed the wisest, the richest, and the most powerful man in Scotland; and adds that, in the world's estimation, the realm had not, for three hundred years, produced such another, under the degree of a prince.<sup>4</sup>

We might be surprised that even this great chief, the head of the Roman Catholic power in Scotland, should have so much and so sumptuous church furniture. But a little consideration enables us to discover that the articles of this sort enumerated in the Inventory are but a portion of the ornaments and vestments of the neighbouring Cathedral of Aberdeen, which the bishop, with his dean and chapter, hastened to commit to the safe keeping of the Earl, in the summer of 1559,<sup>5</sup> on hearing that the Reformers had sacked the monasteries of the

Ornaments and  
vestments of the  
Cathedral of  
Aberdeen.

Power of the  
Gordons.

<sup>1</sup> 'Inuernessam urbem proficiscenti erat in itinere Strathbogia arx, comitatus caput, amoeno situ ad confluentes Bogii et Duuerni fluminum posita, quam Huntlaeus, adiectis veteri arci novis structuris, omnia, nulli sumptui parcens, magnifice extruxerat. Hic illa [Regina Gubernatrix] liberaliter cum magno comitatu, Gallorum praesertim, excepta est. Post aliquot dies transactos, ne pregravaret hospitem, digredi parat: Huntlaeus, ad omnia illi semper obsequentissimus, et partibus firmus, demississime rogat longiorem moram; nihil defuturum ad eam laute excipiendam, vult inspicere cellas penusque copiose instructas, tanta autem volatilium et ferinae copia ejusque recentis ut mirum videri posset. Quaerentibus Gallis, unde tanta et tam recentis abundantia, refert ille habere se in aviis, in montibus, locisque sylvestribus magno numero venatores aucupesque, unde ad se referatur quotidiana praeda, quamvis locis longe distantibus. Henricus Clutinius Oisellius, e nobilitate Gallica, qui Gubernatricis consilia moderabatur, apud eam exclamat, Hunc hominem in tam angusto regno non ferendum; illum sic aequales excedere, ut potuit Regi Scoto formidini esse; revocandum in memoriam Duglasiorum nefandam audaciam, quae quas turbas dederit, quamque regibus formidolosos superiori saeculo, non-

dum animis hominum excidisse; demetendas Huntlaeo alas, ne nimium superbiat.'—(Origo et Progressus familiae illustrissimae Gordoniorum in Scotia, Roberto Gordonio a Straloch auctore [circa A.D. 1650]. MS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. C. A. Gordon's History of the House of Gordon, pp. 85-88. Aberd. 1754. Cf. Leslaei De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 528.)

Little or nothing of the Strathbogie of Queen Mary's time now remains. It was demolished by her son in 1594, at the instance chiefly of Mr. Andrew Melville, who was present at the work of destruction, clad in a cuirass, as his nephew exultingly tells us, adding, that on another occasion, he marched, for great part of a day, with a spear in his hand.—(Mr. James Melville's Diary, p. 210. edit. 1829.)

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Randolph to Cecil, written from Spynie on the 18th of September 1562, quoted in G. Chalmers's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> G. Buchanani Rerum Scotticarum Historia, lib. xvii. c. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. i. appendix to the preface, no. II. pp. lxxxvi.-xc.

The Cathedral plate put in the Earl's keeping

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Friars in Edinburgh and other towns, had laid the beautiful priory of the Carthusians at Perth in ruins, and given the ancient abbey of Scone to the flames. The Bishop's great mitre,<sup>1</sup> since it was worn by the munificent and saintly Elphinstone, had fallen into evil hands, from which it was not rescued until it had been stripped of several of its gems.<sup>2</sup> The Cathedral could show robes and hangings made from the cloth of gold taken in the English tents at Bannockburn, or woven in the looms of Bruges and Arras, of Venice and Florence.<sup>3</sup> The meagre descriptions in the Inventories do not allow us in every case to follow the history of the vestments which were sent from Aberdeen to Strathbogie, and from Strathbogie to Holyrood. But there is at least nothing to forbid the suspicion that the copes, chasubles, and tunicles of cloth of gold which the Queen profaned to secular uses in March 1567, were relics of the proudest triumph ever gained by Scottish arms;<sup>4</sup> and that the spoils which Bruce had set apart, in the service of religion, to nerve the hearts of his people in their struggle for national life, were given by her who inherited his throne and held his faith, to make a showy doublet for the needy, vainglorious, profligate Bothwell.<sup>5</sup>

Robes and altar cloths made from the spoil of the English pavilions at Bannockburn.

weighed 843 ounces. No part of it is known to be preserved. But an image of the Blessed Virgin, committed to the care of Queen Mary's devoted servant, Bishop Lesley of Ross, is still to be seen in Brussels. It is the subject of a recent religious tract (bearing to be taken from F. A. Wichmans' *Brabantia Mariana*): 'Histoire de la Statue Miraculeuse de la Tres-Sainte Vierge Marie, honorée dans l'église de Notre-Dame de Finisterrae, a Bruxelles, sous le titre de Notre-Dame de Bon Succès. Bruxelles, 1854.'

<sup>1</sup> P. 54, no. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. ii. pp. 162-166, 179, 180, 186, 187, 195, 196; vol. i. app. to pref. p. lxxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. ii. pp. 189, 190, 191, 194.

Barbour, the father of our Scottish poetry, was a canon of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, and so may have served at the altar in the vestments made from the trophies of the victory which he has sung in his 'Bruce.'

An inventory of the Cathedral plate in January 1549-50 describes a cross of silver gilt as of Irish work, 'opere Ibernicorum,' meaning, probably, the knotted or interlacing pattern so common in Irish art.—(*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. ii. p. 182.)

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. xiv., xv., note 3.

<sup>5</sup> P. 53, no. 32. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. i. app. to pref. p. lxxxix.; vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

Bothwell would seem to have been noted for his love of finery. One who must have known him well, compares him to an ape in purple, 'tanquam simius in purpura.'—(G. Buchanan's *Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*.) The same great scholar speaks elsewhere of the gorgeousness of the apparel in which Bothwell figured at the Prince's baptism at Stirling: 'Regina, non modo pecunia, sed opera etiam et industria, contendit ut Bothwellius, inter cives et hospites, singulari cultus magnificentia conspiceretur.'—(*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. c. 5;

Silver cross of Irish work.

Bothwell's foppery:

The Inventory of what came into the Queen's possession on the forfeiture of the Earl of Huntly, is followed by lists<sup>1</sup> of a few things which seem to have belonged to Mary of Guise, brought from France, by Maitland of Lethington,<sup>2</sup> the Queen's secretary, in the summer of 1563; of three cloths of state and a table-cover of cloth of gold, portions of a gift made to the Queen in the summer of 1564, by the wife of the Lord Ruthven who bore the chief part in the murder of Riccio; and of the rich vestments of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, delivered to the valet in charge of the Queen's wardrobe in 1562.<sup>3</sup> Among the articles brought from France by Lethington, was a portrait of

*Inventories of articles brought from France, in June 1563; of the vestments of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, in January 1562, etc.*

Portrait of Queen Mary of Guise.

Opera, p. 349). Again, in another work, but still referring to the same occasion: 'Ut Bothuilius inter proceres conspicuus esset, ipsa [Regina] partim ei ad vestimenta coemenda pecuniam erogabat, partim de mercatoribus emebat; omnibusque conficiendis tanta diligentia praeerat, quam si, non dico uxor, sed ne ancilla quidem foret.'—(G. Buchanani Detectio Mariae Reginae Scotorum.)

His ungainly person:

The *simius in purpura* would appear to imply that Bothwell's person was such that his gay garments hung awkwardly upon him. Buchanan has other expressions to the same effect; and they are more than justified by the unmistakable language of Brantôme: 'Ce Bothwell estoit le plus laid homme, et d'aussi mauvaise grace qu'il se peut voir.' Lord Hailes tried to get rid of Brantôme's evidence, by pleading that 'he never saw Bothwell,' and 'got his information from one de Cros, an officer of Queen Mary's household.'—(Remarks on the History of Scotland, chap. xi., in Annals of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 80, 81, edit. 1819.) But a reference to Brantôme (t. v. pp. 98, 99) will show that Lord Hailes has misapprehended his meaning, and that all that he had from de Cros was an account of Mary's brief campaign between her escape from Lochleven and her flight into England, at a time when Bothwell was a prisoner in Denmark. Brantôme tells us that his own visit to Scotland was made in the train of Mary's uncle, the Grand Prior of France (t. v. p. 122). He must thus have spent nearly two months at Holyrood (from the 19th of August to the 9th of October 1561); and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that, during all that time, he had no opportunity of seeing one already so conspicuous at Mary's court as the Earl Bothwell.

His coarse speech.

But if not good-looking, neither does Bothwell seem to have had the gift of a winning tongue. 'Qui audi-

erint,' says Buchanan, 'hominis infantiam et hebetudinem non ignorent;' or, as it is rendered in the contemporary translation of the 'Actio contra Mariam:' 'thay that haue hard him ar not ignorant of his rude utterance and blockishness.'—(Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 53.) When he was the Queen's husband, we have the evidence of Sir James Melville that his 'speaking sic filthy language' drove that gentleman from the supper table at Holyrood.—(Memoirs, p. 178.)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 57-59.

They are printed from the originals in the Register House. They are without date, but are written in the same hand, and apparently at the same time, with the Inventory of the Moveables of the Earl of Huntly, to which they seem to have been attached. They may be referred, therefore, to some period between August 1567 and January 1570.

They are included in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 159-161.

<sup>2</sup> Lethington's mission to the French court is referred to by the Queen of Scots in a letter to Catharine of Medicis, of the 18th of May 1563.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 3-5.) He returned to Scotland about the end of June 1563.—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 390.)

<sup>3</sup> Another and somewhat fuller list of the vestments of the Chapel Royal of Stirling delivered by the Sacristan to Servais de Conde, on the 11th of January 1561-2, will be found in the Appendix to the Preface, No. 1. It is reprinted, with a few corrections, from Robertson's Topographical Description of Ayrshire, p. 431. Irvine, 1820. The original is in the Crawfordland charter chest.

Mary's mother, which appears to have accompanied her, from prison to prison, to the fatal hall at Fotheringhay.<sup>1</sup>

*Inventory of the Queen's Wardrobe at Holyrood, in February 1562.*

The next Inventory is of the Queen's dresses.<sup>2</sup> It was made at Holyrood in February 1562, and has a hundred and thirty-one entries. There are sixty gowns, for the most part of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, velvet, satin, and silk. Of fourteen cloaks, five are described as of the Spanish fashion, and two as royal mantles, one being of purple velvet, the other furred with ermine. There are thirty-four vasquines or basquines, and sixteen devants, chiefly of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and satin. There is mention of the fardingale, and we learn elsewhere that it was expanded by girdles of whalebone,<sup>3</sup> into something like the vast circumference of the hoops of our great grandmothers,<sup>4</sup> or the ample volume of the crinoline of our own day.

Fardingales and whalebone.

<sup>1</sup> P. 57, no. 1. Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 248, 254.

Portraits in the Queen's possession.

The Inventory made at Fotheringhay, in February 1587, mentions only 'certain pictures of the late Quene's auncestors.' But we have a list of them in the Inventory made at Chartley, in August 1586. There are five Kings and one Queen of Scots, namely, James II., James III., James IV., James V., Mary, and James VI. (of whom there are two portraits). The others are the Queen's mother, Mary of Guise; two of the Queen's uncles, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, and Francis, Duke of Guise (old *le Balafre*); her cousin, Henry, Duke of Guise (the younger *le Balafre*); King Charles IX. of France; King Henry III. of France; and Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.

An Inventory of Jewels, etc., in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1578, adds to this list, King Francis II. of France; Anne, Duke of Montmorency, Constable of France; and a little old picture of King James V. of Scotland.—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 238.)

Miniatures in the Queen's possession.

All these seem to have been oil-paintings on panel or on canvas. The inventories made at Chartley and Fotheringhay enumerate miniatures of the Queen herself, her second husband King Henry, and their son King James; of her first husband, King Francis II. of France, and his mother Catharine of Medicis; of the

Queen's mother, Mary of Guise; of the Queen's mother-in-law, the Countess of Lennox; of Margaret of France, wife of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy (*Tête-de-Fer*); of King Henry III. of France, and his Queen, Louise of Lorraine; of Queen Mary of England; of Queen Elizabeth of England, and of two ladies not named.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 243-245, 247, 255, 257.)

The inventories in this volume mention miniatures of the Queen herself; of Queen Elizabeth of England; of King Henry II. of France; and of King James V. of Scotland.—(Pp. 11, 16, 85, 112, 119, 123.)

I am tempted to think that the portrait of Louise of Lorraine is sometimes mistaken for the portrait of Mary Stewart. Their features were much alike, and the dress and name of *la Reyne Blanche* were common to both.—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 334.)

La Reyne Blanche.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 60-74.

It is printed, for the first time, from the original in the Register House.

<sup>3</sup> 'Item xij bowtis of quhaill horne to be girdis to the vardingallis the bowt v schillingis summa iij pundis . . . Ane verdingale iij pundis x schillingis Item v balling of quhaill xxxv schillingis.'—(Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Oct.—Dec. 1562. MS. Register House.)

<sup>4</sup> The Cameronian Martyrologist writing between

The Inventory of the Queen's jewels which follows is without date, but would appear to have been made at the same time with the Inventory of the Wardrobe at Holyrood, which immediately precedes it.<sup>1</sup> It has a hundred and eighty entries, or twenty-one more than the Inventory of the Queen's jewels made at her departure from France. Among the articles thus added, we may recognise a cross of gold set with diamonds and rubies, which Mary had lately redeemed from the hands in which it was pledged by her mother for a thousand pounds.<sup>2</sup> Another acquisition is of pearls, which, as they were bought from an Edinburgh goldsmith, we may perhaps presume to be Scottish.<sup>3</sup>

*Inventory of the Queen's Jewels, in February 1562.*

Jewelled cross pawned for £1000 Scots.

Hoops 27 feet in circumference.

1725 and 1728, instances 'hoops or farthingales, nine yards about, some of them in three stories,' as one of seven proofs 'that Scots blood has gone out of our veins, honesty out of our hearts, zeal off our spirits, and the English abominations drunk in as sweet wine with pleasure.'—(Patrick Walker's Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden, in the Biographia Presbyteriana, vol. i. p. 138.)

If England set the fashion of hoops to Scotland in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Scotland seems to have set the fashion of fardingales to England in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The 'Scottish farthingale' is commemorated among the luxuries of London ladies, in Eastward Hoe, printed in 1605, and in Westward Hoe, printed in 1607.—(Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. iv. pp. 194, 196. edit. 1825.)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 75-92.

It is printed, for the first time, from the original in the Register House.

As it makes reference to the Queen's visit to St. Johnstown (Perth), it must have been drawn up after the 17th of September 1561, when Mary made her first entry into the Fair City.—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 69.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 76.

'Item the ferd day of Februare [1561-2] be the Quenis Grace speciale command to Johne Hwme of Blacader for ane croce of gold sett with dyamondis and rubeis as his acquittance schewin vpoun compt beris quhilk lay in plege to him be the Quenis Grace Regent of 1000 pundis j<sup>m</sup> pundis.'—(Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Feb. 1561-2. MS. Register House.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 89.

Scottish topazes and pearls appear among Queen Mary's jewels at Chartley in 1586.—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, tom. vii. p. 246.)

Scottish pearls are often named in inventories of jewels in the Middle Ages.—(M. le Comte de Laborde, Notice des Emaux du Louvre, par ii. 'Glossaire,' pp. 310, 349, 350, 437, 480. Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France au xiv<sup>e</sup> Siècle, pp. 26, 395.)

We have mention of them early in the twelfth century. About the year 1120, an English churchman begs the Bishop of St. Andrews to get him as many pearls as possible, especially large ones, even if the Bishop should have to ask them from the King of the Scots, who has more than any man living.—(Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 236.)

Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who visited Scotland in 1435, speaks of Scottish pearls as one of the four commodities which the country exported: 'ex Scotia in Flandriam corium, lanam, pisces salsos, margaritasque ferri.'—(Pii Secundi Pontificis Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt, p. 5.) In 1498, we find a Scottish merchant at Middleburg remitting a small sum 'to by perll in Scotland.'—(Account Book of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Low Countries, fol. 159. MS. Register House.)

The pearls of Scotland seem to have shared with those of Bohemia the reputation of being the best found in Europe. But both were regarded as very far inferior to the pearls of the East.—(Anselmi Boetii de Boodt Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia, pp. 85,



The jewels which were in the Queen's cabinet in 1561 are not included in the list of 1562. But added to it, in a different hand, is a note of certain jewels which were then with the crown, the surcoat, and the coiff.<sup>1</sup>

*Testamentary Inventory of the Queen's Jewels, Books, etc., in May or June 1566.*

On the nineteenth of June 1566, Mary gave birth in the Castle<sup>2</sup> to the prince who was to unite, under one sceptre, kingdoms which had been too long divided. She seems to have had uneasy forebodings of her hour of travail. Before 'taking her chamber,'<sup>3</sup> she gathered her nobles round her, made her will, and otherwise provided for the government of her realm. Her will was written in three copies; one she kept in her own hands, another she left under

90. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, t. v. col. 393, *voce* 'Perlae.')

Some notices of Scottish pearls are given in the Description del Regno di Scotia di Petruccio Ubaldini, pp. 44-51, and in Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 80, 81. One or two Scottish streams are still fished for pearls; and the newspapers tell us that the fishing of 1861 was singularly successful, especially in the Teith. In the seventeenth century the Ythan was in most repute; and I am informed that during the last ten years its pearl fishery has again become a source of profit.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 90-92.

<sup>2</sup> On the 5th of April 1566, there was a meeting of Privy Council at Edinburgh, attended by the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Atholl, Marischal, Crawford, Caithness, and Mar; the Bishop of Galloway (Alexander Gordon), the Commendator of Lindores (John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross), Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, knight, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, knight, Clerk of the Register. The following Act was passed: 'The Lordis of Secreit Counsall thinkis it maist commodious for the commoun weill of this cuntrie gif it may stand with the Quenis Maiesteis plesour and with the helth of hir body that hir Maiestie remane in the Castell of Edinburgh till hir Grace be deliuerit of hir birth. And in cais hir Maiestie pas to ony vther part to remane the Counsall to remane still in Edinburgh and sum forceis with thame durezza the said space and sum nobill men to remane with the Quenis Maiestie quhair hir Grace remanis.'—(Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1563-1567, p. 191. MS. Register House.)

Having discovered that there was no wine in the Queen's cellars, the Privy Council sent to Leith for eleven tuns and a half, at the price of £50 Scots a tun.—(Id. p. 201).

<sup>3</sup> This was a solemn ceremony in that age, as we may learn from the contemporary account of what passed when Elizabeth of York, the wife of King Henry VII. of England, was about to give birth to Queen Mary's grandmother: 'Upon Allhalow even [31st October 1489] the Quene tooke her chamber at Westminster, gretely accompagned with ladyes and gentilwomen . . . and . . . havynge befor hir the greates parte of the nobles of thys royalme being present at this Parliament. And she was ledde by therle of Oxenforde and therle of Derby; and the reverent fader in God, the Bishop of Excestre, songe the masse, *in pontificalibus*, and after the *Agnus Dei*; and whan the Bishop had done, the Quene was lede as bifore. And therles of Shrewsbury and of Kente hylde the towelles whan the Quene toke her rightes [that is, received the Eucharist], and the torches ware holden by knyghtes. And after mass, accompayned as before, and when she was comen into hir great chambre, she stode undre hir cloth of estate. Then their was ordeyned a voide of espices and swet wyne. That doone, my lorde the Quenes Chamberlain, in very good wordes, desired, in the Quenes name, the pepul there present to pray God to sende hir the goode oure. And so she departed to her inner chambre, which was hanged and sceyled with riche clothe of arras of blew, with flour de lisis of gold, without any other clothe of arras of ymagerye, whiche is not convenient about wymen in such case. And in that chambre was a

*Ceremonial of a Queen taking her chamber.*

seal to those who were to have the chief trust in Scotland, the third she sent to her kinsfolks in France.<sup>1</sup> No one of these copies would seem to have been preserved, nor is it certainly known what their terms were. All that can now be learned of the Queen's feelings and wishes is to be gathered from the Testamentary Inventory of her jewels, printed in the text.

It appears to have been drawn up in the end of May or in the beginning of June 1566, by Mary Livingston,<sup>2</sup> the lady of honour in charge of the Queen's jewels, and by Margaret Carwod, the bedchamber woman in charge of the

riche bedde and palliet, the which palliet had a marviellous riche canope of clothe of gold . . . also ther was a riche auter well furnyshed with reliques, and a riche cupborde well and richely garnyshed. And then she recomanded hir to the goode praiers of the lordes, and then my lord her Chamberleyn drew the travers. And frome thens forth, no maner of officers came within the chambre, but ladies and gentelwomen after the old coustume.'—(Strutt's *Horda Angel-Cynnan*, vol. iii. pp. 157, 158.)

A relic of this formal seclusion still lives in one of the senses in which we use the word 'confinement.' The ceremony with which it began has long been forgotten, but the rite which marked its end survives in 'the Churching of Women.'

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 7th June 1566, quoted in G. Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. p. 269, vol. iii. pp. 30, 31; Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 354; Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 338, 339; *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> It is here printed, for the first time, from the original in the Register House, where it was discovered in August 1854, among some unassorted law papers.

It is in two parts or gatherings, which have been tied together by a ribbon, secured by a seal, of which the mark is still to be seen.

The first gathering (pp. 93-115 of the text) contains ten leaves, numbered consecutively in a hand of the time. The first leaf, which is not counted in the numbering, is inscribed, *Inuentayr des Brodurs de la Royne*. The first page of the tenth leaf is subscribed by the Queen and Mary Livingston (as at p. 115 of the text). On the second page of the tenth leaf, being the last page of the gathering, is written in the Queen's hand (as at p. 115 of the text),

*Jentands que cestuissi soyt exerceu au cas que l'infant ne me suruive mayz si il vit ie le foyz heritier de tout*  
MARIE R

The second gathering (pp. 116-124 of the text) contains six leaves, of which the first four are numbered consecutively in a hand of the time. The second page of the second leaf is subscribed by the Queen and Mary Livingston (as at p. 121 of the text), and the second page of the third leaf, by the Queen and Margaret Carwod (as at p. 123 of the text). The facsimile shows that the latter was but a poor pen-woman; it would seem, indeed, that it was only on great occasions that she attempted to write at all. A writ by her, in the Register House, dated in April 1566, is subscribed in set phrase, *Mergaret Carwod with my hand at the pen led be the notar vnderwrittin at my command*. The postscript in the Queen's hand (printed at p. 124 of the text) begins at the foot of the second page of the third leaf, and fills the first page of the fourth leaf. On the second page of the fourth leaf, the Queen had begun what would seem to have been some conditional instructions, but broke off abruptly after writing the two words, *Si mon*. The fifth leaf and the first page of the sixth leaf are blank. On the second page of the sixth leaf, being the last page of the gathering, is written in the Queen's hand (as at p. 124 of the text), *Jentands que cestuissi sorte affect* MARIE R

Both gatherings are stained with water, and worn at the edges, especially towards the foot of the page. The accompanying facsimile is of the first and second pages of the third leaf, of the first page of the fourth leaf, and of the second page of the sixth leaf of the second gathering. The curved line towards the head and foot of each page represents the slit through which a ribbon was passed so as to fasten the two gatherings together under a seal.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 115, 121.

Queen's cabinet.<sup>1</sup> On the margin, opposite to each of the two hundred and fifty-three articles enumerated, the Queen has written, with her own hand, the name of the person to whom she bequeaths it, adding at the end a note that the bequests are to take effect only in the event of her infant dying with herself; for if he lives she makes him the heir of all. Both the Inventory itself, and the Queen's bequests, are in the language of the country where her happier days were passed; indeed it was not until seven years after she left France, when she had crossed the Solway in her flight from her last battlefield, that she ventured on the attempt to write in English.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen from the accompanying facsimile, that it was not altogether without reason that her letters about this time contain apologies for her handwriting,<sup>3</sup> which, at the best, was perhaps a little too masculine.

Bequests to the  
Crown of Scot-  
land.

Her first bequest is for the honour of the Crown which she inherited. She leaves to it the Great Harry, another jewel of the same fashion, a grand dia-

The Queen's  
first letters in  
English.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 119, 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup> What Queen Mary describes as her first letter in English, was written to Sir Francis Knollys, from Bolton, on the 1st of September 1568: 'Mester Knollis, y heuu har sum neus from Scotland; y send zou the double off them y vreit to the Quin my gud sister, and pres zou to du the lyk, conforme to that y spak zesternicht vnto zou, and sut hesti ansur y refer all to zour discretion, and wil lipne beter in zour gud delin for mi, nor y kan persuad zou, nemli in this langasg; excus my iuel vreit in for y neuuer vsed it afor, and am hestet . . . Excus my iuel vreit in thes furst tym.'—(Sir H. Ellis' Original Letters illustrative of English History, first series, vol. ii. pp. 252-4, edit. 1825.)

When Mary called this her first English letter, she forgot that she had written in English to the Commendator of St. Colm's Inch six weeks before (on the 23d of July 1568).—(Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 390.)

There are a few letters of still earlier date, written in the Queen's name, which have an English sentence or two added to them in her own hand. The first of these postscripts which I have observed, is in a letter to the Earl of Argyll, of the 31st of March 1566: 'Wat euer bis sayed bi sur off my gud mynd and that

ye sal persayue command my to our bruder Zour richt gud sister MARIE R.'—(Letters to the Argyll Family, pp. 5, 6, Maitland Club, 1839). Other examples will be found in the same volume, pp. 10-12; and in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iii. p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> On the 15th of March 1566, Mary, after her escape to Dunbar from the short captivity in which she was held by the murderers of Rizzio, writes to Queen Elizabeth: 'We thoct to haue writtin to zow this letter with oure awin hand . . . bot of trewth we ar so tyrit and ewill at ease, quhat throw rydding of twenty millis in fuee houris of the nycht, as with the frequent seiknesses and ewill dispositioun be the occasioun of our chyld, that we could nocht at this time.' On the 4th of April 1566, still writing to the English Queen, she says: 'Excusés moy si j'escris si mal; car je suis si grosse, estant en mon septiesme moys.' Again, in May 1566, she writes to her aunt, the Duchess of Guise: 'Je bayse aussi les mayns à la Mignone, et la prie m'excuser; car, tant que je seray si empeschée de ce fardeau, je ne lui escriray point, qui ne sera plus que six semaines.'—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. i. pp. 337, 355, t. vii. p. 302. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 233.)

The Queen's  
apologies for  
her hand-  
writing.

James  
Foyne

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7/2/11



Ands que cest missi' sorte affect  
Marrup

Imitations of  
Zorbellis



mond cross, a chain enriched with rubies and diamonds, a necklace of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and a large diamond set in an enamelled finger-ring. These seem to have been among her choicest gems; and she desires that an act may be passed annexing them to the Crown of Scotland in remembrance of herself, and of the Scottish alliance with the house of Lorraine.<sup>1</sup> Seven jewels containing what appear to have been her largest diamonds, she bequeaths for ornaments to the Queens of Scotland, under injunctions neither to change the setting, nor to give the pieces away, but to keep them with the Crown for evermore.<sup>2</sup>

Bequests to the  
Queens of Scotland;

There are as many as twenty-six bequests to her husband the King.<sup>3</sup> to the King. Among them are a watch studded with diamonds and rubies; a little dial<sup>4</sup> set with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and turquoises; a St. Michael, containing fourteen diamonds; a chain of gold enamelled in white, containing two hundred links, with two diamonds in each link; and, of more interest than all, a diamond ring, enamelled in red, against which the Queen writes, 'It was with this that I was married; I leave it to the King who gave it me.'<sup>5</sup> The Queen's marriage-ring.

Nor are the King's kindred forgotten. Mary leaves a large diamond ring, enamelled in black, to his father the Earl of Lennox,<sup>6</sup> and two diamond rings, one of them enamelled in black, to his mother, her own aunt, the Countess of Lennox.<sup>7</sup>

Bequests to the  
Earl and Countess  
of Lennox;

The Queen's kinsfolks in France have more affectionate or more costly to the house of Guise.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 93, 94, 97, 98, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 94, 95.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 122, 123.

<sup>4</sup> P. 123. It does not appear in the Inventories of 1561 and 1562, and may therefore, perhaps, be identified with the 'dial curiously wrought and set with stones,' which was given by the Earl of Lennox to the Queen in the autumn of 1564, along with 'a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account; a clock; and a looking-glass, very richly set with stones, in the four metals.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 24th October 1564, in Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. p. 256.)

Jewelled dial,  
etc., given by  
the Earl of  
Lennox to the  
Queen.

<sup>5</sup> P. 112.

The English envoy at Edinburgh, in his contemporary account of the Queen's marriage, writes: 'The words were spoken; the rings, which were three, the middle a riche diamonde, were put upon her finger, theie kneel together, and manie prayers saide over them.'—(Letter from Randolph to Leicester, 31st July 1565, printed in Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 202; and in Principal Robertson's History of Scotland, appendix, no. xi., Works, vol. ii. p. 333, edit. Oxf. 1825.)

<sup>6</sup> P. 112: 'A mon beau pere.'

<sup>7</sup> P. 112: 'A ma belle mere.'

remembrances. The house of Guise has a legacy of great rubies and great pearls, to be handed down from generation to generation as the inheritance of its first-born.<sup>1</sup> A large ruby is left to its chief,<sup>2</sup> the Queen's cousin, the Duke afterwards known as the second *le Balafre*, then only in his sixteenth year, but already distinguished in arms against the Turks. There are bequests to his mother,<sup>3</sup> then on the eve of her second marriage; to his sister,<sup>4</sup> conspicuous in after years for her devotion to the League; and to his brothers Charles,<sup>5</sup> afterwards Duke of Mayenne, the conqueror of many a Huguenot town before he was vanquished at Ivry; Lewis,<sup>6</sup> afterwards Cardinal of Guise; and Francis,<sup>7</sup> who died before he had risen above the rank of a Canon of Reims. He was the godson of the Queen's first husband; and it will be observed that she remembers him before his elder brothers, Charles and Lewis, and gives him a richer jewel than either.

Godson of King  
Francis II.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 96, 97, 101, 102.

<sup>2</sup> P. 94: 'Je le laysse a mon cousin de Guise.'

Henry of Lorraine, third Duke of Guise, born in 1550, was the eldest son of the Queen's uncle (her mother's eldest brother), Francis of Lorraine, second Duke of Guise, the first *le Balafre*, assassinated by the Huguenot Poltrot de Méré, at the siege of Orleans, in 1563. He himself was assassinated, by order of King Henry III., on the threshold of the king's cabinet at Blois, in 1588.—(L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, t. ii. pp. 606, 607, edit. 1784.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 93: 'Je la laysse a ma tante Madame de Guise.'

Anne, daughter of Hercules of Este, Duke of Ferrara, was born in 1531. She married, in 1549, Francis second Duke of Guise, and, after his murder, in 1566, James of Savoy, Duke of Nemours. She died in 1607.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 94, 95: 'Je le laysse a ma cousine de Guise.'

Catharine of Lorraine, the only daughter of Francis second Duke of Guise, was born in 1552, and in 1570 became the second wife of Lewis of Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier. She died in 1596, and was buried in the choir of the conventual church of St. Peter at Reims, beside her aunt, the Queen Dowager of Scotland. 'Elle fut Ligueuse outrée,' says Father An-

selme.—(Histoire Généalogique de France, t. iii. p. 486, edit. 1728.)

<sup>5</sup> P. 114: 'A Charles.'

Charles of Lorraine, second son of Francis second Duke of Guise, was born in 1554. The young Queen of Scots was present at his baptism, along with King Henry II. and Catharine of Medicis.—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. i. pp. 19-22.) He was created Duke of Mayenne in 1573. A successful campaign in Dauphiny gained him the title of *le Preneur de Villes*. He became the chief of the League on the assassination of his elder brother, the second *le Balafre*, in 1588. He died in 1611.

<sup>6</sup> P. 114: 'A Loys.'

Lewis of Lorraine, third son of Francis second Duke of Guise, was born in 1556. He became Archbishop of Reims and Cardinal of Guise, being the second of his house who had the latter title. He was put to death at Blois in 1588, on the day after the murder of his brother, the younger *le Balafre*.

<sup>7</sup> P. 114: 'Au filleul du feu Roy.'

Francis of Lorraine, fifth son of Francis second Duke of Guise, was born in 1559. He became a Canon of Reims, where he died in 1573, before his uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine could fulfil the intention of making him Archbishop-Coadjutor of Reims.

The house of Aumale,<sup>1</sup> and the house of Elbeuf (or, as Mary calls it, 'the house of the Marquis'),<sup>2</sup> have each a legacy of pearls to be kept, it would seem, as family heirlooms, like the rubies and pearls left to the parent house of Guise. There is a bequest to the eldest daughter of the Duke of Aumale,<sup>3</sup> Catharine, the Queen's cousin, afterwards Duchess of Mercoeur, then in her sixteenth year. There is a still larger bequest to the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Elbeuf,<sup>4</sup> Mary, afterwards Duchess of Aumale, the Queen's cousin and goddaughter.

Bequests to the houses of Aumale and Elbeuf.

The Queen's god-daughter.

To her mother's sister, the Abbess of St. Peter's at Reims,<sup>5</sup> Mary be-

Bequest to the Queen's aunt, the Abbess of Reims.

<sup>1</sup> P. 102: 'A celle Daumalle;' p. 98: 'Le reste de cest acoustremant aux esnez Daumalle.'

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 102, 103: 'A celle du Marquis;' pp. 100, 101: 'A l'aisne fils le la mayson du Marquis.'

<sup>3</sup> P. 93: 'Je la laysse a ma cousine Daumalle lesne;' p. 96: 'A ma cousine Daumalle.'

Catharine of Lorraine, the eldest daughter of Claude second Duke of Aumale, by his marriage in 1548 with Louise, daughter of Louis of Brezé, grand steward of Normandy, was born in 1550, and in 1569 became the third wife of Nicholas of Lorraine, Count of Vaudemont, created Duke of Mercoeur in 1576. She died in 1606.

Her father, the Queen's uncle, was the third son of Claude of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise. He was born in 1526, and became Duke of Aumale in 1547. It was at his marriage, as we learn from a letter of King Henry II., that Queen Mary, after her arrival in France in 1548, first danced with the Dauphin. The Duke of Aumale accompanied the Queen to Scotland in 1561. He was killed at the siege of Rochelle in 1573.—(*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, t. ii. pp. 794, 795. *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. i. pp. 210, 219.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 93: 'Je le laysse a ma filleule fille du Marquis;' p. 94: 'A la fille du Marquis ma filleule,' 'A ma filleule;' p. 97: 'A ma cousine la fille du Marquis ma filleule.'

Mary of Lorraine, the only daughter of Rene, Marquis of Elbeuf, by his marriage in 1554, with Louise of Rieux, Countess of Harcourt, married in 1576 her cousin Charles third Duke of Aumale. She died about the year 1616.—(*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, t. ii. p. 796. *Brantôme*, t. v. p. 68.)

Her father, the Queen's uncle, was the eighth son

of Claude of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise. He was born in 1536. In December 1559, he had a commission from Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland, appointing him their Lieutenant-General in Scotland during the absence of the Queen Dowager. But it never took effect. In August 1561, he accompanied Queen Mary to Scotland, where he remained till the end of February 1561-2, giving such scandal to the Reformed in Edinburgh, that it drew from them a formal remonstrance to the Queen. He had an allowance from her of fifty shillings sterling a day for his table; the payments made to him in all amounting to L.1500 Scots. He died in 1566.—(*Liber Responsionum in Scaccario 1546-61*, ms. Register House. Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 101, edit. 1845. *Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum*, Oct. 1561—Jan. 1562, ms. Register House. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 66, 67, 71. *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 11, 12. Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 268, 315-321. Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique de France*, t. iii. pp. 492, 493. *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 122, 127, 131, 132, 139, 140, 142, 178, 179; vol. ii. p. 823. Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 282-287.)

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 112, 124: 'A ma tante de St. Pierre.'

Renee of Lorraine, the third daughter of Claude first Duke of Guise, was born in 1522, and became Abbess of St. Peter's at Reims in 1546. She died in 1602, and was buried in the choir of her own abbey church, beside the stately tomb which showed her sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, figured in bronze, clothed in her royal vestments, holding the sceptre and the sword of justice.—(Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique de France*, t. iii. pp. 485, 486.) A



queaths, with other things of less note, a great mirror in a frame of white and black enamel, containing a miniature of the Queen of England.

Bequest to the Queen's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

She leaves an emerald ring to her mother's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine,<sup>1</sup> that able but unscrupulous minister, 'the Tiger of France,' as so many regarded him, but the man, of all her kinsfolks and friends, whom Mary loved best and trusted most.<sup>2</sup>

Cancelled bequest to Madame Damville.

The Queen had bequeathed an emerald ring to one who had been her companion at the court of King Henry the Second, the wife of that flower of French chivalry, the Seigneur de Damville, afterwards Duke of Montmorency

prayer-book which Mary Stewart is said to have bequeathed to the abbey of St. Peter's at Reims, is still shown in the public library of that city.—(M. Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, t. ii. p. 27.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 114: 'A mon oncle le Cardinal.'

Mary had two uncles Cardinals, both brothers of her mother.

Her bequest is to the elder and more famous, Charles, second son of Claude first Duke of Guise. He was born in 1525, became Archbishop of Reims in 1540, Cardinal of Lorraine in 1555, and died in 1574. He was the chief minister of France during the reign of King Francis II.

His younger brother Lewis, fourth son of Claude first Duke of Guise, was born in 1527, and was made Bishop of Troyes in 1545, and Cardinal of Guise in 1553. He appears in our Scottish records, in March 1560, as Commendator of the Abbey of Kelso.—(Register of Deeds, vol. iv. fol. 93, ms. Register House.) He died in 1578, with the character of a good, easy man, who seldom troubled himself with any more serious affairs than those of the table.

The Queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eh bien!' said Mary, when she heard of his death, 'je suis prisonnière, et Dieu prend l'une des créatures que j'aimois le mieux.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. p. 267.)

Other eyes, such as, in her better days, had brightened as they looked upon her, saw in him only the shadow of her evil genius:

'Ni mihi tam foedus, tam dirus avunculus esset,  
Seculi hujus Marie foemina prima forem.  
Sed vitiiis, quibus evertit regna omnia, famam  
Polluit ille suam, polluit ille meam.'

—(G. Buchanani *Epigrammatum*, lib. ii. epp. 20, 21: 'Maria Regina Scotiae puella'; 'Eadem adulta'.)

The influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine on Mary's career was no doubt malign upon the whole; but his counsels, if listened to, would have saved her from at least one mistake which drew others in its train. His searching eye had early seen through Darnley, and he warned his niece against marrying a great girlish nincompoop wholly unworthy of her hand: 'que ce n'estoit pas party pour elle . . . que c'estoit ung gentil hutaudeau,' that is, as M. Teulet glosses it, 'un étourneau, un jeune homme léger et inconsideré.'—(*Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 42.) Old Cotgrave interprets 'hutaudeau' to signify a 'cockerell, or great cocke chicke, also a caponet, a big well-grown pullet.' The word, like not a few other household terms, found its way from France to Scotland, where, with some slight change of its primary meaning, it long survived (if, indeed, it be yet extinct) in the shape of 'howtowdy.'

The King and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Catharine of Medicis had formed an equally contemptuous estimate of Darnley's character: 'Ce jeune fou n'a pas été longtemps Roi,' she wrote, when she heard of his murder; 's'il eût été plus sage, je crois qu'il seroit encore en vie.'—(M. Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, p. 51.)

The King and Catharine of Medicis.

I have already spoken (p. xii., note 2) of Buchanan's devotion to the house of Lennox, the chiefs of his race, the lords of his paternal strath. It carried him so far as to hail the worthless Darnley as 'the best of kings':

The King and Buchanan.

'Optime Rex, opto, sit tibi certa salus.'

He seems, on reflection, to have seen that the bestowal of such an epithet on such a man, was beyond even a poet's license; and the line was afterwards silently changed into

'Unum opto id, Princeps, sit tibi certa salus.'

and Constable of France.<sup>1</sup> But, upon second thoughts, the bequest was cancelled, and the ring is left to Riccio's brother, to be delivered to one whose name the Queen had imparted to him in secret. The only French legacies beyond the circle of her family, are to Mary of Beaucaire, who, as we learn from Brantôme, had been the Scottish Queen's great favourite at the court of France.<sup>2</sup> She was now the wife of the Viscount of Martigues,<sup>3</sup> a gallant soldier, who had commanded the French forces sent to Scotland to sustain the falling power of the Queen Regent, and, when he heard in Paris that Mary

Bequests to Madame de Martigues, etc.

—(G. Buchanani Epigrammatum, lib. iii. ep. 1, edit. T. Ruddimanni.)

Bothwell  
and Knox.

The same feudal feeling which attracted Buchanan to Darnley, manifested itself still more remarkably in drawing the great Reformer of Scotland to the most dissolute and flagitious of her nobles. 'Wold to God,' said Knox to Bothwell in 1562, 'that in me war counsall or judgement that mycht conforte and releave you. For albeit that to this hour it hath nott chaused me to speik with your Lordship face to face, yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the troubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my Lord, my grandfather, goodsher, and father, have served your Lordships predecessoris, and some of thame have died under thair standartis; and this is a part of the obligatioun of our Scottish kyndnes.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 323, 324.) Knox throughout speaks of Bothwell with obvious tenderness.

<sup>1</sup> P. 113: 'A Madame Danuille.'

Antoinette, eldest daughter of Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, by his marriage with Frances of Breze, Countess of Maulevrier, was born in 1542, and married the Seigneur de Damville in 1559. She died in 1591.—(Anselme, Histoire Généalogique de France, t. iii. p. 605. Brantôme, t. v. p. 68.)

M. Damville.

Her husband, Henry of Montmorency, the second son of Anne, Duke of Montmorency, Constable of France, was born in 1534, and was known during the lifetime of his father and elder brother as the Seigneur de Damville. In 1561, having the unfortunate Chatellard in his train, he accompanied Queen Mary to Scotland, and, with the rest of her French escort, was entertained at a banquet by the city of Edinburgh, on Sunday the 31st of August, in the house which had been Cardinal Beaton's in the

Blackfriars' Wynd. He took his departure with the Queen's uncle, the Grand Prior of France (who had Brantôme in his train) on the 9th of October; three of their retainers being presented by the Queen with gold chains, one of 150 crowns, and two of 50 crowns each. The Seigneur de Damville was made a Marshal of France in 1567, succeeded his brother Francis as Duke of Montmorency in 1579, and became Constable of France in 1597. He died in 1614.—(L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, t. ii. p. 656. Diurnal of Occurrences, pp. 66, 67, 69. Brantôme, t. v. pp. 92, 121-125. Compotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Oct. 1561—Jan. 1562, ms. Register House. M. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse, t. iii. pp. 3, 4. Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. i. pp. 111, 112, 118.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 93, 98, 99, 108.

'Madame de Martigues, dite avant Mademoiselle de Villemontays, grande favorite de la Reyne d'Escosse.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 68.)

She was the daughter of John of Beaucaire, Seigneur of Puy-Gillon, and Seneschal of Poitou.—(Anselme, Histoire Généalogique de France, t. iii. p. 738.)

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian of Luxembourg, second son of Francis second Viscount of Martigues, succeeded his brother as fourth Viscount of Martigues, in 1553. He was sent to Scotland in command of the French forces in 1559. He was made Duke of Penthièvre in 1569, and was killed at the siege of St. Jean-d'Angeli in the same year.—(L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, t. ii. pp. 921, 922. Diurnal of Occurrences, pp. 55, 57, 272, 274. Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, 280, 282. Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 8, 12, 57. G. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. xvi., Opera, pp. 322, 325. Brantôme, t. iv. pp. 397-413.)

was a prisoner in Lochleven, undertook, if the French king would grant him but three thousand harquebussiers for three months, either to deliver her in spite of all opposers, or never to set foot in France again.<sup>1</sup> The Queen, it will be seen, makes two bequests to his infant daughter,<sup>2</sup> afterwards Duchess of Penthièvre in her own right, and Duchess of Mercœur by marriage.

The first Scottish legacies, after those to the Crown, are to the Queen's kinsfolks, the offspring of her father by various concubines,—Lady Jane Stewart, Countess of Argyll,<sup>3</sup> a wayward and unloving wife, who had forsaken her husband's home for the court of Holyrood, and was sitting at supper with the Queen when the murderers of Riccio burst into her cabinet; Lord Robert Stewart, Commendator of Holyrood,<sup>4</sup> afterwards Earl of Orkney, the only

Requests to the  
Countess of Argyll;

to the Commendator  
of Holyrood.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Sir Henry Norris, the English Ambassador at Paris, to Queen Elizabeth, 23d July 1567, in Selections illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, pp. 242, 243.—(Maitland Club.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 100, 103.

Mary of Luxembourg, born in 1562, succeeded to her father's Duchy of Penthièvre in 1569, and married in 1576 Philip-Emmanuel of Lorraine, Duke of Mercœur. She died in 1623.—(Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique de France*, t. iii. pp. 738, 795. Brantôme, t. iv. pp. 91-95, t. v. p. 70.)

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 99, 100: 'A Madame Darguilles,' p. 103: 'A ma sœur,' pp. 103, 104: 'A ma sœur Darguilles,' pp. 106-108: 'Aus dames d'Arguilles,' etc.; p. 108: 'A Madame d'Arguilles,' p. 113: 'A ma sœur.'

Lady Jane (or Janet) Stewart, daughter of King James v. by Elizabeth Betoun (daughter of the Laird of Creich, afterwards wife of John fourth Lord Innermeath), married in 1554 Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll. As proxy for Queen Elizabeth, she stood godmother to the Prince at his christening at Stirling in December 1566. This was regarded by the General Assembly as a falling away from the Reformed faith, and the Countess was sentenced to make public repentance in the Chapel Royal at Stirling. She had left her husband in 1564, and persisting in her refusal to return, was divorced from him in 1573. There seems to have been considerable hesitation in pronouncing the sentence, which was the first sentence of divorce given on such a ground in Scotland; and its validity, which

was challenged by the Countess, would appear not to have been beyond question. The Earl, who immediately married again, died in the same year. The Countess (for she kept the title to the last) survived till January 1587, when, dying in the Canongate, she was buried in the royal vault at Holyrood.—(Registrum Magni Sigilli, lib. xxxv. no. 275. *MS. Register House. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 239, 241. *Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 114, 117, 148, 149, 262, 263. *Letters to the Argyll Family*, pp. 59, 71, 78. *Mr. Riddell's Peerage and Consistorial Law of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 547-552. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 375, 376.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 122: 'A mon frere de St. Croyx.'

Lord Robert Stewart, bastard son of King James v. by Eupheme, second daughter of Alexander first Lord Elphinstone, was born in 1532, and made Commendator of Holyrood in 1539, and Commendator of Charlieu (in France) before 1557. He joined the Reformers in 1559, and married, in 1561, Janet Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert third Earl of Cassilis. He had a grant from the Queen, in 1565, of the crown lands of Orkney and Shetland, and in 1568, exchanged his Commendatorship of Holyrood for the lands of the Bishopric of Orkney. In 1575, he was imprisoned on the charge of procuring a charter from the King of Denmark as sovereign of the Orkneys, and was not released until 1579. He was made Earl of Orkney about 1581, and died before the close of the year 1592.

other guest at the Queen's table on that memorable night; and Lord James Stewart, Earl of Murray,<sup>1</sup> afterwards Regent of Scotland, his wife,<sup>2</sup> and their eldest daughter.<sup>3</sup> There are bequests to Master John Stewart,<sup>4</sup> to James Stewart,<sup>5</sup> and to Jane Stewart,<sup>6</sup> all apparently illegitimate inheritors of the royal blood, although, perhaps, it might not be easy now to identify them.

There is no difficulty in recognising the nephew Francis,<sup>7</sup> on whom

Bequests to the Earl of Murray, etc. ;

to Francis Stewart, afterwards Earl Bothwell.

In her incompleting will, made at Sheffield in February 1577, Queen Mary declared his title to the Orkneys to be null and void : ' Je déclare que mon frère bastard, Robert abbé de Sainte-Croix, n'a eu que par circonvencion, Orknnay, et que se ne fut jamays mon intention, comme il apert par la révocation que j'en ay fayte depuys, et a été aussi fayte d'avant l'asge de xxv ans, ce que j'auerois délibéré, si il ne m'eussent prévenu par prison, de défayré aux Estats. Je veulx donc que Orkennay soit réuni à la couronne.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i. p. 44, t. iv. p. 361. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. xxv. no. 334. *MS. Register House. Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, pp. xxxv. xxxvi. Mr. Balfour's *Oppressions in Orkney and Zetland*, pp. xlv. lvi. 3-11. *Historie of King James the Sixth*, pp. 157, 182.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 112 : 'A mon frere de Mora ;' p. 122 : 'A mon frere.'

Lord James Stewart, as every one knows, was the bastard son of King James v. by Margaret, daughter of John, fourth Lord Erskine, afterwards wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. He was born about 1531, made Commendator of the Priory of St. Andrews in 1538, Commendator of the Priory of Pittenweem, and Commendator of the Priory of Mâcon (in France), in 1555, joined the Reformers in 1556, was made Earl of Mar in February 1561-2, and Earl of Murray in September 1562. He became Regent of Scotland in August 1567, and was assassinated at Linlithgow in January 1569-70.

Mary, it will be observed, spells most Scottish names as they were pronounced in her court, and as they have continued to be pronounced by the commonalty almost to our own day. 'Mora,' 'Boduel,' and 'Hontelay,' are pronunciations of 'Murray,' 'Bothwell,' and 'Huntly,' not yet, perhaps, altogether obsolete in every part of Scotland. The fidelity with which the ancient form of a name has been preserved among the people is sometimes

very remarkable. 'Cathcart,' for example, has long been an historical name in that shape; but the Clydesdale peasant still calls the place 'Carkert,' the very form in which it was written in the twelfth century.—(*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. pref. p. 82; *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. 47.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 104, 105, 108 : 'A Madame de Mora.'

Agnes, Annas, or Anna Keith, daughter of William fourth Earl Marischal, married the Earl of Murray in February 1561-2. After his death, she married Colin sixth Earl of Argyll, who died in 1584. She survived till 1588.—(*Letters to the Argyll Family*, pp. 61-70, 79-88.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 100 : 'A la fille de mon frere de Mora.'

The Earl of Murray had two daughters, but only one of them, Elizabeth, was born at the date of Queen Mary's bequest, in May or June 1566. In 1580, she married James Stewart (the eldest son of Sir James Stewart, Commendator of St. Colm's Inch), who, in her right, became Earl of Murray. In her incompleting will, made at Sheffield in February 1577, Queen Mary declared that the daughters of the Earl of Murray had no right of succession in his earldom : 'Les filles de Mora ne peuvent aussi hériter, ains revient la conté à la couronne.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. pp. 361, 362.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 118 : 'A Maystre Ien Stuart.'

<sup>5</sup> P. 120 : 'A Iame Stuart.'

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 105, 124 : 'A Iene Stuart ;' p. 109 : 'A Ien Stuart.'

She was perhaps the daughter of the Commendator of Holyrood, who afterwards married Patrick Leslie, Commendator of Lindores, and, on his death, Robert Lord Melville of Raith.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 110, 111 : 'A Francoys mon nepueu ;' pp. 111, 112 : 'A mon nepueu ;' p. 114 : 'A mon nepueu ;' p. 123 : 'A mon nepueu.'

Mary heaps so many tokens of her regard. He was the only son of Bothwell's sister<sup>1</sup> by her marriage with the Queen's bastard brother, Lord John Stewart, Lord Darnley, better known as Commendator of Coldingham.<sup>2</sup> Mary witnessed the sports and pastimes of their wedding at Crichton,<sup>3</sup> and stood godmother to their child, giving him, it would seem, the name of her first husband. The infant was still at his mother's breast when his father died, bequeathing him to the Queen's protection. Mary was no careless guardian. Before the boy had completed his fourth year, she made him Commendator of Coldingham. When he was stripped of his father's lordship of Darnley, by the restoration of the Earl of Lennox, she made him Lord of Badenoch; and when he lost that lordship by the restoration of the Earl of Huntly, she made him Commendator of Culross, and gave him a large grant from the Earl of Morton's forfeited rents of Aberdour and Dalkeith.<sup>4</sup> Her dethrone-

Bothwell's  
sister.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Jane Hepburn, only daughter of Patrick, third Earl Bothwell. She was thrice married, first (in January 1561-2) to Lord John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham; next (before May 1567) to John Sinclair, Master of Caithness, eldest son of George, fourth Earl of Caithness; lastly (before February 1581) to Archibald Douglas, a kinsman of the Regent Morton. She is the 'Madame de Cotiquant,' to whom the Queen gives a mourning robe in November 1563, and the 'Maistresse Catenay,' or 'Cadenay,' to whom the Queen gives a mantle and a vasquine in May 1567 (pp. 68, 71, 73), when she seems to have been the reigning female favourite at Holyrood. —(Letter from Drury to Cecil, 15th April 1567, in Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. p. 520. M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 433.)

Lord John  
Stewart, Lord  
Darnley.

<sup>2</sup> Lord John Stewart, natural son of King James v. (it is said by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Carmichael, the Captain of Crawford), was made Commendator of the Priory of Coldingham in 1541, when he seems to have been in his eighth or ninth year. In February 1550-1, he had letters of legitimation under the great seal. He renounced the old faith and joined the Reformers in 1560. He married Bothwell's sister in January 1561-2, and soon afterwards had a grant of part of the forfeited domains of the Earl of Lennox, together with the title of Lord Darn-

ley. Under that style (which has been overlooked by the peerage writers, although it appears in the public records) he had grants, in June 1563, of the lordship of the Enzie, the Forest of Boyne, with the tower of Bogygeich (now called Gordon Castle), and other lands forfeited by the Earl of Huntly in the previous year. He died at Inverness, probably in October or November 1563, certainly before the close of January 1563-4. —(*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. xxx. no. 688; lib. xxxii. no. 367. *ms. Register House. Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxi. foll. 102, 103, 105, 106, 130, 131; vol. xxxii. foll. 26, 71-73, 121. *ms. Register House. Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 271, 293, 315, 320, 389, 391, 392. *Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. pp. 115-120.)

<sup>3</sup> 'On Sunday the 11th of January 1561-2, the Lord John, a bastard brother of the Queen, the Commendator of Coldingham, married Jane, the sister of Bothwell, at Crichton Castle, the Queen being present; and much good sport and many pastimes there were, said Randolph to Cecil.' —(*G. Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 17. *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 177.)

<sup>4</sup> In March 1563-4, 'Francis Lord Darnley, only lawful son of the deceased John Lord Darnley, the Queen's brother, and of Dame Janet Hepburn his wife,' has charters of the lands of the lordship of the Enzie, the Forest of Boyne, Cruickstoun, Inchinnan,

ment left her helpless to serve him further; but her affection still survived, and in her will, made at Sheffield, in the tenth year of her captivity, she entreated her son to befriend her nephew, godson, and ward.<sup>1</sup> King James had almost anticipated her request that the stripling might have his uncle's inheritance. If the new Earl Bothwell proved strangely ungrateful to the King, he was at least not unmindful of Mary's kindness. He told James to his face that if he gave his consent to her trial by Queen Elizabeth, he deserved to be hanged;<sup>2</sup> and when tidings reached Scotland that she had been put to death, Bothwell exclaimed that a steel coat was the only mourning weed which he should wear, and raised the Middle Marches in arms for the invasion of England.<sup>3</sup>

Neilstoun, and others. In December 1564, the Queen makes a grant to him in liferent, and to his mother in fee, of the lordship of Badenoch, in recompense of the lordships and baronies of Darnley, Inchinnan, Neilstoun, and others restored to Matthew Earl of Lennox, on the recall of his forfeiture. In January 1564-5, Francis Stewart, son of the deceased John Lord Darnley, has a grant of the lordship of Lochaber. In March 1564-5, the Queen makes a grant to Francis Lord Badenoch, her nephew, of the escheat of a lease. On the 25th of March 1565, Francis Lord Badenoch, with consent of Mary Queen of Scots, his tutrix, makes a grant of the lands of Rothmekenzie and others to Alexander Innes of Cromby. The charter (which is in the Innes charter-chest at Floors) is subscribed by the Queen; her nephew's seal shows the arms of Scotland, with a bend, and the legend SIGILLVM · FRANCISCI · DNI · DE · BADZENACH · ET · LYNZES. In July 1565, the Queen makes a grant to her nephew, Francis Stewart, of the Commendatorship of the Priory of Coldingham. In October 1565, the King and Queen order the grant of the lordship of Lochaber, made in January 1564-5, to Francis Stewart, son of the deceased John Lord Darnley, to be deleted from the register. In April 1566, the King and Queen grant to Francis Stewart, son of the deceased John, Commendator of Coldingham, 28 chalders of victual, and £240 of money, from the rents of the baronies of Aberdour and Dalkeith, in recompense of the rents of the barony of the Enzie restored to the Earl of Huntly. In May 1566, the King and Queen appoint James Earl Bothwell to be tutor dative to Francis Stewart, son of the deceased

John, Commendator of Coldingham. In February 1566-7, the Queen grants the Commendatorship of Culross and the Commendatorship of Kelso to her nephew, Francis Stewart, in lieu of the Commendatorship of the Priory of Coldingham, which he had resigned at her request.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxii. foll. 71-73, 121, 130; vol. xxxiii. fol. 3; vol. xxxiv. fol. 54; vol. xxxv. foll. 76, 115, 116; vol. xxxvi. foll. 21, 101. MS. Register House. Computum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum. Jan. 1564—Jun. 1566. MS. Register House. Books of Sederunt of the Lords of Council and Session, vol. ii. foll. 139, 140. MS. Register House.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Je recommande mon nepveu François Stuart à mon filz, et luy commande le tenir près de luy et s'en servir, et lui laisser le bien du Comte de Boduel son oncle, en respect qu'il est de mon sang, mon filleul, et m'a esté laissé en tutèle par son père.'—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, vol. iv. p. 361.)

<sup>2</sup> On the 4th of October 1586, 'the Earle Bothwell, beinge asked his advise by the Kinge what he should doe, the Queene of England requiringe his consente to proceed againste his mother, said, yf he did suffer it, hee were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; wherat the Kinge laughed, and said he would provid for that.'—(Despatches of M. Courcelles, French Ambassador in Scotland, 1586-1587, pp. 8, 22, 23, 43. Edinb. 1828: Bannatyne Club.)

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 127. M. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse, t. iii. p. 568.

A few years afterwards, Bothwell plunged into that strange career of secret conspiracy and open tumult

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Bequests to the  
Countess of Mar,  
and her daughter;

to the Countess  
Dowager of Huntly.

There are legacies, of more or less value, to the Countess of Mar,<sup>1</sup> denounced by Knox as a Jezebel fit for the maw of Satan, but chosen with the general approval of the nation to be the governess of two generations of its princes; to her daughter, afterwards Countess of Angus;<sup>2</sup> to the Countess Dowager of Huntly,<sup>3</sup> the widow of the Earl who fell at Corriehie, as her enemies affirmed, a trafficker with witches;<sup>4</sup> to her daughter,

Crichton  
Castle.

against the King, which, in 1594, ended in his forfeiture and flight from Scotland. After wandering through Europe, earning a precarious and disreputable livelihood by practising feats of arms, telling fortunes, and professing the art of necromancy, he died at Naples in 1612, of grief, so it was believed, for the death of Prince Henry. His grandson, who served as a trooper in the wars of the Covenant, suggested the Bothwell of Old Mortality.—(Sir W. Scott's Prose Works, vol. vii. pp. 181-186.)

Unless I misread the mouldering cyphers on Crichton Castle, they tell that Francis Stewart, Earl Bothwell, and his wife, Dame Margaret Douglas, built the finest portion of the pile—the arcade, the grand staircase, and the eastern gallery—

'The court-yard's graceful portico,  
Above whose cornice, row on row,  
Of fair hewn facets richly show  
Their pointed diamond form.'

Its date, therefore, must lie between 1580 and 1594.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 105, 106, 108, 119: 'A Madame de Mar,' pp. 106, 107: 'Aus dames de Mar,' etc.

Annabella Murray, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, married, in 1557, John fifth Lord Erskine, who in 1565 became Earl of Mar. She is mentioned, in August 1566, as one of the Queen's three favourites who excited the King's jealousy; the others being the Countess of Argyle and the Countess of Murray. She survived till 1603.—(Letter from the Earl of Bedford, August 1566, in Principal Robertson's History of Scotland, app. no. xvii.; Works, vol. ii. p. 343.)

Knox calls her 'a verray Jesabell,' 'a sweatt morsall for the devillis mouth.' On the other hand, Sir James Melville describes her as 'wyse and schairp.' Mr. James Melville speaks of the young King 'walking vpe and down in the auld Lady Marrs hand,' discoursing of knowledge and ignorance, as 'the sweetest sight in Europe that day' [October 1574]. Another orthodox divine, in recording her death, writes: 'Feliciter vitam cum morte commutavit, omni-

bus grata, nemini exosa.' The King's own sense of her services to himself was such that he chose her to be governess to Prince Henry, and placed upon the record of the statute-book a grateful acknowledgement that, in her charge as well of himself as of his son, 'she hes done his Maiestie and the haill cuntrie trew thankfull worthie and guid service without spott negligence or reproche.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 128, 380. Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 262. Mr. James Melville's Diary, p. 38. Archibald Simson's Ms. Annales, quoted in the Countess of Mar's Arcadia, p. 9. Edinb. 1862. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 186, 187.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 105.

Mary, only daughter of John fifth Lord Erskine, Earl of Mar, by his marriage with Annabella Murray, became, in 1573, the wife of Archibald eighth Earl of Angus.

<sup>3</sup> P. 119: 'A Madame de Hontelay.'

Elizabeth Keith, sister of William fourth Earl Marischal, married, about 1535, George fourth Earl of Huntly. We learn from her daughter's marriage-contract that she could not write. Her niece was the wife of the Regent Murray.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Erle [of Huntly], immediatl[e] after his tacken, departed this lyiff without any wound . . . and so, becaus it was laitt, he was cassen over-thorte a pair of crealles, and so was caryed to Abirdene, and was laid in the tolbuyth thairof, that the response whiche his wyffis wyttches had gevin mycht be fulfilled, whay all affirmed (as the most parte say) that that same nyght should he be in the tolbuyth of Abirdene without any wound upoun his body. When his lady gatt knowledge thairof, sche blamed hir principale witche, called Janet; but sche stoultie defended hir self (as the devill can ever do), and affirmed that she geve a trew answer, albeit she spack nott all the treuth; for she knew that he should be thair dead: but that could nott proffieit my lady. Scho was angrye and sorye for a seassone, but the devill, the messe,

Accusations  
of witchcraft  
and magic:  
the Countess  
Dowager of  
Huntly;

the young and comely wife who, a few months afterwards, was divorced from Bothwell with such scandalous haste;<sup>1</sup> to her daughter-in-law, the Countess of Huntly,<sup>2</sup> the only Hamilton to whom the Queen vouchsafes a token of regard, with the exception of Lady Seton,<sup>3</sup> the wife of the ever loyal First Master of the Household; and to the Queen's bastard cousin Lady Livingston,<sup>4</sup> the

Bequests to the Countess of Bothwell, the Countess of Huntly, Lady Seton, and Lady Livingston.

and wyttches have als great credyte of hir this day (12 Junij 1566) as thei had sevin yearis ago.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 357, 358.)

John Knox.

Imputations of witchcraft and sorcery were among the commonplaces of controversy in that age. The Reformer himself had his full share of them: 'Quacumque iter faceret secum aliquot mulieres circumducebat . . . donec magicis artibus allectam filiam Comitiss Ochiltriæ pro vxore habuit. Erat enim magus, vt in multis per totam vitam apparuit.'—(Davidis Camerarii De Scotorum Fortitudine, pp. 276, 277. Paris. 1631. Cf. Nicol Burne's Disputation, foll. 102, 144, 175. Paris, 1581. R. Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 309, 310.) The accusation, it is said, was firmly believed by King James: 'Knoxium (quem Beza Apostolum Scotiæ vocat) non impium modo fuisse, sed magum, serenissimus Britanniarum Rex sæpe magnis argumentis asseruit.'—(Joannis Barclaii Paraenesis ad Sectarios, p. 38. Romæ, 1617.)

In Knox's case, the charge of sorcery may have received credit the more easily that he made public claim to the gift of foretelling future events. His belief that he himself possessed miraculous powers must, at the same time, have disposed him to believe more readily in the supernatural powers ascribed to others.

<sup>1</sup> P. 110: 'A Madame de Boduel.'

Bothwell's divorced wife.

Jane Gordon, daughter of George fourth Earl of Huntly, was born in 1545, and married, in February 1566, James fourth Earl Bothwell. She was divorced from him in May 1567, and in 1573 married Alexander eleventh Earl of Sutherland, after whose death (in 1594) she married the widowed husband of one of the Four Marys, Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. She died in 1629.

Her son, the Knight of Gordonston, has drawn her character with an affectionate hand: 'Shoe wes vertuous, religious, and wyse . . . comlie . . . judicious, of excellent memorie, and of great vnderstanding above the capacite of her sex. . . . Shoe alwise managed her affairs with so great prudence . . . that the enemies of her familie culd never prevaile against her, nor mowe . . . the cheiff ruellers of the state . . . to doe anything to her prejudice. . . . Amidst all these troublesome stormes

. . . shoe still injoyed the possession of her joynture . . . out of the Earldome of Bothwell, and kept the same vntill her death, yea although that earldome hath fallen tuse into the King's hands by forfaiture. . . . Shoe wes the first that caused work and labour the colehugh besyd the river of Broray, and wes the first instrument of making salt ther . . . And as shoe lived with great credit and reputation, so shoe dyed happelie, and wes (according to her own command) bureid by her sones . . . in the cathedrall church of Dornogh, in the sepulchre of the Earles of Sutherland.'—(Sir R. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 145, 168, 169, 409.)

Her portrait, painted in old age, is at Dunrobin, and was engraved for private circulation by the late Duke of Sutherland. The features, large but well-shaped, have a firm, thoughtful, and placid expression. The cross and rosary which she holds in her hand, show that she kept her first faith to the end. One of her books—a beautiful copy of the *Legenda Aurea*, printed in 1470—is still preserved.

<sup>2</sup> P. 119: 'A la ieusne Contesse de Hontelay.'

Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of James second Earl of Arran, and first Duke of Chatelherault, married, in 1558, George Lord Gordon, afterwards fifth Earl of Huntly. Her marriage contract shows that she could not write.

<sup>3</sup> P. 113: 'Aus dames de Ceston,' etc.

Isabel Hamilton, the daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, married, about 1552, George fifth Lord Seton. She died in 1606, having outlived her husband by twenty years.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 106, 109, 120: 'A Madame de Leuinston,' pp. 106, 107, 113: 'Aus dames de Leuinston,' etc.

Agnes Fleming, second daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming, married, about 1553, William sixth Lord Livingston.

She was the elder sister of Margaret Fleming, Countess of Atholl, one of the Queen's ladies of honour; and of Mary Fleming, one of the Queen's Four Marys, the wife of Secretary Lethington.

Their father fell at Pinkie in 1547. Their mother, Janet Stewart, an illegitimate daughter of King James



wife of a noble not less eminent for his fidelity, and with herself in after years the companion of the Queen's captivity.<sup>1</sup>

Bequests to the  
Earl of Argyll,  
and the Earl of  
Mar.

The Privy Councillors, not already named, to whom the Queen makes bequests are, the Earl of Argyll,<sup>2</sup> the husband of her bastard sister; the Earl of Mar,<sup>3</sup> regarded by the extreme Reformers as the leader of a reaction, which, in the enjoyment of the spoils of the Reformation, laughed at its policy and discipline as a pious dream;<sup>4</sup> the Earl of

Janet Lady  
Fleming and  
King Henry II.  
of France.

iv. appears, with three of her daughters, in the earliest roll of the Queen's servants which I have seen. She accompanied Mary to France in 1548, and there had an intrigue with King Henry II., by whom, in 1551, she became the mother of Henry of Angoulême (or, as he was sometimes called, Henry of Valois), Grand Prior of France.—(M. Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, t. i. pp. 474, 503-6, t. ii. pp. 2, 3. Mr. Riddell's *Stewartiana*, pp. 48-51.)

Marriage feast  
in the Queen's  
Park.

There was another Lady Fleming (p. 71), to whom the Queen gave a devant of cloth of gold, etc., for her wedding-dress, in May 1562. This was Elizabeth Ross, the wife of John fifth Lord Fleming. They held their marriage feast in the open air: 'The banquet was made in the Parke of Holyroudhous, under Arthur's Seatt, at the end of the loche, quher grate triumph wes made, the Quein's Grace being present, and the King of Suethland's ambassador, with many other nobles.'—(G. Marioreybanks, *Annals of Scotland*, p. 14. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 72.)

<sup>1</sup> Lord and Lady Livingston shared the Queen's prison at Carlisle and at Bolton in 1568, and at Tutbury in 1569. The name of 'My Lady Leuiston, dame of honour to the Queen's Majesty,' is the first on the roll of Mary's servants at Sheffield in 1571. It contains also the name of her husband, 'My Lord Leuiston.' They seem to have been separated from the Queen in September 1571.—(G. Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. pp. 441, 442. Mr. T. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. pp. 311, 394, 395. Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 520, edit. 1838. Bishop Lesley's *Diary*, in the *Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club*, vol. iii. p. 153.)

Lord Livingston's father was one of the two lords specially intrusted with the keeping of the young Queen from 1544 to 1548.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxii. fol. 15. MS. Register House.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 113: 'Au Conte d'Arguilles.'

Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll, succeeded

his father the fourth Earl, in 1558, became Lord Chancellor in January 1573, and died in September 1575. He commanded the Queen's forces at Langside. His wife was the sister of the Regent Murray, who, with his brothers, the Commendators of Kelso, Holyrood, and Coldingham, contributed to the payment of her dowry of 5000 merks.

<sup>3</sup> P. 112: 'Au Conte de Mar.'

John, fifth Lord Erskine, succeeded his father, the fourth Lord, in 1552, was made Earl of Mar in 1565, and Regent of Scotland in 1571. He died in October 1572.

His father was one of the two lords intrusted with the keeping of the young Queen from 1544 to 1548.

His sister was one of the concubines of King James v., by whom, about 1531, she became the mother of the Regent Murray.

<sup>4</sup> 'Some approved it, and willed the samyn have bene sett furth be a law. Otheris, perceaving thair carnall libertie and worldlie commoditie somewhat to be impaired thairby, grudged, insomuche that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto thame. Everie thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectionis was termed in thair mockage 'devote imaginationis.' . . . The cheaf great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskyn; and no wonder, for besydis that he has a verray Jesabell to his wyffe, yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the Kirk, had their awin, his keching wald lack two parttis and more of that which he injustlie now possesses. Assuredlye some of us have woundered how men that professe godlynnes could of so long continewance hear the threatnyngis of God against theavis and against thair housses, and knowing thame selfis guyltie in suche thingis as war openlie rebucked, and that thei never had remorse of conscience, neather yitt intended to restore any thingis

Atholl,<sup>1</sup> one of the three nobles who had raised a voice in Parliament against the new doctrines, protesting that he would believe as his fathers had believed ;<sup>2</sup> the turbulent, licentious Earl Bothwell, the worst man in the court, but the loudest in professions of zeal for the purer faith ;<sup>3</sup> his wife's brother, the Earl of Huntly,<sup>4</sup> now Lord Chancellor of the realm ; Bishop Lesley of Ross,<sup>5</sup> already distinguished by his defence of the old religion, and soon to be more widely known for the admirable devotion with which he gave

Bequests to the Earl of Atholl, the Earl Bothwell, the Earl of Huntly, and the Bishop of Ross.

of that whiche long thei had stollen and reft.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 128.)

Buchanan draws a very different character :—

'Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,  
Pace gravem nulli, tempore utroque pium ;  
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude, carentem  
Rebus in ambiguis suspicione fidem ;  
Si quod ob has dotes saevis jactata procellis  
Fugit in illius patria fessa sinum ;  
Vera quidem memoret, sed non et propria : laudes  
Qui pariter petet has unus et alter erit.  
Illud ei proprium est, longo quod in ordine vitae  
Nil odium aut livor quod reprehendat habet.'

(Miscellaneorum Liber, xxv. : 'Joanni Areskino, Comiti Marrae, Scotorum Proregi.')

<sup>1</sup> P. 113 : 'A Conte d'Atel.'

John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl, succeeded his father the third Earl in 1542, became Lord Chancellor in March 1578, and died in April 1579, as was suspected, of poison. He was the brother-in-law of Secretary Maitland of Lethington. The French ambassador describes him, in 1565, as 'très grand Catholique, hardy et vaillant et remuant, comme l'on dict, mais de nul jugement et expérience.'—(M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 76.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Our Confessioun was redd . . . and the vottis of everie man war requyred accordingle. Of the temporall estate onlie voted in the contrair, the Erle of Atholl, the Lordis Somervail and Borthwick ; and yit for thair disassenting thei produced no bettir reasone, but 'We will beleve as oure fatheris beleved.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 121.)

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 113, 122 : 'Au Conte Boduel.'

<sup>4</sup> Upon Sondag [10th February 1565-6], the Order [of the Cockle] is [to be] given [to the King.] . . . Divers Lords have bene . . . requyred to be at the masse that daye. Some have . . . refused. . . and of them all Bothwell is the stoutest but worst thought of.'—(Randolph to Cecil, 7 February 1565-6, in Mr. T. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 220. Cf. Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 325.)

'Soon after [24th February 1565-6] the Earle Bothwell was married unto the Earle of Huntley his sister. The Queen desired that the marriage might be made in the chappell at the masse ; which the Earle Bothwell would in no wise grant.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, book v. vol. ii. p. 520.)

We have mention of Bothwell's refusal to attend mass, 'albeit in great favour with the Queen,' in November and December 1565. His intercourse with Knox has already been referred to (pp. xxxvi., xxxvii., note 2.) He was among the lords who would not enter the Chapel Royal at Stirling, at the Prince's baptism, in December 1566, 'becaus it was done against the poyntis of thair religioun.' And, not even to secure the grand prize of his ambition and reward of his crimes, would he consent to be married to the Queen otherwise than by a Reformed minister after the Reformed rites : 'toda la cerimonia fue à la Calvinista.'—(M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, vol. iii. p. 31 ; *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, p. 111. Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 514, 539, 555. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 104, 111. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 291. Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 178, 179.)

<sup>5</sup> P. 113 : 'Au Conte Hontelay ;' p. 123 : 'A Monsseieur de Hontelay.'

George Gordon, son of George fourth Earl of Huntly, was restored to the forfeited honours of his father in 1565, held the office of Lord Chancellor from March 1566 till August 1567, and died suddenly at Strathbogie in October 1576.

<sup>6</sup> P. 113 : 'A l'Esuesque de Lendors.'

John Lesley, the illegitimate son, it would seem, of Gavin Lesley, parson of Kingussie, commissary general of Murray, was born in 1527, became parson of Oyne in 1559, a Lord of Session in 1564, Commendator of the Abbey of Lindores in 1565-6, Bishop of Ross in 1566, and Bishop of Coutances (in France) in 1593. He died at Brussels in May 1596. It is a

Bothwell's religious scruples.

Bequests to Sir  
James Balfour ;

himself to the service of the Queen ; and Sir James Balfour,<sup>1</sup> the most corrupt person, as some have judged him, of that corrupt age,<sup>2</sup> but so scrupulous in his regard for the creed of Luther that he could not hold communion with the disciples of Calvin.<sup>3</sup> Each gets a finger-ring ; and there are further legacies of a jewel, containing eleven diamonds and a ruby, to Bothwell, and of a jewel, containing five diamonds and a pearl, with an enamelled chain, to his brother-in-law, Huntly.

The Queen is careful to remember her attendants and servants of all ranks.

to the Queen's  
Four Marys.

There are costly bequests to her Four Marys<sup>4</sup>—ladies of her own name

melancholy token of the general immorality of his age that such a man—the most estimable of the Scottish prelates—appears to have been the father of three illegitimate children.—(Genealogy of the Leslies, in Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, ms. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. James Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, vol. i. p. [xiii.], note †. Extracts from the Council Register of the burgh of Aberdeen, 1570-1625, pp. 192, 193.)

The Queen, it will be seen, mistakes the name of his abbey for the name of the see to which he had just been presented. He sat in the Privy Council as Commendator of Lindores on the 11th, and as Bishop of Ross on the 15th of April 1566. He describes himself as still only Bishop Elect on the 12th of March 1566-7, and would seem never to have been consecrated to the see of Ross.—(Registrum Secreti Concilii : Acta, 1563-7, pp. 192, 196. ms. Register House. Register of Deeds, vol. vii. foll. 263, 398, 399. ms. Register House.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 113 : 'A Iemes Balfour.'

Sir James Balfour, son of Michael Balfour of Montquhany, became parson of Flisk about 1560, a Lord of Session in 1561, a Privy Councillor in 1565, Clerk Register in 1566, Governor of Edinburgh Castle in the spring or summer of 1567, and Lord President of the Court of Session in December of the same year. He was forfeited for his adherence to the Queen's cause in 1571, and passed the latter years of his life in exile or obscurity, dying, it is supposed, about the year 1583.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sir James Balfour, the most corrupt man of that age.'—(Principal Robertson's History of Scotland, book vi. vol. ii. p. 40.)

<sup>3</sup> Knox, who had been chained to the same galley with him in France, writes : 'We have heard that the said Maister James [Balfour] alledgeis that he was never of this our religioun ; but that he was brought up in Martine's opinioun of the Sacrament, and therefore he can nott communicat with us.'—(History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 202, 228.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 113 : 'Aux quatre Maries ;' p. 124 : 'Aus quatre Maries.' The Four Marys.

A.D. 1548. 'The Quene being as than betuix fyve and sax yearis of aige . . . wes embarqued in the Kingis awin gallay, and with her the Lord Erskyn and Lord Levingstoun quha had bene hir keparis, and the Lady Fleming hir fader sister, with sindre gentilwemen and nobill mennis sonnes and dochteris, almoist of hir awin aige ; of the quhilkis thair wes four in speciall, of whome everie one of thame buir the samin name of Marie, being of four syndre honorable houses, to wyt, Fleming, Levingstoun, Setoun, and Betoun of Creich ; quho remanit all foure with the Quene in France, during her residens thair, and returned agane in Scotland with hir Majestie in the yeir of our Lorde i<sup>m</sup> v<sup>o</sup> lxi yeris.'—(Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, pp. 209, 297. Cf. Leslai De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 494.)

The Four Marys have a place in the roll of the beauties of the court of King Henry II. and Queen Catharine of Medicis : 'Mesdemoiselles de Flammin, de Ceton, Beton, Leviston, Escossoises.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 74.)

Nor are they forgotten in the verse of Buchanan :—

'Alma Salus, reduci tibi Nymphae haec vota dedere  
Quattuor.'

(Miscellaneorum Liber, xxxv. : 'Ad Salutem in Nup-

and age, who, having been chosen to accompany her to France, had returned with her to Scotland, and lingered in her court to the last, even after they had found other homes—the lovely Mary Livingston,<sup>1</sup> whose marriage with a younger son of the Lord Sempill, conspicuous for his grace or vigour in dancing, had disturbed the equanimity of Knox;<sup>2</sup> Mary

Requests to Mary Livingston.

tiis Reginae.) Elsewhere, in his *Masque of the Gods*, he makes Jupiter extol to Diana the charms and virtues of Five Marys, counting the Queen as one of them:—

*'Quinque tibi Mariae fuerant, sed quinque Dearum  
Instar erant forma, moribus, ingenio.  
Quinque Deum dignae thalamis, si jungere taedas  
Mortali superos ferrea fata sinant.'*

(*Epigrammatum lib. iii.* : '*Pompa Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae.*') )

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 111, 120, 121 : '*A Lesuiston lesnee*;' pp. 116, 117 : '*A Leuinston laysnee.*'

Mary Livingston—or, as she herself writes her name, 'Marie Leuiston' (pp. 115, 121)—the daughter of Alexander fifth Lord Livingston, married, on Shrove Tuesday (6 March) 1564-5, John Sempill of Beltreis, son of Robert third Lord Sempill. The Queen is a party to the marriage contract, names the marriage day, and gives a dowry of L. 500 a year in land. The bride's brother, Lord Livingston, adds 100 merks a year in land, or 1000 merks in money. The bridegroom gives as a jointure the Place of Beltreis, with lands and fishings taxed to the crown at L. 18, 16s. 8d. a year. The marriage contract, dated at Edinburgh on the 3d of March 1564-5, is subscribed by the Queen, and witnessed by John Lord Erskine, Patrick Lord Ruthven, and Secretary Maitland of Lethington. The Queen, beside other gifts (pp. 31, 70, 72), gave the bride her wedding-dress, and furnished the bridal masque. It was the first marriage among her Four Marys, and as such seems to have attracted unusual attention. 'Elle a commencé à marier ses Quatre Maries,' so the French ambassador wrote to Catharine of Medicis, 'et dict qu'elle veult estre de la bande.' Mary Livingston—or, as she was frequently called after her marriage, 'Mademoiselle de Sempill,' or 'John Sempill's wife'—seems to have been alive in April 1592. Her husband died in April 1579.—(*Register of Deeds*, vol. xix. foll. 359-361, vol. xl. fol. 268. *MS. Register House*. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. xxxiii. foll. 5, 6, 14, 15. *MS. Register House*. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 559, 560; vol. iii. pp. 245, 246. *Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum*, Mar. 1564-5. *MS. Register House*. M.

Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 32, 121, 167.)

<sup>2</sup> 'It wes weil knawin that schame haistit mariage betwix Johnne Sempill, callit the Danser, and Marie Levingstoune, surnameit the Lustie.'—(Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 416.)

Polemical scandal: Mary Livingston;

I must believe this aspersion to be as groundless as any of the aspersions made on Knox's own chastity by his theological adversaries. See the Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 18th June 1563, in Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 22; Nicol Burne's *Disputation*, foll. 102, 143, 144; Dr. John Hamilton's *Facile Traicte*, p. 60, Lovaine, 1600; Davidis Camerarii *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, p. 276. John Knox.

So little haste was there in Mary Livingston's marriage, that the despatches of the French and English ambassadors speak of preparations for it two months before it was celebrated. I need not add that they give no countenance to the scandal reported by Knox, and, so far as I can discover, reported by no one else.—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 9 January 1564-5, in *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 204. Letter from Randolph to the Earl of Bedford, in *Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 95. Letter from Paul de Foix to Catharine of Medicis, January 1564-5, printed by M. Teulet in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 32.)

If there had been any blot on Mary Livingston's marriage, in March, we may be assured that Buchanan would not, in July, have made it the turning point of a masque at Holyrood, in which the Goddess of Chastity plays the chief part. The first lines of the piece are spoken by Diana to Jupiter:—

Buchanan's Masque of the Gods.

*'Quinque mihi fuerant Mariae, pater almae, ministrae,  
Et decus, et nostri gloria prima chori.  
Hoc numero comitum coelo caput alta ferebam :  
Sumque aliis nimium visa beata Deis.  
Nam Venus et Juno successibus invida nostris,  
Unam de numero surripuere meo :  
Et nunc orba cohors numero sibi displicet, uno  
Pleiadum languet ceu minor igne chorus.'* . . .

Requests to Mary Beton ;

Beton,<sup>1</sup> the wife of Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne, the daughter of a house distinguished for its ability, and, it would seem, the scholar of the court, since it is to her that Mary bequeaths her French, English, and Italian books ;<sup>2</sup>

to Mary Fleming.

Mary Fleming,<sup>3</sup> one of the Queen's bastard cousins, the betrothed of Se-

Apollo breaks in :

'Juno vocat, Mariasque tuas jubet esse maritas  
Castaque legitimi jura subire tori.'

The answer of Jupiter has been already quoted (pp. xli., xlii., note 4). The pageant closes with a speech from the herald Talthybius :

'Alter Hymen laetis jam vocibus aethera pulset,  
Sit Maria ut taedis altera juncta novis.  
Connubio quantum sociat Venus aurea, tantum  
Detrahitur numero, casta Diana, tuo.' . . .

—(Epigrammatum lib. iii. : 'Pompa Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae.')

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 117-119, 124 : 'A Beton.'

Mary Beton—or, as she herself wrote her name, 'Marie Bethune'—was the niece of the Lady of Branksome of the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' and the daughter of Robert Beton of Creich, one of the Masters of the Queen's Household, by his wife Dame Jeanne de la Runnelle. She married, in May 1566, Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. The Queen named the marriage day. The bride had a dowry from her father of 3000 merks, and a jointure from her husband of lands yielding 150 merks and 30 chalders of grain yearly. The marriage contract is signed by the Queen, the King, and the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Argyll, Murray, Angus, and Atholl. The bridegroom and the bride's father subscribe themselves, after the fashion of the time, by their territorial styles of 'Boyne' and 'Creycht.'—(Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. i. pp. 39-49. Register of Deeds, vol. viii. foll. 322-324. ms. Register House.)

Twelfth Tide  
pastimes : Mary  
Beton, Queen  
of the Bean.

The worth and beauty of Mary Beton are commemorated by Buchanan in four sets of verses on her election as Queen of the Twelfth Night revels at Holyrood :—

'Regno animus tibi dignus erat : tibi regia virtus :  
Et poterant formam sceptrum decere tuam.  
Fortuna erubuit sua munera sola deesse :  
Quae tibi nunc plena dat cumulata manu.'

(Epigrammatum lib. iii., Valentiniana, 6-9 : 'Ad Mariam Betonam pridie Regalium Reginam sorte ductam.')

It need scarcely be added that Buchanan's 'pridie Regalium' is the eve of the Epiphany, or Twelfth Day—'les Rois,' or 'la fête des Rois,' as it was called by the French,—'Uphaliday,' as it was glossed

in the Scottish calendar of that age, 'when Christ was reveled first to the Gentiles be the starre whilk guydit the Thre Kingis to Bethleem.' 'Habits de Masque faicts en la veille des Roix' appear in the Inventory of the Queen's wardrobe at Chartley in 1586. Selden speaks as if the 'chusing kings and queens on Twelfth Night' was still in use in England in his day. The choice was made by a bean hidden in a cake, whence the person chosen was called King or Queen of the Bean.—(Adam King's Cathéchisme, kalend. 6. Jan. Paris, 1588. Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. p. 236. Selden's Table Talk, voce 'Christmas ;' Opera, vol. iii. col. 2078.)

Mary Beton—or, as she was commonly called after her marriage, 'the Lady Boyn,' or 'Madame de Bouyn'—would seem to have survived to the year 1606. A painting at Balfour House in Fife, shown as her portrait, figures a very fair beauty, with dark eyes and yellow hair. A letter, written by her in June 1563 to the wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador to France, and afterwards to Scotland, is in the State Paper Office. Her wit and charms seem to have fascinated his predecessor in the Scottish embassy, Sir Thomas Randolph, who writes to Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester how, for four days, he sat next her at the Scottish Queen's table at St. Andrews, tells the Earl of Bedford how he had her for his partner at biles against Mary and Darnley, and, in describing the Twelfth Night reign of another of the Four Marys, assures the Earl of Leicester that, 'if Beton had lyked so short a tyme, so worthie a rowme, Flemyng to her by good right should have given place.' Mary Beton's husband outlived her, and married in his old age the wife whom Bothwell had divorced, the venerable Countess Dowager of Sutherland.—(Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 188. G. Chalmer's Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 191. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 208, vol. ii. p. 825. Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 106.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 116, 120 : 'A Flamy.'

Mary Fleming—or 'Marie Flemyng,' as she herself wrote her name—was the fourth daughter of Malcolm

tary Maitland of Lethington,<sup>1</sup> and still in favour at Holyrood, although her lover was proscribed for his share in the death of Riccio; and Mary

third Lord Fleming (by his wife Janet Stewart, a natural daughter of King James IV.), and the youngest sister of Lady Livingston, and of the Countess of Athole.

Mary Fleming  
as Queen of the  
Bean.

A letter from the English envoy in Scotland gives a glimpse of her as mistress of the Twelfth Night sports at Holyrood in 1563: 'You . . . should have seen . . . here upon Tuesday [5. January] . . . the great solemnity and royall estate of the Queen of the Beene. Fortune was so favourable to faire Flemynge that, if shee could have seen to have judged of her vertue and beauty, as blindly shee went to work and chose her at adventure, shee wold sooner have made her a Queen for ever, then for one only day, to exalt her so high and the next to leave her in the state shee found her . . . That day yt was to be seen, by her princely pomp, how fite a match she wold be, wer [shee] to contend ether with Venus in beauty, Minerva in witt, or Juno in worldly wealth, haveing the two former by nature, and of the third so much as is contained in this realme at her command and free disposition. The treasure of Solomon, I trowe, was not to be compared unto that which hanged upon her back . . . The Queen of the Been wes in a gowne of cloath of silver; her head, her neck, her shoulders, the rest of her whole body, so besett with stones, that more in our whole jewell house wer not to be found. The Queen herselfe [was] appparelled in collours whyt and black, [no other] jewell or gold about her, bot the ring that I brought her from the Queen's Majestie hanging at her breast, with a lace of whyt and black about her neck.'—(Letter from Randolph to Lord Robert Dudley, 15th Jan. 1563, in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. ii. pp. 390-393.)

Buchanan laid the ready tribute of his verse at the feet of the mimic sovereign of a night:

*'Regia, Flaminia, jamdudum sceptru teneres,  
Si genus aut virtus regia sceptru daret.  
Si det sceptru decus, dominaeque potentia formae,  
Non decor aut forma est dignior ulla tua.  
Si studiis hominumque favent bona numina votis,  
Jam tibi regna hominum vota precesque dabant.'*

—(Epigrammatum, lib. iii., Valentiniana, 2-5: 'Ad Mariam Flaminiam sorte Reginam.')

When the Queen, after Chastellard's outrage in February 1563, deemed it unsafe to sleep alone, she chose her kinswoman Mary Fleming for her bedfellow.

<sup>1</sup> Lethington in love.  
Lethington in love.

<sup>1</sup> Lethington's courtship of one of the Four Marys began as early at least as the autumn of 1564, when she

was about two-and-twenty, and he a widower of about forty. 'The Secretary's wife is dead'—so Kirkcaldy of Grange writes to Randolph, in September—'and he is a suitor to Mary Fleming, who is as meet for him as I am to be a page.' A month afterwards Randolph tells Cecil that Lethington is now believed to favour the Earl of Lennox, 'for the love he beareth to Mary Fleming.' In February 1564-5, we have Lethington himself confessing his passion in the grave ear of Cecil: 'The common affairs do never so much trouble me but that at least I have one merry hour of the four-and-twenty. . . . Those that be in love are ever set upon a merry pin.' A month later, the English envoy in Scotland writes to Sir Henry Sidney, who had himself been an admirer of Mary Fleming: 'She hath found another whom she doth love better. Lethington now serveth her alone, and is like for her sake to run beside himself. Both day and night he attendeth, he watcheth, he wooeth, his folly never more apparent than in loving her, where he may be assured that, how much soever he make of her, she will always love another better.' In June, Randolph tells Leicester that Riccio is in such favour with the Queen that 'Lethington hath now both leave and time to court his mistress, Mary Fleming.' He seems to have made use of his opportunity, for, in October, we find Randolph writing to Cecil: 'My old friend Lethington hath leisure to make love; and in the end, I believe, as wise as he is, will show himself a very fool, or stark, staring mad.' The murder of Riccio separated the lovers for six months, from March till September 1566, when Lethington was restored to the Queen's favour. In December he had a gift of one of her dresses of cloth of gold (p. 69). He was married to Mary Fleming on the 6th of January 1566-7, at Stirling, where the Queen kept the last Twelfth Tide she was to see beyond the walls of a prison.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 825, vol. i. pp. 201, 207, 212, 223, 238, 242. Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 241. Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 107, 131. Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 495-496.)

However her husband might waver or fail in his loyalty, Mary Fleming—or, as she was often called after her marriage, 'Madame de Lethington,' or 'the Secretary's wife'—remained unshaken in her devotion to her mistress. When Mary was a prisoner in Loch-

Bequest to Mary Seton,<sup>1</sup> extolled by the Queen as the finest dresser of hair in Christendom,<sup>2</sup> and the only one of the Four Marys who never married. She had vowed herself to a

Ring sent to the Queen in Lochleven.

leven, means were found to convey to her a ring with a motto encouraging her to hopes of escape. Buchanan, in his *Chamaeleon*, says, that it came from Lethington. He may have been in the secret, but the token would appear to have been sent by Mary Fleming. 'The Quene said scho gat ane ring and thre wordis of Italianis in it'—so one of her attendants deponed on his examination after her flight—'I iudget [it cam fra the] Secretar, becaus of [the] langage. Scho said, 'Na, it was ane woman.' All the place saw hir weyr it. . . . Cursall' [one of the Queen's bed-chamber women] 'show me the Secretaris wiff send it, and the vreting of it was ane fable of Isop betuix the Mouss and the Lioune, hou the Mouss for ane plesour done to hir be the Lioun, efter that, the Lioune being bound with ane cord, the Movss schuyr the corde and lut the Lioune lous. This far I hard suirlye; and that the Quene said plainlye scho lipnit in him' [Lethington] 'that he fauorit hir and lamentit hir cace.'—(MS. Fragment in the Register House.) In May 1581, we find the Queen in her prison at Sheffield longing for the society of Mary Fleming.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. v. p. 222.)

Knox's prophecies against Lethington.

Lethington died in June 1573. His widow, by her moving appeal to his old friend Burleigh, rescued his corpse from the shame and ignominy with which it was threatened by the Scottish law of treason. See above, pp. xxii. xxiii., note 3. In February 1583-4 she obtained a reversal of his forfeiture; and in May 1584, the Parliament extended the benefits of the pacification of Perth in 1572, to her and to her children, whom she seems to have brought up in the old faith. Her only son is last heard of at Brussels in 1620, when he writes a Latin letter to Camden in vindication of his father's memory. The extinction of Lethington's male issue by the death of this son, in poverty and exile, was believed by many to fulfil the prophetic imprecations to which Knox gave way when stung by the jeers of that remarkable man who, in diplomacy, had held his own against Cecil and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and, in theology, had shown himself as formidable in dispute with the preachers of Geneva as with the doctors of the Sorbonne.—(Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 89, 363, 421, 460. Scot of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, pp. 56-57. Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 23. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. xxxvi. no. 571. MS. Register House. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 313. G. Camdeni *Epistolae*, pp. 305, 306.)

A letter in French from Mary Fleming to her sister-in-law, Isabel Maitland, wife of James Heriot of Trabroun, is printed in *Letters from Lady Margaret Burnet to John Duke of Lauderdale*, p. 83. Edinb. 1828: Bannatyne Club. It is without date, but shows itself to have been written between 1567 and 1581.

<sup>1</sup> P. 118: 'A Ceston.'

Mary Seton—or, as she herself wrote her name, 'Marie de Seton'—was the only daughter of George fourth Lord Seton, by his second wife Mary Pyeres or Pieris, a Frenchwoman who came to Scotland in the train of the Queen's mother in 1538.

When the Queen, after her surrender at Carberry, was hurried on foot, in her night-gown, through the streets of Edinburgh, her steps were supported by Mary Livingston and Mary Seton. We find her attended by Mary Seton in her captivity at Carlisle and at Bolton in 1568, at Chatsworth in 1570 and 1572, and at Sheffield in 1570, 1574, 1577, and 1582. They seem to have been separated before 1584, when Mary Seton retired to France. In October 1586, she is found at Reims, whence she writes to the French ambassador at Holyrood, of her long absence from Scotland, and of her sorrow to hear that new troubles had befallen the Queen her mistress. The allusion is to Babington's conspiracy.—(Sir Richard Maitland's *History of the House of Seyton*, p. 42. Glasg. 1829: Maitland Club. M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 167. Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 123, t. iii. p. 116, t. iv. pp. 215, 239, 341-344, 377-381, 389, 390, 401, 402, t. v. pp. 436, 437. M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 114. G. Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. pp. 441, 442. J. Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*, p. 66. *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 933, 1014. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 266-271, 441.) A French letter by Mary Seton, without date or address, is printed in *Letters from Lady Margaret Burnet to John Duke of Lauderdale*, pp. 81, 82.

Mary Seton had an elder sister Marion—one of the three daughters of her father's first marriage with Dame Elizabeth Hay—who appears among the attendants of Queen Mary of Guise in 1548, and became the wife of John Earl of Menteith.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Knollys writes to Cecil, from Carlisle, on the 28th June 1568: 'Now here are six waiting women, although none of reputation, but Mistress Mary

Mary Seton, 'the finest busker' of hair in Europe.

life of celibacy, and when, about the age of thirty-five, she reluctantly consented to seek release from her vow, her suitor, the Queen's Master of Household, suddenly died.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards, when she had shared her mistress's prison for more than fifteen years, she withdrew to France, and entering the convent of St. Peter's at Reims, then under the rule of the Queen's aunt, ended her days there.

There are legacies of less price to three elder ladies of honour, the Countess of Atholl,<sup>2</sup> another of the Queen's bastard cousins, believed by the

Bequest to the  
Countess of Atholl.

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 gaylie well.'—(G. Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. pp. 443, 444.)

Mary Seton's  
love affair.

<sup>1</sup> The story is told by the Queen in two letters, from her prison at Sheffield, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, the one written in January, the other in November 1577. Mary Seton's lover was the Archbishop's brother, Andrew Beton. He was the younger son of a younger son of the house of Balfour; and although Brantôme (t. v. p. 98) tells us that it was regarded as a 'fort bonne maison'—it had recently given a cardinal and two archbishops to the church—there was question if he were a fit match for a daughter of the proud house of Winton. 'On s'arrête beaucoup à la différence des tiltres et qualités,'—so Mary wrote to the Archbishop—'jusques à m'alléguer pour exemple la faulte qu'elle a ouï trouver au mariage des deux soeurs Livingston, seulement pour avoir espousé les putnés de leurs semblables; et craint on que les parens, au pays où telles formalités se gardent, n'en aient pareille opinion, comme elle dit qu'ils ont eue par ci-davant. Mays, comme Royne de l'un et de l'autre, j'ay offert de prendre la charge sur moy pour y remédier de tout ce que je pourray.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. pp. 341-344, 377-381, 389, 390, 401, 402.)

The Livingston sisters, to whom allusion is made, were Mary Livingston, who married a younger son

of the Lord Sempill, and Magdalene Livingston, who married a younger son of the Lord Erskine.

<sup>2</sup> P. 108: 'A Madame d'Hatel.'

Margaret Fleming, third daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming, married, first, Robert Master of Graham (or Montrose), slain at Pinkie in 1547; second, Thomas, Master of Erskine, who died in 1551; third, John fourth Earl of Athol. Her last marriage contract, dated on the 1st April 1557, stipulates that the Earl shall instantly 'wed and handfast' Margaret Fleming, Mistress of Montrose and Erskine; shall send to Rome, with all possible despatch, for dispensation for their marriage, notwithstanding the impediment of consanguinity; shall, within forty days, seise her for life in lands yielding 300 merks a year (reckoning the boll of grain at 13s. 4d.); and shall, before Martinmas next, marry her solemnly in face of the church. The bride's brother, James Lord Fleming, gives her a dowry of 2000 merks.

Handfasting.

She appears as a lady of honour in the earliest as well as in the latest roll of the Queen's household which I have seen.

She was the sister of Agnes Fleming, wife of William, sixth Lord Livingston, and of Mary Fleming, wife of Secretary Maitland of Lethington. A letter from her to Lady Livingston, written from Blair, in September 1560, is printed in Law's *Memorials*, pp. xxv. xxvi. It shows that the Countess was a diligent worker in embroidery, and that Athol whisky was then in request in good houses in Lothian.

Knox's secretary records an instance of her power as an enchantress: 'On Tuysday the 3 of Julij 1571, Andro Lundie beand at dener with my maister, in a place of the lard of Abbotthalls, called Falsyde, openlie affirmet for treuth, that when the Quene was lying in leasing of the King, the Ladie Athole, lying thair lykwayis, bayth within the Castell of Edin-

The Countess  
of Atholl's in-  
cantations.



Requests to the Dowager Lady Seton, and to the wife of the Laird of Criech.

Reformers to be endowed with strange powers of enchantment; Madame de Briante,<sup>1</sup> the French mother of Mary Seton, and herself grown grey in the service of the Queen and her mother; and Madame de Cric,<sup>2</sup> as Mary calls

burgh, that he come thair for sum busines, and called for the Ladie Reirres' [Margaret Beton, daughter of the Laird of Criech, aunt of Mary Beton, and wife of Arthur Forbes of Reres], 'whome he fand in hir chalmers, lying bedfast, and he asking hir of hir disease, scho ansurit that scho was never so trubled with no barne that ever scho bair, ffor the Ladie Athole had cassin all the pyne of hir childbirth vpon hir.'—(R. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 238.)

Atholl would seem at all times to have been in bad repute for its witches: 'maleficiis mulierum semper Atholia erat infamis.'—(G. Buchanani Rerum Scotticarum Historia, lib. x. cap. 58.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 106: 'A Madame de Briante.'

Dame Mary Pyres (or Pieris), a Frenchwoman who came to Scotland with Queen Mary of Guise in 1538, married, first, George fourth Lord Seton, who died in 1549; second, before 1555, Pierre de Cluise, Seigneur de Briante, who died in 1570. She continued, after her second marriage, to write herself 'Lady Seytoun,' but was, perhaps, more commonly known as Madame de Briante. She appears under that name in the list of the Queen's ladies of honour, in July 1562, and in February and March 1567.

In the deposition of French Paris, we have a glimpse of her in the Queen's chamber on the morning after the King's murder: 'Le Lundy matin, entre neuf et dix heures, ledict Paris dict qu'il entra dans la chambre de la Royne, laquelle estoyt bien close, et son lict tendu du noyr en signe de deuil, et de la chandelle allumee dedans la ruelle, la ou Madame de Bryant luy donnoyt à desiesner d'ung oeuf frais, la ou aussy Monsieur de Boduel arryve et parle à elle secretement soubz courtine.'—(Anderson's Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 202. M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288. M. Teulet, Lettres de Marie Stuart, p. 102.)

In August 1570, we find her writing to the Queen from Dunkeld, where she had gone to be present, with the Countess of Atholl and Mary Fleming, at the council of the Queen's friends, which became known as the gathering of 'the witches of Atholl.' Her letter, which shows her anxious about the health of her daughter, Mary Seton, was intercepted; and its reflections on public affairs subjected the writer and her son to a brief imprisonment and an abortive trial

—(Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 185, 186. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 14. R. Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 37, 53. M. Francisque-Michel, Les Ecossais en France, t. ii. pp. 68, 70, where her name is misprinted 'Pyeres'.)

She returned to her own country in 1574, with letters from the Queen commending her to the favour and protection of the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal of Lorraine: 'Madame de Briante est retournée en France où elle pourra avoir beaucoup d'affayres, spécialement avesques son beau-frère, pour son douayre. . . . C'est une bonne et vertueuse dame et ancienne servante de la feue Royne, ma mère, et de moy; et sa fille, qui tous les jours me fayct service très-agréable, vous sçavez assez sa vertueuse vie et ses merites.'—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. iv. pp. 238, 239.) Three months afterwards, the Queen renews her recommendations, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow: 'J'avoys oublié de vous dire que je vous avoys écrit par ci-devant pour vous prier d'aider la bonne dame de Seyton, en toutes ses affaires, de ma faveur et de mon nom.'—(Id. p. 269.) She died within two years after her return to France.

<sup>2</sup> P. 106: 'A Madame de Cric;' p. 113: 'Aus dames de Cric,' etc.

'Jene de la Runuelle,' as she wrote her name, married, first, Robert Beton of Criech, who died in 1567; second, John Hay, Commendator of the Abbey of Balmerino, who died in 1573. She continued, after her second marriage, to write herself 'Lady of Creicht.' She appears as one of the Queen's ladies of honour in the rolls of the household in July 1562, and in February and March 1567. She died in 1576.

Her first husband is said to have accompanied the Queen to France in 1548, and to have returned with her to Scotland in 1561. He was in attendance as one of the Masters of the Household, when the murderers of Riccio burst into the Queen's cabinet. His last will bequeaths his wife and children to the Queen's protection: 'that scho be haill maintainere of my hous as my houe is in hir Maiestie vndir God.' His family was peculiarly a court one. Its founder, his grandfather, was first Comptroller, then Treasurer to King James IV. His aunt was one of the concubines of King James V., by whom she

The Betons of Criech.

the French mother of Mary Beton, and wife of the Laird of Crieche, one of her Masters of Household. The younger Mary Erskine,<sup>1</sup> although not counted among the Four Marys, receives as much as any of them. Her kinsman, Alexander Erskine of Gogar,<sup>2</sup> one of the Queen's equerries, or Masters of the Stables, gets a gold heart, garnished with three diamonds, a ruby, and a pearl. A jewel, containing a sapphire and a pearl, is left to his younger brother and colleague in office, Arthur Erskine of Blackgrange,<sup>3</sup> the equerry behind whom Mary took her seat when she made her midnight escape on horseback from the murderers of Riccio.<sup>4</sup>

Bequests to Mary Erskine, to Alexander Erskine, and to Arthur Erskine.

was the mother of the Countess of Argyll. His sister, the wife of Arthur Forbes of Reres, was a favourite of Queen Mary, and wet-nurse to her son. His wife was one of her ladies of honour; his eldest daughter one of her Four Marys; his second daughter one of her maids of honour. He himself was one of her Masters of Household, Keeper of her Palace of Falkland, and Steward of her rents in Fife.

<sup>1</sup> P. 118: 'A Marie Ersquin,' pp. 120, 124: 'A Marie Arsquin.'

The name of 'Mademoiselle dAsquin' appears in lists of the Queen's ladies of honour in February and March 1567. I have not observed it in any earlier roll. She may have been the Mary Erskine, afterwards Countess of Angus, daughter of John fifth Lord Erskine, Earl of Mar; or the Mary Erskine, afterwards, it is said, wife of Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck, daughter of Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar. In the former case, she could not have been more than eight or nine; in the latter, not more than ten or eleven years of age at the date of the Queen's bequest.

<sup>2</sup> P. 123: 'A Alexandre Ersquin.'

Alexander Erskine—styled 'of Cagnor,' 'of Gogar,' and 'Master of Mar'—was the second son of John fourth Lord Erskine. He was born about 1521, and married in 1555 Margaret, daughter of George fourth Lord Home, who brought him a dowry of 2000 merks.

On the death of his brother, the Regent Mar, in 1572, he was placed in charge of the young King. Sir James Melville describes him as 'a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loued and lyked of euery man for his good qualities and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor enuyous, a lover of all honest men, and desyred euer to haue sic as wer of gud conversa-

tion to be about the Prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not sa meit.'—(Memoirs, p. 262. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. pp. 367, 371.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 123: 'A Artus Asquin.'

Arthur Erskine of Blackgrange was the son of John fourth Lord Erskine, and the brother of John fifth Lord Erskine, Earl of Mar, of Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar, and of Margaret Erskine, mother of the Regent Murray.

He was in attendance on the Queen when she made her first entry into Edinburgh, in September 1561. Along with the silver keys of the city, a bible and a psalm-book, bound in purple velvet, were delivered to her. 'But when the bible was presented,' says Knox, 'sche began to frown: for schame she could not refuse it; but she did no better, for immediatlie sche gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the realme, to wit, to Arthure Erskyn.'—(History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 288.)

He had grants from the Queen of the lands of Blelak and others in Cromar, in December 1564, and of part of the escheat of Robert Lord Boyd, in November 1565. In January or March 1566, he married Magdalene Livingston, one of the Queen's 'filles damoiselles,' the sister of one of the Four Marys, and the daughter of Alexander fifth Lord Livingston. He died before July 1570.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxii. foll. 127, 128; vol. xxxiii. fol. 132; vol. xxxv. fol. 14. MS. Register House. Registrum Magni Sigilli, lib. xxxvi. no. 2. MS. Register House.)

<sup>4</sup> 'All men beinge gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of anye that ether she wolde departe or not performe the promes to the Lords, abowte xij. of the clocke in nyghte she conuoide her self a priue

The Queen and Arthur Erskine.

Bequests to  
Joseph Riccio.

Riccio's brother, Joseph<sup>1</sup>—a lad of eighteen, with little or none of his brother's ability, although the Queen had promoted him to his brother's place—

waye owte of the howse. She, her howsbonde, and one gentlewoman came to the place whear Arthur Erskene and the captaine of her garde keapte the horses, and so roode her waye behynde Arthur Erskene untill she came to Seton. Ther she tooke a horse to her self, and roode to Dombarr to the castle, wheather resorted unto her the Lords Huntlye and Bothewell, and so divers of the whole countrie.'—(Letter from the Earl of Bedford, and T. Randolph, to the Privy Council of England, 27th March 1566, in Sir H. Ellis' *Letters illustrative of English History*, vol. ii. p. 214.)

Arthur Erskine was in attendance on the Queen when Riccio was dragged from her cabinet and murdered. He was about to lay hands on Lord Ruthven when the rest of the assassins crowded into the room, and made resistance hopeless. Fifteen months afterwards, he was in waiting in an ante-chamber with Sir James Melville, when the Queen, being alone in her cabinet with Bothwell, 'was so disdainfully handled, and with such reproachful language,' that she cried out for a knife to kill herself. It was on the second day after their marriage.—(Lord Ruthven's *Relation of the Death of David Rizzi*, in *Scotia Rediviva*, pp. 341, 342. Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 180. Letter from Du Croc to Queen Catharine of Medicis, 18th May 1567, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 110-112.)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 113, 122, 123.

Joseph Riccio is said to have come to Scotland in the train of the French envoy, Michel de Castelnau, sieur de Mauvissière. He was made the Queen's private secretary within ten days after his brother's murder. 'The appointment was ill taken, as we learn from the despatch of the French ambassador: 'Et non contante de cela, a faict desterrer le corps dudict David du cimetierre où il estoit, et l'a remis dedans l'esglise en une sépulture honorable, au rang des Roys. D'où les malveillans prennent occasion de mesdire, comme aussi pour avoir receu en l'estat de Secrétaire son frère, monstrant le vouloir beaucoup avancer, encores qu'il ne soit que un jeune homme de XVIII ans et de nulle suffisance.'—(Letter from Paul de Foix to Catharine of Medicis, printed by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etats relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 119. Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 25th April 1566, in Principal Robertson's *History of Scotland*, app. no. xvi.; Works, vol. ii. p. 342.)

He is spoken of by the English envoy as growing apace into favour with the Queen, in June 1566, about the date of the bequests in the text. But he seems, not long afterwards, to have fallen under suspicion of purloining a pair of the Queen's bracelets, and of borrowing money on false pretences from his countryman Timotheo Cagnoli, the court banker.—(Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 374-376, 387, 388, 509-513, where a letter from him is printed. Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i. pp. 392-394. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 107-110, 195, 196.)

'Joseph, Davy's brother,' as he is called, was denounced by the Earl of Lennox as one of the King's assassins. He might not unnaturally be thought desirous of avenging his brother's murder upon the chief murderer, whose last hours, it was said, were troubled by the recollection which the Queen brought to his mind that it was about that time twelvemonth that her secretary was butchered. But I have not seen any evidence of Joseph Riccio's presence at the tragedy of the Kirk of the Field, in the judicial examinations which have been preserved. On the contrary, they seem to show that there was some difficulty in persuading him to leave Scotland before the meeting of the Parliament in April 1567. One of the last questions put to French Paris was about his flight: 'Estant interrogué, S'il savoyt pourquoy Joseph s'en alla de ce pays? Respond, Que la Royne lui dict: "Paris, il fault que tu controuves quelque chose en ton esprite pour faire peur à Joseph, affin qu'il s'en aille." Et voyant qu'il ne pouvoyt rien faire, elle luy dict: "Je feray faire une lettre que tu perdras derrier luy pour luy faire peur." Mais luy ne pouvant ce faire, elle le feist dire par le Justice Clerk, comme il peust, qu'il eust à comparoistre au Parlement; chose qu'il l'affroyast grandement, et courut ça et la demandant son congé. Enfin la Royne baille neuf vingt escus à Paris, pour les bailler à Joseph, affin qu'il s'en allast, ce qu'il feist; et ainsy ayant receu la dict somme, il s'en alla.'—(M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 289. M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, p. 104.)

One of the letters said to have been addressed by Mary to Bothwell—the earliest of the series, supposed to have been written from Glasgow about the 24th of January 1567—would seem to show that the King was anxious about Joseph Riccio's dismissal: 'The King send for Joachim ysternicht, and askit at him . . . gif I

The King and  
Joseph Riccio.

has three bequests. One is of a jewel, containing ten rubies and a pearl, which Mary had accepted as a gift from the murdered Italian.<sup>1</sup> The others are of

Jewel given to the Queen by David Riccio.

had maid my estait ? gif I had takin Paris and Gilbert to wryte to me ? and that I wald send Joseph away ? I am abaschit quha hes schawin him sa far ; yea, he spak evin of the marriage of Bastiane.'—(Goodall's Examination, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5. M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 6, 7.)

Roll of the Queen's Household, drawn up by Joseph Riccio.

Joachim, Paris, Gilbert, and Bastian were valets of the Queen's chamber. Bastian's marriage took place on the 9th of February 1567. The question which, in the Scottish translation (the French original is not extant), is rendered, 'gif I had maid my estait ?' runs in the Latin version by Buchanan, 'an familie catalogum fecissem ?' It was the subject of a controversy in which Lord Hailes, Whitaker, and Malcolm Laing took part. M. Teulet, without observing its conclusive bearing on the dispute, has recently published, from the original in the Imperial Library at Paris, what is obviously the very 'estait' referred to—'Estat des gaiges des dames, damoiselles, gentilzhommes et autres officiers domestiques de la Roynie d'Escosse, Douairière de France, pour une année commençant le premier jour de Janvier M<sup>o</sup> LXVI et finissant le dernier jour de Décembre ensuivant, mil cinq cens soixante-sept.' It is dated at Edinburgh, on the 13th of February 1567, and is authenticated by the sign-manual of the Queen and by the subscription of Joseph Riccio, showing that, on this occasion at least, neither Paris nor Gilbert had been called in to play the secretary's part, and that Joseph Riccio had not yet been sent away. The 'estait' was transmitted to France for payment from the Queen's French dowry, and thus found its way to the Imperial Library.—(M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 121-137.)

Joseph Riccio is named in another of the letters said to have been addressed by Mary to Bothwell—that in which she shrinks from likening herself to Medea—supposed to have been written from Glasgow in the last days of January 1567 : 'I durst not wryte this befor Joseph, Bastiane, and Joachime, that did bot depart evin quhen I began to wryte.'—(Goodall's Examination, vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, p. 45.)

René Benoist, confessor of Mary Stewart, and of Henry iv. of France.

The roll of the Queen's household, authenticated by Joseph Riccio's signature in February 1567, shows that he had a brother or brother-in-law for a colleague : 'René Bonneau, frère dudit Joseph.' If we suppose the name of René Bonneau to be the same

which is elsewhere written René Benoist, we have an additional reason for the unpopularity of David Riccio—his relation to the distinguished divine who was chosen by the Cardinal of Lorraine to accompany the Queen to Scotland, and had not been many weeks at Holyrood before he challenged Knox to controversy.—(Epistola Renati Benedicti ad Johannem Knox atque alios in Scotia ministros, 19. Novemb. 1561, reprinted in Mr. David Laing's Tracts by David Ferguson, pp. 81-88. Edinb. 1860: Bannatyne Club.) The confessor of Mary Stewart published other two pamphlets against the Reformed doctrines, before he returned to France to acquire the name of the Pope of the Markets, from his popularity as a preacher among the shopkeepers of Paris ; to incur suspicions of heterodoxy which stopped his promotion to the bishopric of Troyes ; and to become the confessor of King Henry IV., whose conversion he is said to have helped.—(Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres*, t. xli. pp. 1-49.)

In 'Jehan Damyte, notaire'—another of the secretaries enumerated in Joseph Riccio's roll in February 1567—we may recognise the French chaplain, a reputed adept in sorcery, who was said to have warned David Riccio of his fate, telling him to beware of the bastard. It is added that the Italian (who was himself reputed no mean necromancer) gave no heed to the hint, thinking that it pointed to the Earl of Murray, then an exile in England. But the prophecy was believed to have its fulfilment, when the first of more than fifty wounds, by which the poor Italian was mangled, was dealt by the King's uncle, a bastard of the house of Angus—George Douglas, the Postulate of Murray.—(G. Buchanani *Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, lib. xvii. cap. 62.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 123 : 'A Iosef que son frere mauoyt done.'

I have not observed any other trace of this gift. Riccio had grown rich during his short term of power : 'Of the greate substance he had ther is myche spoken ; some saye in gold to the value of £2000 sterling. . . . We heare of a juell that he had hangeinge abowte hys necke of some price that cane not be hearde of.'—(Letter from the Earl of Bedford and T. Randolph to the Privy Council of England, 27th March 1566, in Sir H. Ellis' *Letters illustrative of English History*, vol. ii. p. 218.)

Buchanan speaks of his 'opes non mediocres,' and tells how the nobles fawned upon him : 'Alebat hanc

Jean Damyot, the necromancer who warned David Riccio of his fate.

David Riccio's wealth ;

the nobles cringe to him.

Bequests to one  
whose name is  
kept secret.

an emerald ring,<sup>1</sup> enamelled in white, and a jewel containing twenty-one diamonds.<sup>2</sup> They are to be carried to one whose name the Queen has spoken in her new Secretary's ear, but does not trust herself to write. It would be idle now to seek to pry into the mystery, which was thus anxiously guarded.

Bequests to the  
Maids of Honour.

There are bequests to four maids of honour—Lucrece Beton,<sup>3</sup> Mademoiselle de Thoré,<sup>4</sup> Magdalene Livingston,<sup>5</sup> and Barbara Sondre-

Riccio shares  
Darnley's bed :

vanissimi hominis insaniam magnae partis nobiliorum adulatione, qui amicitiam ejus captabant, salutando, orationi ejus subserviando, foribus obambulando, exitus reditusque ejus observando.' It is added that, at one time, he used to share Darnley's bed : 'in eumque familiaritatis gradum pervenerat, ut lectum, cubiculum, secretosque sermones communicaret.'—(*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, lib. xvii. cap. 44.)

is a merry fellow.

Sir James Melville, who describes him as 'a merry fellow and a good musician,' says that 'when he grew sa gret that he presented all signatours to be sub-scryuit be hir Maieste, some of the nobilite wald glowm vpon him, and some of them wald schulder him and schuyt hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and fand him alwais speaking with hir Maieste ; and some again that had turnis to be helpit, new infestmentis to be tane, or that desyred to preuail against ther ennemys in court or session, addressit them vnto him, and dependit vpon hym ; whereby in schort tym he becam very rich.'—(*Memoirs*, pp. 131, 132.)

Murray and  
Riccio.

Buchanan says that Murray stood aloof from the crowd of flatterers ; and we know that Queen Elizabeth ascribed his first disgrace at the Scottish court to a plot which Mary was told he had formed against Riccio's life, at least four months before the Italian was assassinated. But even Murray had to stoop at last. Shortly before Riccio's death, as Sir James Melville relates, 'my Lord of Murray suttet him very earnestly, and mair humbly then any man wald haue beleued, with the present of a faire dyamont, inclosed within a lettre fourth to be his frend and protectour.'—(*Memoirs*, p. 147. *M. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 93.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 113 : 'A Iosef pour porter a celui que ie luy ay dit.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 122 : 'A Iosef pour bailler a que ie lui ay dit dont il ranoir aquitance.'

<sup>3</sup> P. 119 : 'A Lucesse.'

Lucrece Beton—or as she herself writes her name,

'Lucesse Bethune'—was the daughter of Robert Beton of Crieck, one of the Queen's Masters of Household. She was the younger sister of Mary Beton, one of the Four Marys.

Lucrece Beton.

She appears as 'la jeune Bethon' in the list of the Queen's 'filles damoiselles' in July 1562, as 'Lucesse de Beton' in the list of February 1567, and as 'Lucesse' in the list of March 1567. She married, after 1575, Andrew Wyshart of Muirton. She survived him ; and, settling near her elder sister, made her last will, on the shores of the Boyne, in November 1623, leaving all that she had to Alexander Abercromby, of Birkenbog, and his daughter Mary.—(Original in the Register House.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 118 : 'A Tore.'

The name of 'Thore' appears among the 'filles damoiselles' in the list of the Queen's household in July 1562. It is absent from the roll of February 1567. She had married six months before. There was a payment from the Treasury, on 30th August 1566, by command of the King and Queen, of £68, 15s. for 'xiiij elnis iij quarteris of violat weluote (the elne v pundis) to be ane gowne to Madame Torrie to hir marriage.'—(*Compotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum*. MS. Register House.) She may have been of the family of M. de Thoré, mentioned by Brantôme, t. ii. pp. 447-449 ; t. v. p. 71.

Mademoiselle  
de Thoré.

<sup>5</sup> P. 111 : 'A Lesuiston la ieusne ;' p. 117 : 'A Leuiston la ieusne ;' p. 123 : 'A la ieusne Leuiston.'

Magdalene Livingston was the daughter of Alexander fifth Lord Livingston, and the younger sister of Mary Livingston, one of the Four Marys. She appears as 'la jeune Leuiston' among the 'filles damoiselles' in the list of the Queen's household in July 1562. Her name is absent from the roll of February 1567. She married one of the Queen's equerries, Arthur Erskine of Blackgrange, in January or March 1566, when the Queen made her a gift of a vasquin of cloth of gold (p. 69). She may be the 'Madame d'Asquin' who appears in a list of the Queen's ladies of honour in March 1567. Her husband died before

Magdalene  
Livingston.

land<sup>1</sup>—and to their governess, Mademoiselle de la Souche.<sup>2</sup> The largest share falls to Magdalene Livingston, who had lately married the Queen's favourite equerry, Arthur Erskine of Blackgrange. A diamond ring, enamelled in white and red, is left as a token of remembrance to Mademoiselle la Contine, one of Mary's attendants at the French court, it would seem, who had not followed her to Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

To Margaret Carwod,<sup>4</sup> her favourite bedchamber woman, the Queen leaves, among other things, a miniature of herself set with diamonds, and a

Bequests to the  
Mistress of the  
Maids ;

to Mademoiselle  
la Contine ;

to Margaret Car-  
wod.

July 1570, and we hear of her intention to marry again in August 1577. 'Le mariage de Magdelaine Livingston me déplaist infiniment'—so the Queen writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris—'et je ne veulx, jusqu'à ce que j'en soit mieulx esclaircie, que vous luy envoyez ce que je vous ay mandé.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. p. 389.) The cause of the Queen's displeasure does not appear. Mary Livingston is said to have taken John Scrymgeour of Glaster for her second husband.

<sup>1</sup> P. 124 : 'A Sonderland.'

'Barbera Sondrelland' appears in the earliest list of the Queen's household which I have seen. She is not in the lists of July 1562, or of February 1567. But the name of 'Sondrelan' occurs among the 'filles damoiselles' in the list of March 1567.

<sup>2</sup> P. 113 : 'Il sen fault vne chesne que vous naues pas ecrite esmaylle de blanc et rousge que ie laysse a Madamoyselle de la Souschee.'

The name of 'Madamoyselle de la Souche, gouvernante des filles damoiselles,' appears on the rolls of the Queen's household in July 1562, and in February and March 1567.

<sup>3</sup> P. 112 : 'A la Contine pour souenance.'

It appears from a marginal note on the Inventory of the Queen's Jewels made at her leaving France in August 1561, that some of them were given to Madamoyselle la Contine (p. 12). Her name does not occur in the lists of the household in 1562 or 1567.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 117, 123 : 'A Marguerite ;' pp. 123, 124 : 'Margart Carwod.'

Margaret Carwod, one of the coheirresses of Carwod in Lanarkshire, probably owed her place at court to the Countess of Atholl, the Lady Livingston, or some other member of the house of Fleming, of which the Carwods seem to have been vassals. She appears as

one of the Queen's bedchamber women in May 1564, and in September 1565 (pp. 147, 158, 159.) In May or June 1566, the date of the bequests in the text, she seems to have had charge of the jewels in the Queen's cabinet (pp. 111, 119, 123.) She is spoken of by Buchanan as being, three or four months afterwards, 'omnium secretorum conscia,'—'ane woman priuie of all hir [the Queen's] secretis.' One of the letters said to have been addressed by the Queen to Bothwell—the most obscure of the series, supposed to have been written in the end of January or beginning of February 1567—was described when first published as 'ane uther letter to Bothwell, concerning the departure of Margaret Carwod, quha wes preuie and ane helper of all thair lufe.' It complains of her folly, of her ingratitude to the Queen, and of the offence which she has given to Bothwell. 'And quhen scho salbe maryit'—it proceeds—'I beseik yow giue me ane [vther], or ellis I will tak sic as sall content yow for thair conditionis ; bot as for thair toungis or faithfulness towart yow, I will not answer.'—(Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. pp. 8, 150, 151. M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 46, 48.) A French copy of the letter in the State Paper Office is indorsed 'anent the depesche of Margaret Carwod quhilk wes before hir marriage.'—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 865.)

The marriage of Margaret Carwod took place at Holyrood (the Queen giving the bridal feast) on Shrove Tuesday (11th of February) 1567, two days after the marriage of Bastian Pagez, a valet of the Queen's chamber, to whose bridal masque at Holyrood, on the night of Sunday the 9th of February, Mary hurried from her husband's bedside at the Kirk of the Field, an hour or two before his murder. It has been supposed by Malcolm Laing, Prince Labanoff, M. Mignet, and others, that as Margaret

Margaret  
Carwod.

h

little silver box, perhaps the memorable casquet marked with the crowned cypher of King Francis the Second, in which her accusers affirmed that they found the letters and sonnets produced by them as proofs of her criminal love for Bothwell, and of her guilty knowledge of his conspiracy against her husband's life.<sup>1</sup>

Bequests to the maids, bedchamber women, valets, etc.

These are the only servants whom the Queen names. But the rest are not forgotten. Each of her twelve maids is to have a gold finger-ring;<sup>2</sup> her linen

Carwod and Bastian Pagez were both servants of the Queen, and both married about the same time, they married one another; and some scandal and more romance have been built upon an assumption which a closer scrutiny would have shown to be groundless. The wife of Bastian Pagez was Christily Hogg; Margaret Carwod's husband was John Stewart of Tullypowreis in Atholl.—(Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i. p. 520. Register of Deeds, vol. xvii. foll. 281, 282. MS. Register House.)

On the 8th of February 1567, the Queen granted a pension of 300 merks a year from the lands of Kinclavin in Perthshire, to 'hir louit familiare seruitrice Margaret Carwod.' On the same day, so French Paris affirmed, she sent him to the King's lodging at the Kirk of the Field, to fetch a furred coverlet ('une couverture de martes') to the Queen's chamber at Holyrood. On the 10th of February there was a payment from the Treasury, by the Queen's command, to Margaret Carwod, for her marriage dress, of £125, 6s. Her name is not included in the roll of the Queen's household made up three days afterwards. Her departure or dismissal had then taken place. But her absence, whatever may have been its cause, was only for a few weeks. On the 23d of March, the Queen orders eighty yards of fine linen to be delivered to 'her servitric,' Margaret Carwod, who, three days afterwards, acknowledges their receipt, subscribing her name by the hand of a notary.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxvi. fol. 7. MS. Register House. Computum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, 8-10 Feb. 1566-7. MS. Register House. M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 121-137. Treasury Warrant and Acquittance, in the Register House.)

In November 1579, Margaret Carwod and her husband, John Stewart of Tullypowreis, sell their half of Carwod, for 500 merks, to her sister and coheirress,

Janet Carwod, and her husband, John Fleming of Perrellands. In March 1584-5, they lend £1000 on mortgage at £10 per cent., to Francis Hay, Master of Erroll.—(Register of Deeds, vol. xvii. foll. 281, 282; vol. xxiii. foll. 242, 243. MS. Register House.)

<sup>1</sup> The casquet bequeathed by the Queen to Margaret Carwod in 1566, is described as 'vne petite boyt dargent' (p. 124).

The casquet said to have been given by the Queen to Bothwell, and to have been seized in the hands of his servant, in 1567, is described by the Regent Murray in 1568 as 'a silver box;' by the Privy Council in 1568 and 1571 as 'ane silver box owergilt with gold;' more fully in the Scottish version of Buchanan's 'Detectioun,' printed at St. Andrews in 1572, as 'ane small gylt coffer not fully ane fute lang, being garnischit in sindrie places with the Romane lettre F. under ane Kingis crowne;' and in Buchanan's History, printed in 1582, as 'arculam argenteam literis undique inscriptam, quae indicarent eam aliquando Francisci Regis Francorum fuisse.'—(Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. pp. 92, 257, 259. G. Buchanani *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. cap. 51.)

The Queen's handwriting, said to have been found in the casket, is described as 'Romane,'—that is, the character which we should now call Italic, then scarcely known in Scotland, except among those who had been educated abroad, and only beginning in France to displace the old Middle Age or Gothic character. Shakespere, writing about 1602, makes Malvolio in the Twelfth Night speak of 'the sweet Roman hand' of the letter by which he was befooled. The difference between the two styles will be seen by a glance at the facsimile of the Testamentary Inventory, where the Gothic of the Queen's secretary contrasts with the Roman of the Queen herself.

<sup>2</sup> P. 113: 'Aus filles.'

Silver casquet in which the letters and sonnets, said to have been written by the Queen to Bothwell, were found.

The Queen's 'Romane' handwriting.

is to be shared among her three bedchamber women;<sup>1</sup> and her plate and furniture is to be sold, that the price may be divided among her valets, grooms, tapestry-men, ushers, and others.<sup>2</sup>

In a postscript written with her own hand, Mary leaves her Greek and Latin books to be the beginning of a library<sup>3</sup> for the University of St. Andrews. The legacy would have been no inconsiderable one if it had taken effect; but the Queen's praiseworthy design for the advancement of learning in the ecclesiastical capital of her kingdom, was left to be fulfilled fifty years afterwards by her son, King James, and her grandchildren, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, and the Princess Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup>

Bequest of the Queen's Greek and Latin books to the University of St. Andrews.

The Testamentary Inventory of Mary's Jewels is followed by lists of articles delivered from the wardrobe at Holyrood in each month, from August 1561, when the Queen landed at Leith, until June 1567, when her marriage with Bothwell arrayed her nobles in arms against her.<sup>5</sup>

*Inventories of things given out from the Wardrobe, from August 1561 till June 1567.*

<sup>1</sup> P. 124: 'Je layse mon linge entre mes troys fammes.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 124: 'Je layse. . . ma chambre et la vayselle de mes cofres entre les vallets de fourieres tapisiers et huissiers pour estre vandu a leur profit et des troys filles qui la guardent.'

'Chambre' seems to be used here to signify not the Queen's chamber, but its furniture. 'Le mot *chambre*,' says M. Douët-d'Arcq, 'ne s'entend pas d'une pièce faisant partie d'un appartement, mais du lit et de la tenture d'une chambre à coucher.'—(Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France, p. 358.)

'Vayselle' appears to mean what we should now call plate. 'Cette expression,' says M. le Comte de Laborde, 'répond à l'idée qu'on se faisait encore, il y a soixante ans, du mot argenterie. . . Elle se composait de vases de toutes sortes (vaissels), plats, etc.'—(Notice des Emaux, par. ii. 'Glossaire,' p. 531.)

Not only plate, but cloth, dresses, and jewels were kept in the coffer of the Queen's chamber, as we learn from the 'Memoire de tout ce que je [Servais de

Conde] prin dens les coffres de la chambre tant durant le temps que la Royne estoit a Loclin que de puis comansant en Juliet mil v° lxxvii,' printed from the original (formerly in the Scottish College at Paris) in Illustrations of the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI., pp. 12-19. Maitland Club: 1834.

<sup>3</sup> P. 124: 'Je layse mes liures qui y sont ceulx en Grec ou Latin a l'universite de Sintandre pour y commencer vne bible.'

<sup>4</sup> The University Library of St. Andrews was founded in 1612, by King James VI., *ne sint magistri sine libris*, as he said. Lists of the volumes presented by him, by Prince Henry, Prince Charles, Queen Anne, and the Princess Elizabeth, are printed in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. i. pp. 322-326. Among them are copies of some of the books bequeathed by Queen Mary, such as the 'Commentarii Linguae Graecae' of Budaëus, the 'Commentarii Reipublicae Romanae' of Wolfgangus Lazius, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 125-176.

They are printed for the first time from the origi-



The Queen's Fool.

One of the first entries is of canvas for a bed to a female Fool, Nichola, or La Jardiniere,<sup>1</sup> whom the Queen brought with her from France. The poor creature lingered in Scotland, until the gates of an English prison had closed for ever upon her mistress, when the bounty of the Regent Lennox enabled her to make her way back to her own country.<sup>2</sup> She was not the only one of her unfortunate class in the Scottish court. A few days after the marriage which made Darnley a King, we find a dress of green velvet, and two blue bonnets with plumes given to his Fool.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere we have record of payments from the treasury to other Fools of both sexes.<sup>4</sup>

Mary's French escort were shocked, like herself, by the signs of want and rudeness which they saw among her people. But there was one exception to the prevailing poverty, and even to eyes familiar with what the wealth of France and the nascent art of Italy had done for Amboise and for Fontaine-

nals in the Register House. The account of every year is authenticated by the Queen's sign manual. The account of the year 1566 shows itself to have been made up and authenticated on the 31st of May 1567.

Many of the entries have numbers (printed within parentheses) referring to corresponding numbers in older Inventories printed in the text.

The Inventory of the Queen Regent's moveables delivered to Servais de Conde, in September 1561 (pp. 18-27) is referred to at p. 127 (94); p. 129 (78); p. 130 (50); p. 131 (88), (46); p. 132 (82), (84), (85), (92), (93), (83); p. 137 (29); p. 138 (72), (73), (75), (76), (79); p. 139 (87); p. 140 (81); p. 142 (90), (50. 51. 52), (53. 54); p. 151 (96), (55); p. 152 (96), (91); p. 156 (80. 74), (89); p. 158 (86); p. 168 (10); p. 176 (81).

The Inventory of the Queen's moveables in Holyrood, in November 1561 (pp. 28-48) is referred to at p. 137 (50); p. 139 (120); p. 140 (51); p. 151 (144); p. 152 (119); p. 153 (17); p. 155 (118); p. 156 (125), (117); p. 157 (37. 38), (55. 99. 102. 100), (50); p. 161 (146); p. 162 (128); p. 163 (128), (143), (126), (142), (127); p. 164 (122); p. 165 (58); p. 167 (23), (121); p. 168 (58. 59); p. 169 (23); p. 174 (21).

The Inventory of the Earl of Huntly's moveables brought to Holyrood in December 1562 (pp.

49-56) is referred to at p. 165, (9 H); and p. 166 (9 H).

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 125-127, 130, 137, 142, 143, 146, 64.

<sup>2</sup> In August 1570, there was a payment from the Treasury of £15 'be the Regentis speciale command to Nichola the Fule to mak hir expensis and fraucht to France.'

Jacqueline Critoflat, the bedchamber woman charged with the custody of Nichola la Jardiniere (pp. 126, 127, 130, 137, 143-145, 147), had prepared for her departure three years before. In August 1567, there was a payment from the Treasury of £10 to 'Critoflat, keipar of the Quenis grace Fule, to pay her dettis to pas to France.' But payments continued to be made 'to Nichola the Fule and hir keipar,' until Christmas 1569.

<sup>3</sup> P. 156.

<sup>4</sup> There are payments from the Treasury to Janet Musche, fool, in April 1562; to 'Foyisir the fule,' and 'to the man that keipis him,' in August 1565; to James Geddie, fool, in September 1565, May 1567 and September 1569; to 'Conny,' in January 1565-6, for a dress the same as that given at the same time to La Jardiniere; to Jane Colquhoun, fool, in October 1566 and April 1567; and to George Steiwin or Geordie Styne, fool, in February 1566-7.—(Compota Thesaurariorum Reginae Scotorum. MS. Register House.)

bleau, Holyrood seemed a fine building.<sup>1</sup> We see from the accounts in the text, that it had a richly furnished chapel,<sup>2</sup> a ball-room glowing with heraldry,<sup>3</sup> a well-filled library carpeted with green cloth;<sup>4</sup> and that among the Queen's private apartments were a hall or dining-room, hung with black velvet,<sup>5</sup> and a cabinet or drawing-room draped with green and crimson cloth.<sup>6</sup> The sense of insecurity which threw its shadow over these refinements, is shown by what we learn elsewhere, that the chief entrance to the Palace lay across a drawbridge, through a ponderous iron gate, fastened by two great bolts and a huge bar of iron; that even the windows of the state-rooms had iron gratings; and that in the very heart of the pile, the passage which led from the royal chambers on one floor to the royal chambers on another floor, was guarded by a gate of iron.<sup>7</sup> Holyrood, doubtless, looked all the fairer to its French visitors, that it was built in the new style of French architecture. King James the Fifth seems, early in his reign, to have had French masons in his pay; he brought one of them back from Orleans, when he returned from France with his first bride;<sup>8</sup> the Duke

Holyrood Palace.

French masons  
in Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> 'L'Abbaye de l'Islebourg . . . est certes un beau bastiment, et ne tient rien du pays.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 95.)

Dr. Alexander Ales, who wrote an account of Edinburgh in Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography*, printed at Basle in 1550, describes Holyrood as 'palatium amplissimum et superbissimum.'—(The Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 188.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 157, 36, 40, 41.

In February 1561-2, there was a payment from the Treasury of £10 to William Makdowale, the Master of Works, as a reward for the recovery of a pair of organs which had been carried away. They seem to have been bought for the Palace Chapel in August 1557, at the price of £36.

<sup>3</sup> P. 145.

<sup>4</sup> P. 126.

<sup>5</sup> P. 126.

<sup>6</sup> P. 126.

<sup>7</sup> The accounts of the Masters of Works at Holyrood in 1529-30, show payments for 'an gret irne yeit for the principall entress and draw brig of the new toure with twa gret boltis for the closing of the sloit of the said irne yeit and the gret bar of the samyn;'

for 'ane irne bar to the treyne dure wythout the irne yet;'; for 'mending the lok of the litill irne yet vnder the Kingis Grace awine chalmir in the southt tour;'; for 'ane irne yet in ane passage betuix the Kingis Grace over chalmeris and nethir chalmeris;'; for 'maid irne werk in a draw bar to the inner chalmer dure;'; for 'xxij stanis and ane half maid irne werk in ane gret bynde window in the gret chalmer of the tour,' etc.

We have no contemporary picture of the Holyrood of Queen Mary. But the French features of the building, before it was altered and rebuilt by King Charles II. nearly as we now see it, are obvious enough in the drawings of James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, engraved in Holland about 1647, and reproduced in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 188; and in the *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, pref. p. lxxvi.

<sup>8</sup> By a writ dated at Orleans, on the 1st December 1536, King James v. appointed Mogin Martyne, Frenchman, sometime master mason of Dunbar Castle, to be master mason to the King, during his Grace's pleasure, with a salary of £60 a year, besides the ordinary wages of other masons, when employed on the King's works.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, t. xi. fol. 1. ms. Register House.)

Mogin Martyne.

of Guise, the father of his second, sent him six others;<sup>1</sup> and Frenchmen held the office of master masons to the Crown, and continued to work on the Scottish palaces throughout the reign of Mary.<sup>2</sup> The traces of their art, now all but obliterated at Holyrood, may still be perceived at Linlithgow, which Mary of Guise is said to have praised as one of the most princely piles which she had seen; and they are yet more conspicuous at Falkland and at Stirling. Nor was it in building only that French taste showed its influence in Scotland. Frenchmen were employed to lay out our gardens;<sup>3</sup> we gave work to French

French masons  
in Scotland:  
Thomas French;

The name of Martyne's predecessor in office, Thomas French, would seem to show that he too was a Frenchman, or of French extraction. He is found at work at Linlithgow in 1532. Three years later, he was made master mason to the King, for life, with a salary of £30 a year. One of his sons, turning his steps northwards, built the south transept of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and the fine bridge of seven arches over the neighbouring Dee.—(Waldie's History of Linlithgow, pp. 63, 64. Registrum Secreti Sigilli, t. x. fol. 6. MS. Register House. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 346.)

John Morow:

An inscription of about the year 1500 still remains to attest that John Morow, a native of Paris, had charge of the mason-work of the cathedrals of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the abbeys of Melrose and Paisley, and the churches of Nithsdale and Galloway.—(Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 166-175.)

King James IV., as we see from his Treasury accounts, had an Italian mason in his pay, in the last years of his reign.

Six French masons sent to Scotland by the Duke of Guise;

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the Duchess of Guise to her daughter Queen Mary of Guise, quoted by M. Francisque-Michel, in his *Les Ecossais en France*, t. i. pp. 430, 431.

In July 1539, there was a payment from the Scottish Treasury of £10, 'for the vj masonis quhillk the Duke of Gwyse send to the Kingis Grace;' and of £15 'for the fraucht of j<sup>m</sup> speris with the said masonis furtht of France to Leith.'—(Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum. MS. Register House.)

Nicholas Roy:

<sup>2</sup> By a writ, dated at Falkland in April 1539, King James V. appointed Nicholas Roy, Frenchman, to be master-mason to the King, during his Grace's pleasure, with a salary of £80, besides the ordinary wages of other masons, when employed on the King's works.

—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, t. xiii. fol. 29. MS. Register House.)

In January 1541-2, there was a payment from the Treasury of £4, 6s. 8d. 'to the Frenche maister masoun.'—(Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum. MS. Register House.) The name of 'Mr Nicholas Roy, macon,' appears in a roll of the Queen's household about the year 1548.

By a writ dated at Stirling, in March 1556-7, John Roytell, Frenchman, was made principal master mason to all the Queen's works, for life, with a salary of £50 a year. He still held his office in November 1565. He was made a burghess of Edinburgh in September 1550, at the request of the Prior of Holyrood, who had feasted the provost and baillies the day before: 'ad requestum Prioris monasterii Sancte Crucis qui prepositum et balliuos in dicto monasterio predie existentes eosdem bene tractabat.'—(Register of the Guild of Edinburgh, vol. i., 10 Dec. 1550. MS. in the City Archives. Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxviii. fol. 62. MS. Register House. Compota Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Septemb.-Novemb. 1565. MS. Register House.)

<sup>3</sup> By a writ, dated at Stirling, in August 1536, King James V. made Bertram Galawtre, Frenchman, principal gardener of the King's yards and gardens, for life, with a salary of £50 a year.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, t. x. fol. 142. MS. Register House.)

A year or two later we find a French gardener, brought to Scotland by the Cistercians of Kinloss, in great repute throughout Murray.—(J. Ferreri Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, p. 48. Bannatyne Club: 1839.)

King James IV. had a French gardener in his pay in 1503 and 1504.—(Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum 1502-4, foll. 110, 158. MS. Register House.)

French gardeners in Scotland.

wrights, to French smiths, to French plasterers;<sup>1</sup> we followed French fashions at our tables, in our dress, in our manners;<sup>2</sup> French words made their way into our speech; French leeches dressed our wounds;<sup>3</sup> French dances were to be seen at our country fairs and on our village greens;<sup>4</sup> and Knox had to lament that in the masques and pageants which welcomed Mary's entry into her capital, the Reformed burghers—'fools,' as he calls them—aped the style of France.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum*, 1502-4, foll. 113, 123, 145, 155. *MS. Register House.*

French fashions  
in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> 'Here it is to be remembred,' says the Bishop of Ross, writing of the marriage of King James v. with Magdalene of France in 1537, 'that thair wes mony new ingynis and devysis, alsweill of bigging of paleicis, abilyementis, as of banquating and of menis behaviour, first begun and used in Scotland at this tyme, efter the fassione quhilk thay had sene in France. Albeit it semit to be varray comlie and beautifull, yit it wes moir superfluows and volupteous nor the substaunce of the realme of Scotland mycht beir furth or susteine; nottheles, the same fassionis and custome of coistlie abilyementis indifferentlie used be all estatiss, excessive banquating and sic lik, remanis yit to thir dayis' [the Bishop wrote about 1569], 'to the greit hinder and povartie of the hole realme.'—(Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 154. Cf. Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 392, 393.)

French surgeons  
in Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> *Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum* 1502-4, foll. 129, 132. *MS. Register House.*

Queen Mary of Guise brought with her a French midwife and a French surgeon. The surgeon, Master John Cardelle, had letters of naturalization in 1558. The services of the midwife were secured by liberal pensions to her son and daughter in France.—(*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. xxxii. no. 247. *MS. Register House.* *Etat de Finances de notre petit filz le Duc de Longueville*, 1539-1540. *MS. Register House.*)

The French gardener of Kinloss had some skill in surgery, gained probably by his loss of a limb in the wars of King Francis I. His leechcraft stood him in good service in Scotland: 'est etiam peritus chirurgiae, ut qui multos juverit in obligandis vulneribus toto hoc quinquennio per universam Moraviam.'—(J. Ferrerii *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos*, p. 48.)

Neither physicians nor surgeons were too plentiful in Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century; but the younger Scaliger, who was at Holyrood in 1566, has greatly exaggerated the deficiency: 'Lors que mon frere fut en Escosse, il n'y avoit qu'un mede-

cin qui estoit medecin de la Reyne; et de mon temps en Angleterre, il n'y avoit gueres de medecins. En Escosse un menuisier saignoit, et il y avoit des barbiers qui tondoient seulment.'—(Scaligerana, pp. 365, 366, edit. 1695.)

It may be enough to say in answer to this, that a chair of medicine was founded in the University of Aberdeen in the reign of King James IV.; that King James V. had a physician, a surgeon, and an apothecary in his household, all of them Scots (the physician, it may be added, a son of the same old northern house which gave birth to Dr. John Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope and Swift, and the physician of Queen Anne); that Queen Mary had two physicians, a surgeon, and an apothecary; that the surgeons and barbers of Edinburgh were incorporated in 1505, and had an extension of their privileges from Queen Mary; that the barbers or 'leechers' of Aberdeen were incorporated in 1537; that, in 1568, a treatise on the plague was published at Edinburgh by Dr. Gilbert Skene; that, in 1579, the Earl of Atholl, who died at Kincardine in Perthshire, was attended by two doctors of medicine, both physicians to the King (Mr. Gilbert Moncreiff, who had a fee of £40, and Dr. Alexander Preston, who had a fee of £30), and by an 'Ireland leche,' one of the hereditary doctors of the Highlands, who had a fee of £10.—(*Register of Confirmed Testaments in the Commissariat of Edinburgh*, vol. viii. 26. Dec. 1580. *MS. Register House.* *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. vi. fol. 7; vol. vii. fol. 6; vol. ix. fol. 116; vol. xix. fol. 44; vol. xxxviii. fol. 23. *MS. Register House.* M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 126. Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 173. *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum*, no. 382. *MS. Register House.*)

<sup>4</sup> 'Auld lightfute thair he did forleit,  
And counterfuttet Frans.'

—(Christis Kirk on the Grene, stanza v.)

<sup>5</sup> 'Great preparationis war maid for hir enteress in the town. In ferses, in masking, and in other prodigalities, faine wold fooles have counterfooted France.'

When the Queen came to Scotland, the Court was still in full mourning for her husband, the King of France. It went into half mourning<sup>1</sup> on the first anniversary of his death, a day which seems to have been solemnly kept. Mass was said for his soul's repose in presence of the Queen, who made an offering of a great wax candle trimmed with black velvet;<sup>2</sup> and although few or none of her nobles attended, no point of the accustomed obsequies was omitted.<sup>3</sup> Mary would appear to have delighted in these more picturesque rites of her religion. We see her carrying tapers at Candlemas;<sup>4</sup> and washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday.<sup>5</sup> This

Obsequies of King  
Francis II.

Candlemas.

Maundy Thursday.

—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.)

The plays and pageants which moved the Reformer's scorn, are described by an admiring hand, in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 67-69.

<sup>1</sup> P. 129.

<sup>2</sup> P. 129: 'Plus je deliure a Henry clerc de chappelle demi quartier de velours noir pour mettre a cierge de la Royne le jour du bout de lan du feu Roy.'

<sup>3</sup> Randolph, writing to Cecil on the 7th December 1561, says that the French ambassador, Paul de Foix, 'being admonished by some friend, came not unto the *Dirige* or mass upon Friday and Saturday [the 5th and 6th December] last, to the great misliking of the Queen. Moret [the ambassador from the Duke of Savoy] was there at both. She observed the old manner in all her doings; she could not perswade nor get one Lord of her own to wear the deule for that day, not so much as the Earl Bothwell. . . . This [Sunday] is another day of mirth and pastime [running at the ring] upon the sands of Leith, where the Queen will be herself, to signify the sorrow of her heart after her soul mass.'—(Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 122, 123.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 131.

Carrying candles  
at Candlemas.

In 1565-66, Randolph tells Cecil that 'upon Candlemas daye, there carryed their candles with the Quene, her husbände, th'Earle of Lennox, and Earle Atholl.'—(Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 220. Cf. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 835.)

Among schoolboys in the north, the observance survived the signing of the Covenant: 'Vpone the second of Februar [1643], being Candlemes day, the barnis of the Oldtoun [of Aberdeen] gramar scooll . . .

with candles lichtit in there handis, crying, reioysing, and blyth aneuche . . . about sex houris at night, cam . . . vp the yet to the Cross, and round about gois diuerss tymes, clyms to the heid thair of, and set on ane burning torche thairvpone . . . Attour thay went doun fra the Cross, convoying Johne Keith, brother to the Erll Marschall, who wes there King, to his lodging in the Channonrie, with licht candles.'—(Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles, vol. ii. p. 229, edit. Aberd. 1851.)

<sup>5</sup> The day before Good Friday—the 'Coena Domini' of the Latin Church, the 'Maundy Thursday' and 'Shere Thursday' of England, 'le jour de la Cene' of France—was known in Scotland as 'Skyre Thurisday,' or 'Skir Furisday' (p. 52). As many poor maidens, as there were years in the Queen's age, had their feet washed by her, and were each of them presented with five quarters of linen, at 5s., 6s., or 6s. 8d. a yard, and with two yards of white kersey, at 15s. or 16s. a yard. The Queen had an apron and towel of cambric, at 40s. or 45s. a yard; her attendants had aprons and towels of holland, at 20s. or 22s. a yard. In 1566, the King took part in the ceremony, having, like the Queen, an apron and towel of cambric. On this occasion, besides the twenty-four maidens whose feet were washed by the Queen, the King seems to have washed the feet of thirteen poor virgins, and to have given to each of them three and a-half yards of fine red cloth, at 24s. a yard. In 1567, when the Queen held her last Maundy at Holyrood, she was attended by nine ladies and maids of honour, seven maids and their governess, seven bedchamber women, eleven masters of household and gentlemen (including a doctor of theology, a physician, a secretary, an apothecary, a comptroller, an al-

Washing the feet  
of the poor on  
Maundy Thurs-  
day.

latter ceremony, indeed, passed into the Reformed Church;<sup>1</sup> it was performed in person by Queen Elizabeth, and by more than one of her successors on the English throne; and not much more than a century has elapsed since the

moner, etc.), nine valets of her chamber, one usher of her chamber, and ten officers (including two purveyors, an equerry, a barber, etc.) The first lady of honour was waited on by two maids; the masters of household by three gentlemen; the purveyors by two servants. The charge for two and a half yards of 'toille baptiste' or cambric was £5; for forty yards of holland, £40; for forty-four yards of 'small' or 'Scotch' linen, £14, 13s. 4d.; for fifty yards of white kersey, £40; for forty yards of 'toille de Bretagne,' 'Bartane claithe,' or cloth of Brittany (used, it would seem, for carpeting), £20; in all, £119, 13s. 4d.—(Compota Thesauriorum Reginae Scotorum, Mar. 1561-2, Apr. 1565, Apr. 1566, Apr. 1567. MS. Register House. Memoire du linge necessaire pour le jour de la Cene fait la ij<sup>me</sup> d'Aprill mil v<sup>e</sup> soixante sept. MS. Register House.)

Mary had made preparation for a Skyre Thursday which she was not suffered to keep. 'Certen clothe bought at Chartley for her intended Mawndye,' in 1586, was found in her rooms at Fotheringhay, after her execution. The observance was stopped by Sir Amias Poulet, the same stern jailer who tore down her cloth of state.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 272. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 986.)

<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, to have early become unpopular in Scotland. Robert Bowes, the English ambassador at Holyrood, writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, in April 1583, that the people of Edinburgh are raging against M. Meyneville, the French envoy, 'to see both his priest kept amongst them, and (as they think) saying mass, and also himself keeping his Maundy solemnly like a king, and passing to holy saints and wells on pilgrimage; which thing they think to be done in such contempt against the religion of their laws, as the King is busily occupied to suppress their passions.' Walsingham, in reply, instructs Bowes to advise the King of Scots of the inconvenience of M. Meyneville's 'stout and insolent speeches, and his observance of the ceremonies of the Romish religion, especially in the late keeping of the Maundy, a thing very offensive to the subjects of the King of Scots.'—(Correspondence of Robert Bowes of Aske, p. 399. Surtees Society: 1842. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 439.)

Two years afterwards, we find the King giving 'nynetein gawnis of blew claith, nynetein pursis, and in ilk purse nynetein schillingis to nynetein aigit men, according to the yeiris of his Hienes aige.' But the bounty was given, not on the Thursday before Easter, but on the King's birthday in June.—(Compotum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum, Jun. 1585. MS. Register House.)

In the sixth century, the monks of Iona washed the feet of strangers who visited their monastery.—(Dr. Reeves's *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pp. 27, 345.)

In the same age, if we may trust a writer of the twelfth century, the Apostle of Strathclyde kept his Maundy yearly at Glasgow: 'in Coena Domini, post confectionem sacri crismatis et olei, prius multitudinis pauperum, et postea leprosorum, pedes propriis manibus cum lacrimis lavans, et capillis tergens ac crebris oculis demulcens, ad mensem postea ipse diligenter illis ministrabat.'—(Jocelin of Furnes, *Vita S. Kentegerni*, c. xvii., in Pinkerton's *Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum Scotiae*, p. 231.)

We have record of the Maundy of the Scottish Kings—'Mandatum in Coena Domini'—towards the end of the eleventh century. The Bishop of St. Andrews describes its religious observance by St. Margaret and her husband King Malcolm: 'inter haec trecentos pauperes in Regiam aulam consuetudo erat introduci; quibus per ordinem circumdeditibus, cum Rex et Regina ingrederentur, a ministris ostia clauderentur; exceptis enim capellanis quibusdam religiosis et aliquibus ministris, illorum eleemosynae operibus interesse nulli licuerat. Rex ex una, Regina vero ex altera parte, Christo in pauperibus servierunt: magisque cum devotione cibos et potum, specialiter ad hoc praeparatos, obtulerunt.'—(Turgot, *Vita S. Margaretae*, cap. iii. §§ 18, 21-23, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. t. ii. pp. 332, 333.)

The example of St. Margaret was followed by her daughter 'the good Queen Maud,' the wife of King Henry I. of England. Her brother, King David of Scotland, told St. Aelred of Rievaulx, how, on entering her chamber one evening, he found her washing the feet of lepers: 'ecce domus plena leprosis, et Regina in medio stans, depositoque pallio, cum se linteo praecinisset, posita in pelvi aqua, coepit lavare

King James the Sixth's Maundy.

Maundy at Iona.

St. Mungo's Maundy.

St. Margaret's Maundy.

Queen Matilda's Maundy.

Archbishop of York, as the substitute of King George the Second, discharged the duty in the chapel-royal at Whitehall.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's  
perukes.

There is repeated mention of the Queen's borrowed ringlets, or perukes,<sup>2</sup> as they are called, which she wore of different colours.<sup>3</sup> At first she seems to have used them only in compliance with the fashion of the day; but what had been merely an ornament, became a necessity when sorrows had whitened and sickness had thinned her hair. The auburn tresses which she laid upon the block at Fotheringhay, were not her own; and when her head dropped from them

pedes eorum et extergere, extersosque utrisque constringere manibus, et devotissime osculari.'—(Aelred, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, in Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores* Decem, col. 368.)

King James the  
Fourth's Maundy.

In 1490, King James iv. kept his 'Skeyr Thursday' at Holyrood, and gave 'xviij gray gowns and xviij payre of schone and dublaris [dishes] and coppis [cups] to xviij pure men,' and 'to ilk ane of the xviij men xviij penneis.' The grey gowns were changed into blue at least as early as 1537.—(Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum. ms. Register House.)

King James the  
Fifth's Maundy.

In 1526, King James v., girt with a linen apron, celebrated his Maundy at Holyrood, giving bread, beer, and salt herrings, cod and salmon, to the poor with his own hands: 'per manus Domini Regis in seruicio pauperum.'—(Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Jacobi v., pp. 53, 54, 79. Bannatyne Club: 1836.)

<sup>1</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 142-150. edit. 1849.

The Sovereign still gives Maundy alms to an allotted number of poor persons on both sides of Tweed. The dole in London, distributed as of old on Maundy Thursday, is a purse with as many silver pennies as there are years in the Queen's age, some woollen and linen clothing, and a small sum in lieu of the food which was at one time given. Edie Ochiltree in the *Antiquary* has made every one familiar with the Queen's bedesmen in Scotland. They are now all but extinct. In the Civil Service Estimates for 1862-3 there is a sum of £10 'for alms to Her Majesty's only remaining bedesman, the expense of furnishing him with a gown,' etc.

The observance of Maundy, it seems, is still maintained by one of the Reformed communions in Scotland. The Glassites are said to 'hold by the most literal interpretation of Scripture rules, as concerning the kiss of charity, and the washing of the feet of

fellow-disciples'—(Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, vol. iv. pp. 784, 785. Lond. 1862.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 130: 'Vne aulne de toille pour acoustrer les perruques de la Royne;' p. 141: 'demie aulne de toille pour faire des ataches pour des perruques pour la Royne;' p. 145: 'vne aulne de toille pour friser de perruque pour la Royne.'

In October 1567, Servais de Conde sent to the Queen at Lochleven 'plusieurs perruques et aultres telles choses y servant.' In July 1568, he sent to her at Carlisle, after her flight into England, 'ung paque de perruque de cheveux.'—(Illustrations of the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James vi., pp. 14, 16.)

It was at Carlisle that Mary Seton, to the surprise of Sir Francis Knollys, 'among other pretty devices, did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, that was said to be a perewyke, that showed very delicately,' (see above, pp. 1, li. note 2). Sir Francis speaks of the peruque in a way which shews that it was then a novelty in England; indeed it is said to have been unknown there until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who at one time had as many as eighty peruques. But coiffs of Venice gold, 'with ther perukes of here hanging to them, and long labells of coleryd lawne,' are mentioned in the first year of King Edward vi.—(Archaeologia, vol. xxvii. p. 72.)

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas White, who saw the Queen at Tutbury in February 1569, writes to Cecil: 'She is a goodly personage, . . . hath withall an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish accent, and a searching wit, clouded with myldnes . . . Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr. Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colors.'—(Mr. T. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 311.) Brantôme, on the other hand, who last saw Mary at Holyrood in October 1561, describes her hair as fair—'si beaux, si blonds et cendrez' (t. v.

The Queen's  
hair.

in the executioner's hands, its only covering was seen to be a few short grey hairs on either temple.<sup>1</sup>

We hear of the Queen's hunting gear,<sup>2</sup> of her riding habits,<sup>3</sup> of her mule-litter,<sup>4</sup> of her head-dress of cloth of silver for the Parliament which was broken up by the murder of Riccio.<sup>5</sup> But we miss any trace of the Highland garb<sup>6</sup> which, as we learn elsewhere, was made ready for her journey into Argyll in the summer of 1563. It was an attire of which she would seem to have been fond. She had herself painted in it, and, if she did not wear it in France, must have worn it before she was two months in Scotland; for Brantôme says that he had seen her in it, and that she looked like a goddess.<sup>7</sup>

The Queen's Highland dress.

The Queen's Scottish accent. p. 111.) But he agrees with White in praising her Scottish accent: 'sa langue naturelle, qui de soi est fort rurale, barbare, mal sonnante et seante, elle la parloit de si bonne grace, et la façonnoit de telle sorte, qu'elle la faisoit trouver très belle et très agreable en elle, mais non en autres' (t. v. p. 85). Much of the charm, no doubt, was in her voice, which Brantôme tells us, was 'très douce et très bonne' (t. v. p. 86).

<sup>1</sup> The contemporary French report of the Queen's execution describes her head-dress as 'un voile de linomple, fort beau et blanc . . . un couvrechef fait de linomple en manière de coiffe, et par là-dessous une perruque de cheveux fort bien scéante.' It is added that, when the executioner held up the head, 'il tomba soudainement de ses mains, pour ce qu'il ne l'avoit prise que par la peau de ses cheveux faux.' In a following paragraph we are told that 'la teste estoit nue de cheveux devant et derrière, et razée exprès pour y appliquer quelque cataplasme, et en chaque costé petits cheveux gris, mais non pas beaucoup.'—(M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 879, 881, 883.) We learn from Brantôme that Mary's hair turned grey at thirty-five (t. v. p. 111).

<sup>2</sup> R. Winkfield, an eye-witness, in his letter to Burleigh, from Fotheringhay, 11th February 1586, observed "her borrowed heire auburne," her own hair being "polled verie short," as appeared when the severed head was held forth by the executioner, denuded of its coverings.'—(Mr. Albert Way, *Catalogue of the Museum of the Archaeological Institute*, at Edinburgh in 1856, pref. p. xxiv.)

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 146, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 157, 158.

<sup>5</sup> P. 150.

Among the articles in the Castle of Edinburgh, belonging to the King and his mother, in 1578, was 'ane littare lynnit with crammosie satyne and steikit with the harnessing thairto and tua litle chyres in it and a cordoun of silk and gold.'—(Mr. Thomson's *Collections of Inventories*, p. 239.)

The Queen's litter.

<sup>6</sup> P. 163.

<sup>7</sup> 'The Queen, the Parliament now ended, hath made her Highland apparel for her journey into Argile.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, in Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 201.) There is mention of this journey in the text (p. 138).

It appears that when King James V. went to hunt in the Perthshire Highlands, he had 'ane schort Heland coit of variant cullorit veluet,' lined with green taffeta; hose of 'Heland tertane;' and 'syde Heland sarkis of holland claith.'—(Comptum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum, Aug. 1538.) John Taylor, the Water Poet, who was at a grand hunt in Braemar in 1618, tells us, in an often quoted passage, that the Highland garb was worn by every one 'as if Licurgus had been there, and made lawes of equality,' adding that, 'as for their attire, any man of what degree soever that comes amongst them, must not disdaine to weare it; for if they doe, then they will disdaine to hunt.'—(The *Pennyless Pilgrimage*, cited in the *Transactions of the Iona Club*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 39, 40.)

King James the Fifth's Highland dress.

<sup>8</sup> 'Estant habillée à la sauvage (comme je l'ay vetie) et à la barbaresque mode des sauvages de son pays, elle paroissoit, en un . . . habit barbare et grossier,



Bishop Lesley describes the dress, which he assures us was very becoming, as a long loose cloak of damask, over a gown which reached to the ankles, and was generally embroidered.<sup>1</sup> Of such Highland mantles, as they were called, the Queen had three, one white, another blue, a third of black frieze, pasmented with gold, and lined with black taffeta.<sup>2</sup> There is here no appearance of tartan, nor does that stuff seem in that day to have been generally worn by the Wild Scot of either sex. The Highlandmen who figured in the pageants at the Prince's baptism at Stirling, in 1566, were clad in goat hides;<sup>3</sup> and a book of costumes, published at Paris in the following year, represents even Highland women as dressed in skins.<sup>4</sup>

une vraye déesse. Ceux qui l'ont veüe habillée le pourront ainsi confesser en toute vérité ; et ceux qui ne l'ont veüe en pourront avoir veu son portrait, estant ainsi habillée.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 85.) The 'savages' of Scotland, it need scarcely be added, were the Highlanders,—the 'Wild Scots,' or 'Scoti Sylvestres,' as they were called, both in Britain and on the Continent. See below, p. lxx. note 1.

Dress of Highland women.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mulierum autem habitus apud illos decentissimus erat. Nam talari tunicae, arte phrygia vt plurimum confectae, amplas chlamydes quas iam diximus [illas quidem demissas ac fluxas, sed in sinus tamen quosdam, vbi volebant, decenter contractas], atque illas quidem polymitas, superinduerunt. Illarum brachia armillis, ac colla monilibus, elegantius ornata, maxmam habent decoris speciem.'—(Bishop Lesley, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 58.)

Martin, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, describes the costume as not then wholly extinct among the Western Islanders: 'The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called *arisad*, is a white plade, having a few small stripes of black, blew, and red ; it reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of an hundred marks value ; it was broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraven with various animals, etc. There was a lesser buckle which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight ; it had in the center a large piece of chrystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of

a lesser size. The plad being pleated all round, was tied with a belt below the breast ; the belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermix'd with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven ; the end of which was adorned with fine stones, or pieces of red corral. They wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, clos'd at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round 'em, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine kerchief of linen strait about the head, hanging down the back taper-wise ; a large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands.'—(Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, pp. 208, 209, edit. 1703. Cf. the Reverend John Lane Buchanan's *Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790*, pp. 97-89.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Ane Hieland mantill of blak freis pasmentit with gold and lynit with blak taffetie ; ane blew Hieland mantill ; ane quheit Hieland mantill.'—(Inventair of Jowellis, etc., within the Castell of Edinburgh, pertaining to our Soverane Lord and his Hienes derrest Moder, 1578, printed in Mr. Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, p. 231.)

The Queen's Highland mantles.

<sup>3</sup> 'For twenty aucht gaitt skynnis quhairof was maid four Hieland wyld mens clathingis from heid to fute price of the peice iiij schillingis summa v pundis xij schillingis.'—(Expensis of Fyreworkis at the Baptisme of my Lord Prince in Striueling, December 1566. *Ms. Register House*.)

Highlanders wear skins.

<sup>4</sup> I know this book only in the pages of M. Francisque-Michel, who describes it as rare: 'Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage,

There is notice of a velvet glove for the Queen's favourite pastime of shooting at the butts.<sup>1</sup> Nor was archery the only outdoor sport which she practised. Knox tells us that, when summoned to the interview in which she asked his good offices to reconcile the Countess and the Earl of Argyll, he found her hawking on the shores of Lochleven.<sup>2</sup> We hear from an eye-witness how she gave the signal for letting a hound loose upon a wolf during a great hunt in the forest of Athol, when, although the herd broke through the tinchel, about three hundred and sixty deer, five wolves, and a number of wild

The Queen's sports :  
archery, hawking,  
hunting.

tant ès pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique, et Isles sauvages. A Paris, 1567.' Under the engraving of the Highlandwoman is written :

'C'est la Sauvage au pays Escossoys  
De peaux vestue encontre la froidure.'

—(Les Ecossais en France, t. ii. pp. 123, 124.)

This may be compared with one of the earliest descriptions of the Highland dress which we have, that of Dr. John Mair, published in 1521 : 'A medio crure ad pedem caligas non habent, chlamyde pro veste superiore, et camisia, croco tincta, amiciuntur . . . Tempore belli . . . in panno lineo multipliciter intersuto et caerato aut picato cum cervinae pellis coopertura vulgus Sylvestrium Scotorum corpus tectum habens in praelium prosilit.'—(Joannes Major, De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 34.)

Highlanders' waxed or tarred shirts.

We hear little more of the common Highlander's upper garment of hides or skins. It would seem to have been disused as woollen stuffs became more plentiful. But his large linen shirt, ornamented with needlework, and smeared with wax, tallow, or tar, long survived. It is mentioned in 1578 by the Bishop of Ross : 'Ex lino quoque amplissima indusia conficiebant, multis sinibus, largioribusque manicis, foris ad genua vsque negligentius fluentia. Haec potentiores croco, alii autem adipe quodam, quo ab omni sorde diutius manerent integra illinebant . . . In his conficiendis, ornatus aut artis omnino cura non videbatur neglecta : siquidem filo cerico, viridi potissimum, aut rubeo, indusiorum singulas partes artificiosissime continuabant.'—(Bishop Lesley, De Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 58.)

The tarred shirt seems to have been worn as late as the end of the seventeenth century. It is mentioned by Colonel Cleland in his description of the Highland Host in 1678 :

'It's marvelous how in such weather,  
Ov'r hill and hop they came together :

How in suche stormes they came so farr ;  
The reason is they're smeared with tar,  
Which doth defend them heel and neck,  
Just as it doth their sheep protect.'

—(Collection of Several Poems and Verses composed upon Various Occasions, p. 13. Printed in the year 1697.)

Lord Macaulay, interpreting this passage, as I think, too literally, has described the Highlanders as 'smeared with tar like sheep.'—(History of England, c. xiii. vol. iii. p. 306. edit. 1855.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 149.

In April 1562, Randolph writes to Cecil, from St. Andrews, how the Queen and the Master of Lindsay shot at the butts in her privy garden against Mary Livingston and the Earl of Murray. In February 1567, Drury writes to Cecil from St. Andrews, how the Queen and Bothwell won a dinner at Tranent in a shooting match against the Earl of Huntly and Lord Seton. The Queen had butts in her south garden at Holyrood.—(G. Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 109. Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 95. Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 390, 516. Compotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, 27. Mar. 1567. MS. Register House.)

The Queen's shooting matches.

<sup>2</sup> Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 373-379.)

The Reformer tells us that the Queen spoke to him of 'the offering of a ring to her by the Lord Ruthven' (see above, p. xii. note 1), adding that she did not like his lordship, because, she said, 'I know him to use enchantment.' When at their first interview, in 1561, the Queen told Knox 'that it was said to hir, that all which he did was by necromancye' (see above, pp. xlii., xliii., note 4), the Reformer's answer was a protestation how earnestly he had preached against it : 'And whare they sclander me of magick, nycro-

The Queen's sports : goats were slain in one day.<sup>1</sup> As an instance of her indifference to the King's fate, her adversaries affirmed that, a few days after his murder, she was seen playing golf<sup>2</sup> and pallmall<sup>3</sup> (or croquet as we should now call it) in the fields

Royal hunt in  
Atholl, in 1563.

mancie, or of any other arte forbidden of God, I have witnesses (besydis my awin conscience) all congregationis that ever heard me, what I spake both against suche artis, and against those that use suche impietie.'—(History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 278, 280.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Anno enim redemptionis nostrae sexagesimo tertio supra sesquimillesimum, Comes Atholiae, ex regio sanguine princeps, venationem ingenti apparatu et magnis sumptibus, optimae atque illustrissimae Reginae Scotiae exhibuit, cui ego tunc adolescens interfui (cuiusmodi venationem *regiam* nostrates appellare solent). Habebat autem Comes ad duo millia Scotorum Montanorum, quos vos hic Scotos Sylvestres appellatis, quibus negotium dedit ut ceruos cogerent ex sylvis et montibus Atholiae, Badenachae, Marriae, Moraviae, aliisque vicinis regionibus; atque ad locum agerent venationi destinatum. Illi vero, ut sunt valde pernices et expediti, ita dies noctesque concursarunt, ut intra bimensis tempus amplius duo millia ceruorum cum damis et capreis vnum in locum compulerint: quos Reginae principibusque in valle considentibus, et caeteris qui vna aderant omnibus, visendos venandosque proposuerunt. Sed ita, mihi crede, omnes illi cerui velut agmine composito incedebant (haeret, enim, haerebitque semper id animo spectaculum meo) ut ducem vnum et rectorem cerneret praeuenientem, quem alii quoquo iret subsequebantur: is autem

'Cervus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens.'

Qua ex re non mediocrem animo Regina cepit voluptatem: cepit mox et timorem, ubi ad eam Atholius, qui talibus a pueritia venationibus assueverat, 'Vides,' inquit, 'ducem illum cornigerum qui turmam praet? Periculum nobis ab illo est. Si enim aliquis eum furor timorue ab isto montis dorso in hanc planiciem compulerit, nostrum sibi quisque prospiciat: nemo certe ab iniuria tutus erit, quandoquidem caeteri eum sequentur confertim, et viam sibi ad hunc, qui a tergo est montem, nobis proculcatis statim aperient.' Cuius sententiae veritatem alius illico eventus patefecit. Laxatus enim Reginae iussu atque immissus in lupum insignis admodum ac ferox canis, dum fugientem insequitur, ita ceruum illum ductorem exterruit, ut retro vnde venerat fugam capesseret: cunctique cum eo regressi eruperunt ea parte qua Montanorum corona arctissime cingebantur: ipsis vero Montanis nihil spei, nihil refugii reliquum fuit, nisi ut strati in erica pronos

se proculcari, aut praeteriri paterentur: quorum nonnullos cerui transiliendo vulnerarunt, alterum quoque aut tertium peremerunt, ut statim Reginae nuntiatum fuit. Et vero ita glomerati euasissent omnes, ni homines illi venatus peritissimi ipsos e uestigio sequuti, arte quadam extremos ab ipso agmine distraxissent qui mox Reginae et nobilium canibus in praedam cessere. Confecti autem eo die fuerunt circiter trecenti sexaginta, cum quinque lupis et capreis aliquot.'—(Dr. William Barclay, De Regno et Regali Potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherum et reliquos Monarchomachos, lib. ii. pp. 279, 280. edit. Hanov. 1612.)

The writer, a son of the house of Gartley, was born in Aberdeenshire in 1546, became Professor of Law at Angers, and died in France in 1605. Himself a scholar of mark, he was the father of a much more distinguished son, John Barclay, the author of the long famous romance of Argenis, written in Latin which won the admiration of Grotius, and was preferred by Coleridge to the Latin of Livy and of Tacitus.

<sup>2</sup> We first hear of golf in Scotland in 1457, when it was forbidden by Parliament as an unprofitable pastime, which drew the people away from archery and other warlike sports. The prohibition was renewed in 1471, and again in 1491.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 48, 100, 226.) Golf was played by Queen Mary's grandfather, King James IV., and by her grandsons Prince Henry and King Charles I. There was a payment from the Treasury, in February 1504, of nine shillings for 'golf clubbes and balles to the King that he playit with.' It is told of Prince Henry that, as he raised his golf-club to strike the ball, a bystander cried out, 'Beware that you hit not Master Newton' (his tutor) when the Prince dropped his club, with the remark, 'Had I done so, I had but paid my debts.'—(Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 103. edit. 1830.) It is said that King Charles I. was playing golf on Leith Links when tidings of the Irish rising of 1641 were brought to him.

<sup>3</sup> 'Palemaille' or paille-maille' is described by Cotgrave in 1611, as 'a game, wherein a round box bowle is with a mallet strucke through a high arch of yron (standing at either end of an alley one) which he

beside Seton.<sup>1</sup> Among her in-door amusements we find cards,<sup>2</sup> chess<sup>3</sup> (which her son thought too wise and philosophical<sup>4</sup>), tables or backgammon,<sup>5</sup> and a company of puppets.<sup>6</sup> These last-named toys had recently been brought to

The Queen's sports :  
cards, chess, tables.

Her puppet show.

that can do at the fewest blowes, or at the number agreed on, winnes.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Few dayes eftir the murthir remaning at Haly-rudehous, she past to Seytoun, exercing hir one day richt oppinlie at the feildis with the palmall and goif.'—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at Westminster, on the 6th December 1568. Hopetoun ms.)

Mr. Malcolm Laing, who had never seen these Articles, has an argument of some length to show that they were 'undoubtedly the same' with Buchanan's Detection. Camden, with better information, had rightly distinguished between the two documents.—(M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 161, 169, 241-243, 309.)

Cards. <sup>2</sup> 'Be the Quenis Grace speciale command to Robert Makesone ane of the virlottis of hir Grace chalmer to gif hir Maiestie to play at the cartis, fyftie pundis.'—(Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, 30. Nov. 1565. ms. Register House.)

When King James iv. waited on his bride, the Princess Margaret of England, at Newbattle, he found her playing cards. They were a favourite amusement at his court, as well as at the court of his son, King James v., as we learn from the verse of Sir David Lindsay.

Chess. <sup>3</sup> There is more than one set of chess pieces in the Inventory of the Jewels and other articles in the Castle of Edinburgh belonging to the King and his Mother, in 1578: 'Ane quhite polk of greit chas men of hane; ane litle grene polk with sum chas men; ane quhite buist with chas men in personages of woid.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 238, 240.)

Sir Frederic Madden has exhausted the antiquities of chess in Europe, in his admirable paper on the fine chess men carved in walrus tusk, supposed to be of the twelfth century, found in the island of Lewis, and now divided between the British Museum and Lord Londesborough.—(Archaeologia, vol. xxiv. pp. 203-291.) The game was so popular in Scotland in that age that we discover a maker of chessmen and tablemen (or backgammon men) in a hamlet near Melrose in 1166. He worked in deer horn and bone.—(Reginaldi Dunelmensis Libellus de Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus, pp. 185-188. Surtees Society: 1835.)

'The chesse,' or, 'the chesses' appears to have been a favourite game of King James i.—(Cronycle of the Death of James Stewarde, Kynge of Scotys, in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 466, 467.)

<sup>4</sup> 'As for the chesse, I thinke it ouer fonde, because it is ouer wise and philosophicke a follie.'—(ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΟΠΟΝ, or His Maiesties Instrvctions to his dearest sonne, Henry the Prince, p. 125. edit. 1603.) The King recommends 'archery, palle maille, and suche like faire and pleasant field games.' 'As for hawking,' he says, 'I condemne it not; but I must praise it more sparinglie, because it neither resembleth the warres so neere as hunting doth in making a man hardie and skilfullie ridden in all grounds, and is more vncertaine and subject to mischances, and (whiche is worst of all) is there-through an extreame stirrer vp of passions.' He will not join in the censure of all games of hazard: 'when it is foule and stormie weather, then, I say, may ye lawfully play at the carts or tables.'

King James vi.  
on games and  
pastimes.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 241: 'Ane polk with table men.'

Tables.

King James i. played at 'the tables' on the night of his murder at Perth in 1437. The Treasury Accounts show us King James iv. playing at 'the tables,' in Montrose, with old Earl Archibald Bell the Cat.

<sup>6</sup> P. 139: 'deux chateaux de damas gris broche dor pour faire vne robbe a vne poupine;' 'trois quartz et demi de toile dargent et de soye blanche pour faire vne cotte et aultre chose a des poupines.'

Puppets.

It would appear from the Inventory of 1578 that the set, when complete, had been of thirty-eight pieces, half of one sex and half of the other: 'Ane coffer quhairin is contenit certane pictouris of wemen callit pippenis, being in nombre fourtene mekle and litle, fyftene vardingaill for thame, nynetene gownis kirtillis and vaskenis for thame, ane packet of sairkis slevis and hois for thame, thair pantonis, ane packet with ane furnist bed, ane uther packett of litle consaittis and trifflis of bittis of crisp and utheris, tua dussane and ane half of masking visouris:' 'Ane litle buist grene paintit on the cover with nynetene portratouris of men on horsbak and utheris fantaseis of evir bane and woid:' 'Ane creill with sum bulyettis of tymmer and pippenis.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 238, 240.)

great perfection in Italy, and were then and for a century afterwards in especial favour in high places.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's  
masques.

We have more interest in those frequent Masques,<sup>2</sup> or Triumphs, as they were called, in which Knox appears to have seen nothing but folly or sin,<sup>3</sup> although Murray approved them by more than his presence, and Buchanan adorned them with the fruits of his genius and the spoils of his learning. Scarcely any feast or solemnity seems to have been thought complete without them. In some cases, the Queen and her court played the chief parts; in others, the valets of her chamber, or, if she were the guest of the city, the young burghers, were the actors. In every instance there was an attempt, by dress or otherwise, to personate character. Occasionally the performance was only dumb show, but more frequently the performers sang or recited verses, with or without the help of music from one or more instruments. At times the skill of the carpenter was tasked for machinery, and the craft of the painter for some sort of decoration.

Her entry into  
Edinburgh.

The first Masques of which we hear were on the great day of the Queen's entry into her capital, a fortnight after her return from France. Leaving Holyrood, Mary rode along the terrace on which Princes Street now stands, and winding up the green bank which was washed by the North Loch, passed into the Castle. The cannon thundered as she left its gates, after dining with her nobles at noon, and rode down the Castlehill, where she was met by an escort of fifty young citizens, in the guise of Moors, with jewelled rings in their mouths, and gilded chains on their necks and limbs. The Queen now took her place under a pall of purple velvet, with fringes of gold and

<sup>1</sup> M. Charles Magnin, the learned and amusing historian of the puppet show, writing of the reign of King Lewis XIV. of France says: 'Les marionnettes étaient alors un plaisir royal, que recherchaient, par imitation, la noblesse et la bourgeoisie.'—(*Histoire des Marionnettes en Europe*, p. 189. edit. 1862.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 73, 127, 128, 133, 136, 138, 141, 144, 145, 162, 167, 185, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288, 314, 319, 362, 363, 370, 381, 416, 417. It does not appear, however, that Knox was against all dramatic representations. We are told of his presence at a marriage masque or play which figured the fulfilment of one of his prophecies, and the hanging of two or three of his enemies.—(*Diary of Mr. James Melville*, p. 22.)

silk, borne by twelve of the gravest burghers, clad in long gowns of black velvet, black velvet coats, crimson satin doublets, and velvet bonnets ; and the procession moved onwards to the Upper or Butter Tron, at the head of the West Bow, where a wooden arch, painted in bright colours and hung with coats of arms, had been raised. It was surmounted by a company of children singing ; and, as the Queen passed through, a cloud or globe descended on her path, and bursting asunder disclosed a boy in the guise of an angel, who delivered to her the keys of the town, with a bible and a psalter bound in purple velvet. Having spoken certain verses<sup>1</sup> in praise and welcome of the Queen and in honour of Holy Scripture, the angel was received back into his tabernacle, and the procession passed on to the Tolbooth—the Heart of Midlothian, as it was called in a later day—where, on a stage of two tiers, stood four fair damsels, in costly raiment, representing Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, and Prudence. After another address here, the Queen reached the Cross, which poured wine from all its spouts, while healths were drunk, and glasses were broken, and more allegory was acted by four fair maidens gorgeously apparelled. There was another stage with another address at the Lower or Salt Tron. Some zealous Reformers had here devised the representation of a priest burned at the altar in the act of elevating the host. But this was forbidden by the Earl of Huntly, who bore the Sword of State in the procession, and the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram was figured instead, to the seeming content of both sides ; the Reformers regarding it as an example of God's vengeance upon idolatry, the Roman Catholics as an example of God's vengeance upon those who took the priesthood upon themselves without authority. The fifth and last stage was built at the Netherbow, the boundary of the city on the east. Here an

<sup>1</sup> They were sent by Randolph to Cecil, and are now in the State Paper Office. If they may be judged by the opening stanza, they are sorry doggerel :

'Welcome, oure Souveraine, welcome, oure natyue Quene,  
Welcome to vs your subiects greate and smalle,

Welcome, I saye, even from the verie splene,  
To Edinburghe, youre syttie principall.'

—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland,  
vol. i. p. 174.)

address was spoken by a dragon, who was then set on fire and burned, during the singing of a psalm. On reaching Holyrood, certain children, who had followed the procession in a cart, made a speech against the old religion, and sung another psalm. Then the burghers, who had carried the Queen's pall, took from the cart a cupboard of gilt plate, bought from the Earl of Morton and Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington for two thousand merks, and presented it to the Queen in the outer chamber of the Palace.<sup>1</sup> Like gifts welcomed her entry into Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and other towns, and helped to fill her treasury or added to the splendour of her table.<sup>2</sup> We see her bequeathing gold and silver work which had come to her in this way, to her aunt the Abbess of St. Peter's at Reims.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 67-69. Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 7th Sept. 1562, in Mr. T. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74. Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 287-289. Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. iv. foll. 14, 15. MS. in the City Archives.

I have corrected what seems to be a mistake, and supplied an obvious deficiency in the description (in the Diurnal of Occurrents) of the allegorical personages on the stage at the Tolbooth, from the contemporary account of the entry of Anne of Denmark, thirty years afterwards, when not a few of the devices which had welcomed Queen Mary were acted over again: 'At her Grace's comming to the Tolbooth, there stood on high the four Virtues, as first Justice, with the balance in one hand, and the sword of justice in the other; then Temperance, having in one hand a cup of wine; and in the other a cup of water; Prudence, holding in her hand a serpent and a dove, declaring that men ought to bee as wise as the serpent to prevent daunger, but as simple as the dove eyther in wrath or malice; the last is Fortitude, who held a broken pillar in her hand, representing the strength of a kingdome.'—(The Receiving of King James and his Queene, in Papers relative to the Marriage of King James VI., p. 41. Bannatyne Club: 1828.) Justice and her fellow Virtues, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude, were old stock-pieces of Edinburgh pageants. They appear in the entry of the Princess Margaret, the bride of King James IV., in 1503.—(Relation of John Young, Somerset Herald, in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. pp. 289, 290.)

The escort of Moors, which figured in 1554, as well as in 1561, has a conspicuous place in 'The Description of the Queenis Maiesties maist honorable entry into the Town of Edinbvrgh, vpon the 19 day of Maii 1590, by Iohn Bvrel,' a poem, printed in Papers relative to the Marriage of King James VI.

<sup>2</sup> In January 1562, the town council of Aberdeen, in respect of the 'prencely propynis giffin to the Quenis Grace in Edinburcht and Dundee and vther townis,' voted 2000 merks 'for the preparatioun and decoratioun of the town and to be propynit to hir Grace, as wse hes bene in tymes bypast to be done to Kingis and Princes of this realme at thair first entre.'—(Extracts from the Council Register of Aberdeen, 1398-1570, pp. 339, 340, 346, 347. Spalding Club: 1844.)

<sup>3</sup> P. 124: 'Il y a deus cueurs dor de mes entrees auuesques vne comme vne rose et vn hault goubellet couuert et vn bouclier et quelque Notre Dames que ie veus estre enuoyees a ma tante de St Pierre.' Cotgrave gives as one of the meanings of *entrée*, 'a present or gratuitie bestowed on a prince, etc., at his first entree into a place.'

One of the two gold hearts bequeathed by the Queen was given to her at her entry into Perth, in September 1561: 'At St. Johnston's she was well received, and presented with a heart of gold full of gold, I know not to what value; she lik'd nothing the pageants there, they did too plainly condemn the errors of the world.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 24th September 1561, in Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 86.)

The Queen's entry into Aberdeen.

The Queen's entry into Perth.

The first masque of which we hear at Holyrood was in October 1561, at the Queen's farewell banquet to her uncle, the Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in France.<sup>1</sup> It must have been witnessed by Brantôme and by Chatellard; and among the performers were two valets of the Queen's chamber,<sup>2</sup> and a son of the Duke of Montmorency, the Seigneur de Damville, who was believed to be so enamoured of Mary, that he had followed her to Scotland, although forbidden to aspire to her hand by the young wife whom he left at home.<sup>3</sup> It would appear to have been for this, or for some

Masque at Holyrood in October 1561.

<sup>1</sup> Francis of Lorraine (seventh son of Claude, first Duke of Guise), Grand Prior of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in France, and General of the French galleys, commanded the ships which bore Queen Mary to Scotland in August 1561. He left Holyrood, on his return to France, on the 9th of October in the same year. He died of over-exertion at the battle of Dreux, in March 1563, at the age of twenty-nine. Brantôme, who accompanied him to Scotland, has written his life.—(*Vies des Grands Capitaines François*, disc. lxxvi.; *Oeuvres*, t. iii. pp. 146-158.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 127.

<sup>3</sup> P. 128.

M. Damville's love of the Queen.

'Depuis qu'elle fut vefue jusques à son retour en Escosse, il est vray qu'elle souffrit les inclinations de quelques seigneurs de la cour, et entr'autres du Sieur de Damville, depuis Mareschal, Duc de Montmorency et Connestable de France, et qu'elle declara qu'elle l'épouserait, si par la mort de sa femme Antoinette de la Marck fille du Duc de Bouillon, ou autrement, il r'entroit en liberté de se remarier. Cette passion le fit embarquer avec elle pour la conduire en son royaume, où il enuoya un gentil-homme de sa part nommé Chastellard, qui en deuint si espris qu'il s'oublia soy-mesme aussi bien que le service de son maistre, et se monstra si obstiné dans sa folie qu'elle fut obligée d'en faire une victime à son honneur.'—(*Additions aux Memoires de Messire Michel de Castelnau*, par Monsieur le Laboureur, in Jebb, *De Vita Mariæ Scotorum Reginae*, t. ii. p. 476.) Damville took his departure from Holyrood, along with the Grand Prior of France, on the 9th of October 1561, carrying with him a letter from the Queen to his father the Constable of France. See above, p. xxxviii. note 1; Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i. pp. 111, 112.

Damville's passion for Mary is glanced at by Cecil in

a letter, written from Westminster, on the 7th February 1562-3, to Sir Thomas Smith, the English envoy in Paris: 'Captain de Hayss, the trafficquer for D'Anville, is returned, and pretendeth that D'Anville intendeth to come hyther with conditions for peace; but I guess his comming hyther is but for a passadg into Scotland, where they saye his hart is.'—(*Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 122.)

The story of Damville's retainer, the unfortunate Chatellard, appears in a new light in a lately published despatch from Perrenot de Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador at Paris. He writes from that capital, on the 3d May 1563, to his sovereign, King Philip II., that Chatellard, on being put to the torture, confessed that he had been suborned by the wife of the Admiral Coligny and other enemies of the house of Guise, to endeavour, by every possible means, to cast such a stain on the Scottish Queen's honour as should hinder her marriage with the King of Sweden, the Archduke Charles, or any other princely suitor: 'Confessó muy claramente que Madama de Curoso, y otros enemigos de la casa de Guisa, le avian persuadido de passar en Escocia y procurar por todas las vias posibles de hazer alguna cosa con la qual la honrra de la dicha Reyna viniessen á disputa, para estorvar que el Rey de Suecia ni el Archiduque, ni otro principe quisiesse casar con la dicha Reyna.'—(*M. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. iii. p. 5.)

Story of Chatellard.

It is certain that Chatellard was a follower of the Reformed faith, and that he left the service of M. Damville rather than bear arms against the Huguenots.—(*Brantôme*, t. v. p. 123.) His religious zeal, indeed, would seem to have been so conspicuous as to gain him a page in the history of French Protestantism.—(*M. Francisque-Michel, Les Ecossais en France*, t. ii. p. 49,



Buchanan's masque  
of Apollo and the  
Muses.

other festivity soon after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, that Buchanan devised a masque, in which, with a glance probably at his own circumstances, he made Apollo and the Muses march in procession before the throne, telling, in Latin verse, how, being driven by war from their old abodes, they had taken their flight to the lettered court of the Queen of the Scots :

'Sedibus extorres bello, ad te fugimus, una

Musarum caste quae pia sacra colis.

Non querimur : magna exilium mercede levatur,

Si fruimur vultu nocte dieque tuo.'

Each Muse, as she passed, addressed a few words of compliment to Mary. The lines put into the mouth of Melpomene sound strangely now :

'Sit procul a tragico semper tua vita cothurno,

Et mihi fas hostes sit celebrare tuos.'

Equestrian masques.

One of Mary's uncles, the Marquis of Elbeuf, still tarried in Scotland, and took part in an equestrian masque before the Queen, in November 1561. He was one of six, disguised as Stranger Knights, who ran at the ring against the Commendator of Holyrood, the Commendator of Coldingham, and four others,

quoting 'un article intéressant sur Pierre de Bocoszel, sieur de Chastellard, dans *la France Protestante*, de MM. Haag, t. iii. pp. 354-357.' Had he been of another creed, the stern Scottish Reformer would have written in another way of the last moments of one who died with the verses of Ronsard upon his lips, and the image of Mary Stewart in his heart.—(Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 369.) Buchanan is so often content to copy Knox, that his omission of the story of Chatellard (which the Reformer tells with scandals, so far as I have observed, told by no one else) may be regarded as significant.

Randolph wrote to Cecil, that when Chatellard returned to Scotland, he presented to the Queen 'a book of his own making written in metre,' probably the volume of 'Frenche sonnatiss in writt' which appears among the Queen's books in 1578.—(Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181. Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 244.) During his first visit to Holyrood, as we learn from one who was with him there, he wrote verses to the Queen, which the Queen answered in verse : 'La

Keyne donc, qui aimoit les lettres, et principalement les rithmes, et quelquefois elle en faisoit de gentilles, se plut à voir celles dudit Chastellard, et mesme elle luy faisoit response ; et, pour ce, luy faisoit bonne chere et l'entretenoit souvent.'—(Brantôme, t. v. pp. 122, 123.) One of Chatellard's poems to the Queen may be seen in Jebb, *De Vita Mariae Scotorum Reginae*, t. ii. pp. 497, 498, and in M. Mignet's History of Mary Queen of Scots, app. B. vol. ii. p. 123. English transl. edit. 1851.

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchanan's Epigrammatum lib. iii. : 'Pompae : Apollo et Musae Exules.'

Ruddiman, who believed that Buchanan did not return to Scotland until 1563, conjectured that this masque was written for the Queen's marriage in 1565. But we now know that Buchanan was in Scotland in the Queen's service, in the summer or autumn of 1561. In February 1561-2, a payment of £125 was made from the Treasury 'be the Quenis Grace speciale command to Maister George Buchquhannan for the Mertimes terme j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>o</sup> lxj yeris bigane.'—(Compotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum. MS. Register House.)

who rode in women's attire.<sup>1</sup> Grotesque matches of this kind seem to have been the fashion of the day. Not many months before, during Mary's brief reign in France, her uncle, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of Nemours ran at the ring, before the court at Amboise, both in women's apparel; the Prior in the guise of an Egyptian, with a she ape, swaddled like a baby, on his arm; the Duke in the guise of a burgher's wife, with a huge pouch and a bunch of more than a hundred keys at his girdle.<sup>2</sup>

In January 1562, the Queen's bastard brother, Lord John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham, married Bothwell's sister. Mary was at the wedding feast at Crichton, and we may be sure that a masque was among the good sport and many pastimes which delighted the English ambassador.<sup>3</sup> Four weeks afterwards, the nuptials of another of the Queen's bastard brothers, Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, were celebrated at Edinburgh with a splendour such as had seldom been seen in Scotland. On the day before the marriage, he was belted Earl of Mar. The marriage was in St. Giles' Church, and Knox preached the sermon. A long train of nobles witnessed the rites, and escorted the bridegroom and bride to Holyrood, where the Queen gave a grand banquet and masque. Then came dancing, and fireworks, and running at the ring, and the making of twelve knights,<sup>4</sup> and so the first day, Sunday, closed. The next night Mary was enter-

Masque at Crichton Castle.

Masques at the Earl of Murray's marriage.

<sup>1</sup> 'We fell in talk of the pastimes that were the Sunday before, where the Lord Robert, the Lord John, and others ran at the ring, six against six, disguised and apparelled, the one half like women, the other like strangers, in strange masking garments. The Marquis that day did very well; but the women, whose part the Lord Robert did sustain, won the ring. The Queen herself beheld it, and as many as listed . . . This [Sunday] is another day of mirth and pastime [running at the ring] upon the sands of Leith, where the Queen will be herself.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 7th December 1561, in Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120, 123, 125.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Quod reliquum fuit ejus anni [1561], dimissis

honorifice Gallis, qui Reginam officii gratia comitati fuerant, ludis et conviviis transactum.'—(G. Buchanani *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. cap. 11.)

<sup>3</sup> Brantôme, t. iii. pp. 154, 155.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. xl. note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Their names are upon record: 'Collyne Campbell of [Glenurchy], Johnne Gordone of Descfurde, Johnne Wischart of Pettarrow, Mathow Campbell of Lowdoun, Patrik Lermonth of Darsye, George Haliburtoun of Petcur, William Kirkcaldy of Grange, Johnne Ogilvy of Inuerquarite, Andro Murray of Ardingosk, Alexander Dunbar of Cumnok, Johnne Stewart of Traquhare, and Johnne Stewart of Mynto.'—(Register of Decreets, vol. xxxv. foll. 160, 161. MS. Register House.)

Knights made at the Earl of Murray's marriage.

tained at a banquet, in what had been Cardinal Beaton's house in the Black Friars' Wynd, a company of the young burghers being in attendance to perform a masque, and to escort the Queen back to Holyrood. The third night saw another banquet at the Palace, when Mary drank to the English Queen, and sent the cup (it was of gold, and weighed twenty ounces) to the English ambassador.<sup>1</sup> We need not question what Knox says of the offence which these festivities gave to many of the more austere Reformers; but when he adds that the masques which continued to disquiet him during Mary's reign, had their beginning in Murray's marriage,<sup>2</sup> he does obvious injustice to one who happened at the time to have incurred his displeasure, by withstanding an act of intolerance,<sup>3</sup> which the majority of the Scottish Reformers condemned, and not even Calvin ventured to approve.<sup>4</sup> Many godly men, we are told,

<sup>1</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 70, 71 (where the list of the knights is imperfect, and 'merschance' and 'masry' are miswritten for 'mumchance' and 'maskry.') Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 313-315. Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 12th February 1561-2, in Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 216.

On the 31st of January 1561-2, there was a payment from the Treasury of £20, 16s. 4d. for thirty-eight yards of red and white taffeta delivered to the Queen's French tailor 'to be maskin claithis.'

<sup>2</sup> 'The greatness of the banquet, and the vanitie used thairat, offended many godly. Thair began the masking, which from year to year hath continewed since.'—(Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 314.) Buchanan blames the excess of the banquets, but is silent as to the masques: 'Quibus in nuptiis, epularum magnificentia, aut verius immoderata luxuria, omnium amicorum animos graviter offendit, et invidis maledicendi materiam suppeditavit: eoque vehementius, quo ille in omni superiore vita se temperantius gesserat.'—(*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. cap. 26.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Whill that Papistis war so confounded, that none within the realme durst more avow the hearing or saying of messe, then the theavis of Lyddesdail durst avow thair stowth in presence of ane upryght judge, thair war Protestantis found, that eschamed not at tables, and other open places, to ask, "Why may nott the Queyn have hir awin messe, and the forme of hir religioun? What cane that hurte us or our religioun?"

... When preparatioun began to be maid for . . . the messe . . . in the chapell . . . the Lord Lyndesay (then but Maister), with the gentilmen of Fyiff and otheris, plainlie cryed in the close "The idolater preast should dye the death," according to Goddis law . . . But the Lord James (the man whom all the godlye did most reverence) took upoun him to keap the chapell door . . . that nane should have entress to truble the preast.'—(Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266, 270, 271.) Two years later, the question of the appropriation of the church lands and revenues led to such a rupture between Murray and Knox, that 'familiarlie after that tyme thei spack nott togetther mor then a year and half.'—(Id. vol. ii. pp. 381-383, 461.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Tranquillitatem . . . inturbavit adventus Reginae, nam, triduo postquam illa appulerat, erectum est rursus idolum illud missalicum. Semetipsos opposuerunt viri, etsi pauci, graves et autoritate clari . . . Verum quia major pars etiam eorum qui nobiscum adhuc in doctrina consentiunt, diversum suavit, vicit tunc impietas quae et hodie sibi vires acquirit. Habent posteriores quod indulgentiae suae praetextant, affirmare, scilicet, Reginam, omnes verbi ministros, (et te quoque), in hac esse sententia quod nobis non licet prohibere quominus illa suam religionem aperte profiteatur. Quem rumorem tametsi ego ut falsissimum subinde reprehendo, radices tamen in multorum cordibus sic egit ut ego revellere non possum [4. possum], nisi ex te sciam an huius modi questio ad ves-

grieved at the excess of the Good Regent's nuptial banquet, and the vanity of the sports which followed; but that the banquet was made and the sports played upon a Sunday, does not appear to have given any offence. Sunday, indeed, in that age, was the day generally chosen for mirth and revel. It was on a Sunday that the Reformed Commendators of Holyrood and Coldingham, both of them Lords of the Congregation, rode at the ring in women's clothes.<sup>1</sup> It was on a Sunday that the Reformed municipality of Edinburgh gave its grand banquet to the Queen's French kinsfolks.<sup>2</sup> Knox travelled on a Sunday,<sup>3</sup> wrote letters on a Sunday,<sup>4</sup> and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English ambassador to sup with him on a Sunday.<sup>5</sup> The Gaelic translator of Knox's 'Forms of Prayers,' the Reformed Superintendent of Argyle and Bishop of the Isles, feasted the Queen and the ambassador of Savoy on a Sunday.<sup>6</sup> For more than twenty years after Knox was in his grave, Robin Hood plays were acted on Sundays, and the King of May held his gambols on Sundays, in Scotland;<sup>7</sup> as in England masques and interludes continued to be performed before the court on Sundays, throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James.<sup>8</sup>

Masques and banquets on Sunday.

*tram ecclesiam proposita sit, et ad illam quoque quid responderint fratres?*'—(Letter from Knox to Calvin, 24th October 1561, printed from the original (in the possession of M. Feuillet de Conches), by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 12-14, where a facsimile of the letter is given.)

It is not easy to reconcile this letter with what Knox tells us in his History. He not only conceals that he had written to Calvin, but he affirms that Secretary Maitland prevented him from writing. When his assertion, that he had not written, became known (in June 1564), he was again asked to write, but refused.—(History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 291, 292, 459, 460.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxvii. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 66, 67. See above, p. xxxvii. note 1. On the 26th of August 1561, the town council of Edinburgh ordered 'that thair be ane honorable banquet maid to the Princes hir Graces cousingis [uncles] vpoun Sondag nixt.' Only two days afterwards the council imprisoned Mr. Alexander Skene, advocate, 'for taking and ressaung of the diabolical idoll callit the preistis sacrament at Pasche last in the contempt of the religioun and the glorie of

God now established.'—(Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. iv. foll. 10, 14. MS. in the City Archives.)

<sup>3</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 30. November 1562, in *Selections illustrating the Reign of Queen Mary*, p. 106. (Maitland Club: 1837.)

<sup>6</sup> Cecil's or Murray's Diary, in M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 87, 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Aug. 1574, Oct. 1576, Apr. 1578, July 1591, March 1596; part i. pp. 312, 375; part ii. pp. 407, 410, 784; part iii. p. 874 (Bannatyne Club: 1839-1845). *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Nov. 1579, vol. iii. p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. J. P. Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. pp. 208, 237, 242, 243, 248, 252, 253, 257, 377, 442. 'The day,' says Bishop Percy, 'originally set apart for theatrical exhibition appears to have been Sunday; probably because the first dramatic pieces were of a religious cast.'—(Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. i. pp. 266, 267. edit. 1823.)

Masques for the  
meeting of the  
Scottish and Eng-  
lish Queens.

Great things were hoped from a meeting between Mary and the English Queen at Nottingham in the summer of 1562. The interview was first postponed, and then abandoned ; but so far were the preparations carried that Cecil had revised the masques. They were conceived in that spirit of dull pedantic allegory which disfigured the literature, and tainted the art of the age. The first night was to show a prison, called Extreme Oblivion, with Argus or Circumspection for its jailer. A lady, personating Pallas, was to ride into the hall on a unicorn, bearing a banner, on which were to be painted two ladies' hands, one grasping the other, with the word *FIDES* above in letters of gold. Next, two ladies were to enter together, one representing Prudentia, riding on a golden lion, the other representing Temperantia, riding on a red lion, both lions having crowns of gold on their heads. These were to be followed by six or eight ladies in masques leading captive Discord and False Report, with ropes of gold about their necks. All these having marched round the hall, Pallas on her unicorn, turning to Queen Elizabeth, was to say in verse that the gods, hearing of the memorable meeting of two such Queens, had commanded her to tell them how Prudentia and Temperantia had long and earnestly prayed Jupiter to deliver up False Report and Discord, to be punished as they should think good ; how Jupiter at length had granted their prayer ; and how they had now determined to commit the two offenders to the prison of Extreme Oblivion. The jailer, Argus or Circumspection, was then to receive from Prudentia a lock inscribed *IN ETERNUM*, and from Temperantia a key inscribed *NUNQUAM* ; and when he had thus locked up False Report and Discord, the trumpets were to blow, and the English ladies were to lead the Scottish nobles to the dance.

The scene of the second night was to be a castle, named the Court of Plenty, with two porters at its gates, one called Ardent Desire, the other Perpetuity. Peace, entering in a chariot drawn by an elephant with Friendship on his back, was to march round the hall, followed by six or eight lady masquers.

Friendship, addressing the English Queen in verse, was to set forth that Pallas had told the gods how worthily the night before Prudentia and Temperantia had shut up False Report and Discord in the prison of Extreme Oblivion ; and that now the gods, understanding that Prudentia and Temperantia were sojourning in the Court of Plenty, had sent Peace to dwell with them for evermore. The Court of Plenty was then to pour forth streams of all sorts of wines, and the English lords were to masque with the Scottish ladies.

The third and greatest night was to open with the entry of Disdain riding on a wild boar, and Malice Prepense, in the likeness of a huge serpent, dragging after them an orchard with six or eight lady masquers, seated under trees laden with apples of gold. Disdain, directing his speech to Queen Elizabeth, was to show in verse how his master Pluto, the lord of hell, mightily incensed by what had passed on the two preceding nights, had sent his chief captain, Malice Prepense, to demand either that Discord and False Report, his master's faithful servants, shall be set free from the prison of Extreme Oblivion, or that Peace, his master's deadliest enemy, shall be delivered up to him by the porters of the Court of Plenty. Here Discretion was to come in, leading the good horse Boldness, with Hercules or Valiant Courage on his back, followed by six or eight lords in masques. Discretion, turning to the English Queen, was to declare in verse, that Jupiter, foreseeing the mischievous intent of Pluto, has sent Valiant Courage to overthrow his designs ; but that the fiends Disdain and Malice Prepense are such mighty warriors, that it will go hard with Valiant Courage unless he be encouraged by Prudentia and Temperantia ; and that therefore Jupiter has ordered Discretion, in the presence of the two Queens, to repair to the Court of Plenty, and there to demand of Prudentia how long she desires that Peace shall dwell between her and Temperantia, and of Temperantia, when Peace shall depart from her and Prudentia ? These questions are answered by Prudentia letting down from the battlements of the Court of Plenty a shield inscribed EVER, and by Temperantia letting down a sword of

steel inscribed NEVER. With these arms, Valiant Courage sets upon Disdain and Malice Prepense, puts Disdain to flight, and slays Malice Prepense outright. The six or eight lady masquers then leave their orchard, and the piece closes with their song of triumph.<sup>1</sup>

Masque in the  
Queen's Park.

Masque at Castle  
Campbell.

If the masques at the Scottish court ran in no better strain, we need not regret that our information about them should be so scanty. Thus, of the masque at Lord Fleming's marriage in 1562, we discover no more than that it was acted on a Sunday in May, upon the greensward margin of a little lake in the Queen's Park, under the shadow of Arthur Seat.<sup>2</sup> Of the masque at the marriage of the Commendator of St. Colm's Inch, with the sister of the Earl of Argyll, in 1563, we hear only that it was given on a Sunday at midwinter, in the mountain stronghold of Castle Campbell; that some of the company were masqued like shepherds, with white damask pouches; and that others played upon the lute.<sup>3</sup> Of a masque in December 1563, all that we learn is, that three of the performers wore great Swiss bonnets of blue velvet.<sup>4</sup> Of the masque at Mary Livingston's marriage on Shrove Tuesday 1565, we know nothing but that a painter was set to work in its preparation.<sup>5</sup>

Shrovetide masque  
at Holyrood in  
1564.

We hear more of a Shrovetide masque at Holyrood in February 1564. It was given at a banquet, the grandest, we are told, which any man living had

<sup>1</sup> 'Devices to be shewed before the Queenes Majestie, by way of maskinge, at Nottingham Castell, after the metinge of the Quene of Scotts,' printed from the original (among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum) endorsed by Cecil, 'May 1562,' in Mr. J. P. Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. pp. 180-188.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. xliii., xlv., note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 136, 138.

Sir James Stewart (a grandson of the house of Avondale), Captain of Doune, and Commendator of St. Colm's Inch, joined the Reformers in 1560, was made Lord Doune in 1581, and died in 1590. He married, at Castle Campbell, on the 10th of January 1563, Margaret Campbell, eldest daughter of Archibald fourth Earl of Argyll. Their eldest son married, in 1580, the eldest daughter of the Regent Murray,

and became, in her right, Earl of Murray. He was 'the Bonny Earl' slain at Donybristle by the Gordons in 1592.

<sup>4</sup> P. 141.

The English ambassador bears witness to the gaiety of the Scottish court during the first two years after the Queen's return from France: 'Until the arrival of Monsieur le Croc . . . we did nothing but pass our time in feasts, banquetting, masking, and running at the ring, and such like.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 15th May 1563, in Principal Robertson's *History of Scotland*, app. no. vii.; vol. ii. p. 319.)

<sup>5</sup> On the 10th of March 1564-5, there was a payment from the Treasury of £12 'to the painter for the mask on Fastronis Evin to Marie Levingstonis marriage.'

seen in Scotland, except at the marriage of a prince. There were three courses, all served by gentlemen dressed, like the Queen and her attendants, in black and white.<sup>1</sup> A boy, with bandaged eyes, personating Cupid, came in with the first course, the servants singing an Italian sonnet,<sup>2</sup> probably written by Riccio.<sup>3</sup> The second course was ushered in by a fair young maid representing Chastity, and Latin verses by Buchanan<sup>4</sup> were sung in her praise. A child, in the character of Time, accompanied the third course, and again the servants sang Latin verses by Buchanan, foretelling that, so long as heaven and earth should endure, the mutual faith and affection of Mary of Scotland and Elizabeth of England should flourish green in remembrance :

<sup>3</sup> Italian verses, probably by Riccio.

<sup>4</sup> Latin verses by Buchanan.

' Durabit usque posteris  
Intaminata seculis  
Sincera quae Britannidas  
Nectit fides Heroidas.  
  
' Rerum supremus terminus  
Ut astra terris misceat,  
Regina Scota diliget  
Anglam, Angla Scotam diliget.'<sup>5</sup>

In the multitude of vain prophecies, which rebuke the blindness and presump-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 144, 145. Letters from Randolph to Cecil, 17th and 21st February 1563-4, in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 36-42.

<sup>2</sup> The English ambassador at Holyrood took care to send a copy of the verses to Whitehall :

' Quest'è colui che'l mondo chiama amore,  
Amaro come vedi et vedrai meglio  
Quando fia tuo, com'è nostro signore,  
Mansueto fanciulo et fiero veglio,  
Ben sa ch'il prova, et fiati cosa piana,  
Anzi mill' anni e infin adhor ti sueggio.  
El nacque d'otio et di lascivia humana,  
Nutrito di pensier dolci et soavi,  
Fatto signor et dio da gente vana.  
Quale è morto da lui, qual co' più gravi  
Leggi, mena sua vita aspra et acerba,  
Sotto mille cathene et mille chiavi.'

—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 27th [i.e. 21st] February 1563-4, in Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 220.)

<sup>5</sup> I conjecture the lines to be Riccio's, because he

appears to have been the only Italian scholar in the court, with the exception of the Queen herself (see an Italian sonnet by her in M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 220), and Secretary Maitland of Lethington (see above, pp. xlix., l. note 1.) If the lines had been Mary's, the English ambassador would not have failed to say so, when he sent them to Cecil. Lethington, again, although the son of a poet, and the brother of poets, does not seem to have numbered verse-making among his accomplishments.

Riccio was, doubtless, one of the 'gentlemen apparelled all in white and black, divers that could sing among them,' who, as the English envoy writes, served the courses and sang the verses.

<sup>3</sup> G. Buchananani *Miscellaneorum Liber*, ii. : 'In Castitatem.' Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 27th [i.e. 21st] February 1563-4, in Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> G. Buchananani *Miscellaneorum Liber*, xvi. : 'Mu-



tion of mankind, there are few of which the failure has been more signal or more melancholy.

Buchanan's masques  
for the Queen's mar-  
riage with Darnley.

In July 1565, the pen of Buchanan was tasked for the masques at the Queen's marriage with the son and heir of his feudal lord and chief. The festivities were prolonged through three days,<sup>1</sup> and there seems to have been a masque each day. In the first, five goddesses, and as many gods, were introduced. Diana complained to Jupiter, in Latin verse, that one of her bright band of Five Marys had been taken from her by the envious powers of love and marriage. Her lamentations were answered or derided by Juno and Venus, Ceres and Pallas, among the goddesses; and by Saturn and Mars, Mercury and Apollo, among the gods. The judgment of Jupiter dismissed the complaint, and the herald Talthylus exultingly proclaimed that the song and the torch were ready for the nuptials of another Mary.<sup>2</sup> The second masque was equestrian. A troop of Ethiopians, a troop of Knights of the North, a troop sent by Nep-

tus Amor.' Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 27th [i.e. 21st] February 1563-4, in Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 220.

It is obviously of these verses that the English ambassador speaks, when he tells Cecil how Mary having drunk to Elizabeth, he thanked the Scottish Queen in his sovereign's name, and, he continues, 'she gave me answer, "that it was more in heart than in outer show, and that shall these verses testify;" which she gave me in my hand, the selfsame that were sung, and willed me to do with them as I liked, which I trust your honour will present unto the Queen's Majesty.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 21st February 1563-4, in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 42.)

<sup>1</sup> 'During the space of three or four days, there was nothing but balling, and dancing, and banquetting.'—(Knox's History of the Reformation, book v. vol. ii. p. 495.)

<sup>2</sup> G. Buchanani Epigrammatum lib. iii. : 'Pompa Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae.' See above, pp. xlv., xlvii., xlviii., notes 4, 2.

M. Teulet has printed a contemporary account of the masques and pageants at the Queen's first marriage at Paris in 1558.—(Papiers d'Etat relatif à l'histoire de l'Ecosse, t. i. pp. 292-303.) It was cele-

brated with great pomp throughout Scotland. The Queen Regent made proclamation that all the burghs should 'mak fyris and processoun generall for the completing and solemnizing of the mariage betuix oure Souerane Ladie and the Dolphine of France.' These burghal festivities are described by the Knight of Lethington in his verses 'On the Quenis Maryage to the Dolphin of France :'

'All burrows townis, everilk man you prayes  
To mak bainefyres, farseis, and clerk playes;  
And, throw your rawis, carroul, daunce, and sing;  
And at your croce gar wyne rin sundrie wayes;  
As wes the custome in oure eldaris dayes,  
Quhen that they maid triumphe for ony thing :  
And all your staires with tapetrie gar hing.  
Castellis, schuit gunnis; schippis and galeays,  
Blaw up your trumpettis, and your drumis ding.'

—(Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, pp. 5, 6. Maitland Club: 1830.) At Edinburgh, the great bombard, Mons, was shot from the Castle, and we learn that her bullet reached Wardie moor. Among the payments from the city treasury, 'for the play maid at the Triumphe of our Souerane Ladyis mariage,' we find £4 to 'William Adamson for his travell takin in the play;' 25 merks to 'Walter Bynning, painter, for his painting and all his labouris;' £10 to 'William Lauder for his travell and lawbouris in setting

Masques and  
pageants at  
the Queen's  
marriage with  
the Dauphin.

tune, and a troop of motley or party-coloured Knights, defiled before the Queen, reciting Latin verses, in which they extolled the renown of her virtues, and offered to serve her to the death, in peace or war, on land or sea :

'Sunt animi, sunt dextrae animis servire paratae,  
Et mens imperium prompta subire tuum.  
Si fortuna animis fuerit, si viribus aequa,  
Officiis in te non prior ullus erit.'

They were followed by a band of Knights bearing the badge of Pallas on their helmets, who threw down the gauntlet to a band of Knights, each of whom had a Cupid for his crest :

'Pallas adest, hasta metuenda et Gorgone saeva :  
Qui locus hic jaculis, parve Cupido, tuis !'<sup>1</sup>

We know nothing more of the third masque than that the Four Marys were introduced to offer oblations to the returning goddess of Health, in Latin verses written by Buchanan :

'Alma Salus, reduci tibi Nymphae haec vota dedere  
Quattuor, ut dominae conciliare suae,  
Ejus et aeternam statuas in pectore sedem :  
Non alia poteris sanctius aede coli.'<sup>2</sup>

In January 1566, a French envoy arrived at Holyrood to invest the young King with the Order of St. Michael. The ceremony was followed by a banquet, and the banquet by a masque, in which the Scottish lords were the performers. The next night saw another banquet, and another masque acted by the Queen, her Four Marys, and other three ladies of the court. The plot of

Masques at Holyrood, on the King's receiving the Order of the Cockle.

furthe of the play ;' £5 to 'all the wrychtes quhilkis wrocht the play grayth for the tymmer and warkmanship ;' £4 to 'Patrik Dorane for making certane claythis ;' 6s. 8d. to 'Adam Smytht, takkisman of Andro Mowbrayis yarde for the dampnage and skaytht sustenit be him in tramping doun of his gers of the said yarde be the convoy and remanend playaris in the tyme of the Triumphe maid for oure Souerane Ladyis mariage.'—(Register of the Town Council of

Edinburgh, vol. ii. ad fin. ms. in the City Archives.)

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchananani Epigrammatum lib. iii. : 'Pompae Equestres.'

<sup>2</sup> G. Buchananani Miscellaneorum Liber, xxxv. : 'Ad Salutem in Nuptiis Reginae.'

'Nymphas,' says Ruddiman, 'hic vocat quatuor Mariae Scotae corporis ministras, quae etiam omnes Mariae nominabantur.'

the piece has not been preserved; we know only that the Queen and her companions, disguised in men's apparel, presented the French ambassador and his attendants with richly ornamented Scottish daggers in black velvet sheathes.<sup>1</sup> On the third day, at noon, the Earl of Mar gave a banquet in the Castle; and at night, the Queen, the King, and eight others, of whom Riccio was one, took part in a masque at Holyrood.<sup>2</sup>

Masque and fire-works at the Prince's baptism.

The masque for the grand banquet at the Prince's baptism at Stirling in December 1566, was arranged, it would seem, by Buchanan, who supplied the Latin verses, and by Bastien Pagez, a French valet of the Queen's chamber,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 162: 'Plus je delliure a vng coutellier iij quartier de veloux noyr pour fairre viij fourreaux a des dacques d'Ecosse.'

<sup>2</sup> And the samin nycht [Sunday, 10. February], our Soueranis maid ane banket to the Ambassatour, in the auld chappell of Halyrudhous, quhilk wes reap-parrellit with fyne tapestrie and hung magnificentlie, [and] the lordis maid the maskery efter supper in ane honourable maner. And vpoun the ellevint day of the said moneth, the King and Quene in lyik manner bankettit the samin Ambassatour; and at evin our Soueranis maid the maskrie and mumschance, in the quhilk the Quenis Grace and all hir Maries and ladies wer all cled in men's apperrell; and everie ane of thame presentit ane quhingar, bravelie and maist artificialle made and embroiderit with gold, to the said Ambassatour and his gentilmen, euerie ane of thame according to his estate.'—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 87.)

Fifty years afterwards, the question of how far one sex is forbidden by Scripture to assume the dress of the other would appear to have been discussed in relation to the magnificent masques so common at Whitehall in the reign of King James VI. See, in Selden's Opera (t. ii. coll. 1690-1696), his learned letter to Ben Jonson on 'the literal sense and historical of the holy text [Deut. xxii. 5.] usually brought against the counterfeiting of sexes by apparell.'

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Randolph to Cecil, cited in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 248. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 87.

Scottish scene-painter, 1554-1566.

There was a payment from the treasury of £4 'to Walter Bynning, painter, for painting of the King of Francis armys, and of our Souerane Lordis armys quhen his Maiestie ressaute the Ordour of the Cokle.'

—(Compotum Thesaurarii Reginae Scotorum, Jun. 1566. MS. Register House.)

Walter Bynning seems to have been much employed in the decoration of masques and pageants. In October 1554, he had a payment of £5 from the city of Edinburgh, 'for the making of the play graith and paynting of the handsenye and the playaris facis . . . providand alwyss that the said Walter mak the play geir vnderwrittin furthcummand to the town, quhen thai haif ado thairwith, quhilkis he hes now ressaute, videlicet, Aucht play hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fules hude, ane septour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of tryumphe.' In 1558, he got twenty-five merks 'for his painting and all his labouris takin be him in the tryumphe maid at our Souerane Ladyis mariage.' In 1561, the city treasurer was ordered 'to deliuer to Patrik Schang, wrycht, and Walter Bynning, tymmer, canves, and all vthir necessaris conveniente for the triumphis and fairssis at the Over Trone, Tolbutth, Croce, Salt Tron, and Nethir Bow' on the occasion of the Queen's entry.—(Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. ii. fol. 33, fol. ult.; vol. iv. foll. 14, 15. MS. in the City Archives.)

<sup>4</sup> Buchanan, in his 'Detectio Mariae,' describes his fellow-labourer in the masque at Stirling: 'Erat is Sebastianus Arvernus genere, homo et ob psallendi peritiam et sales Reginae admodum gratus;' 'This Sebastian was ane Aruernois, a man in greit favour with the Quene for his cunning in musike, and his merie jesting.' See above, pp. liv., lv., note 1; pp. lvii., lviii., note 4. We find forty yards of taffeta (at 26s. the yard) delivered to him on the 6th of December 1566, 'to be some preparatifs for the baptesme' his acquittance, in the Register House, shows that he

Bastien Pagez.

who devised the machinery. When the dishes were to be brought in, they were placed upon a table so constructed, that it seemed to move through the great hall of its own accord, accompanied by musicians in female attire, singing songs, and playing upon instruments. A procession of Rural Gods marched before, each groupe as it passed the dais reciting a few lines of Latin. The Satyrs, the Naiads, and the Oreads, addressed the Prince; the Nereids and the Fauns turned their speech to the Queen:

‘ Virtute, ingenio, Regina, et munere formae  
 Felicibus felicior majoribus,  
 Conjugii fructu sed felicissima, cujus  
 Legati honorant exteri cunabula:  
 Rustica quem donis reverentur Numina, silvis  
 Satyri relictis, Najadesque fontibus.’<sup>1</sup>

The Satyrs, as we learn from an eye-witness, not content with playing the part assigned to them, chose to wag their long tails, in the hope, no doubt, of creating a laugh among their companions in the hall. But the retainers of the English ambassador fancying that it was done in their derision (there must have been Kentishmen among them), were so incensed that the Queen and the ambassador had difficulty in appeasing their wrath.<sup>2</sup> The masque, thus

wrote a fine Roman hand. He was imprisoned on suspicion of being an accomplice in the King’s murder, but was released without a trial. He returned to the Queen’s service, and continued in it to the end, following her body to the grave at Peterborough.—(Pitcairn’s *Funerals of Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 20, 23.) The Queen in her will, made the day before her execution, left 2000 francs to him, and 2000 francs to his daughter Mary Pagez, the Queen’s godchild.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vi. p. 489; t. vii. pp. 250, 252, 253, 259, 260, 262, 265, 269.) Among other things bequeathed to him by the Queen, was ‘a sewt of savage attire,’ doubtless one of the habits in which he had figured in the masques at Holyrood and Stirling.

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchanan’s *Epigrammatum lib. iii.*: ‘Pompae Deorum Rusticorum dona ferentium Jacobo vi. et Mariae matri ejus, Scotorum Regibus, in coena quae Regis baptismum est consecuta.’

One of the earliest, and not the least learned or least able of the Queen’s many apologists, has pointed out the apparent inconsistency of the praises which Buchanan thus lavishes upon her, with the open immorality of which he elsewhere accuses her: ‘Which are we to trust to? Buchanan in this epigram (on the 17th of December 1566) giving us the highest characters of the Queen’s virtue, and rendering such a public testimony to it in the presence of such an assembly, where the Queen’s character and behaviour was so well known? or the same Buchanan, in his *Detection*, telling the Queen of England and her council, that, at this very time, Queen Mary was publicly known for a vicious monster, and expatiating before them on the subject, with all the fluency of his virulent pen?’—(Thomas Innes, *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 348-354.)

<sup>2</sup> ‘During ther being in Stirling, ther wes daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the princi-

Buchanan’s inconsistencies.

interrupted, was followed by a discharge of fireworks from a mimic fortress, the possession of which was contested by motley bands of Moors, Highlanders, Centaurs, Lanzknechts, and Fiends.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's last masque at Holyrood.

The last masque which Mary was to see at Holyrood was on Shrove Sunday 1567, at the marriage of a favourite valet, the Frenchman who, along with Buchanan, devised the masque for the Prince's baptism. The Queen was present at the wedding dinner in the Palace at noon. At four o'clock she supped with the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Bothwell, and Cassilis at a farewell banquet given by the Bishop of the Isles to the Ambassador of Savoy. She rode to the Kirk of the Field at seven, and spent the evening with the King in the same chamber where Bothwell and other nobles were playing at dice. Her talk with the King seemed fond and cheerful, but she is said to have dropped one remark which sank deep in his mind—that it was about that time twelve-month that David Riccio was murdered. She rose hurriedly between ten and eleven, exclaiming, 'I have failed to Bastien, that this night of his marriage I promised him the masque, and to bed his bride.' With this she took leave of the King, kissing him, and putting a ring on his finger; and having called for

Masque of Satyrs at the Prince's baptism.

pall banket ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge among the Englismen; for a Frenchman callit Bastien deuysed a number of men formed lyk Sattyres, with lang tailes, and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilke wes brocht throw the gret hall vpon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing vpon all sortis of instrumentis and singing of musick. Bot the Sattiers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to ther tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic sort as the Englismen supponit it had bene deuysed and done in derision of them, daftly apprehending that quhilke they suld not seam to haue vnderstand. For Mester Hattoun, Mester Ligniche, and the maist part of the gentilmen desyred to sowp before the Quen and gret banket, that they mycht se the better the hail ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot sa schone as they saw the Sattires waging ther tailes or romples, they all set down vpon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they suld not see them selues scornit, as they thoct.

Mester Hatton said vnto me, Gif it wer not in the Quenis presens and hall, he suld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Bastien, whom he allegit did it for dispyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excused the matter the best I mycht, bot the rumour was sa gret behind the Quenis bak, wher hir Maieste sat, and my Lord of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther facis to wit what the matter menit. I schew them how that it was for the Sattiers; sa that the Quen and my Lord of Bedford had baith enough ado to get them satisfied.'—(Sir James Melville's Memoirs, pp. 171, 172.)

<sup>1</sup> Expensis maid be Johne Chisholme comptrollar of the artailarie wpoune the Fyeworkis at the Triomphe of the Baptisme of my Lord Prince in Stirwiling in December 1566. ms. Register House. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 105. The display cost £190, 17s. 5d. Forty days were spent in its preparation, and help was asked from the Laird of Roslin in making 'sum waik poulder meit for mixing of fyre work.'

her horse, rode by torchlight to Holyrood, accompanied by Argyle, Huntly, Bothwell, and Cassilis. The marriage festivities had not long ceased in the Palace, when, about two hours after midnight, a crash like a thunderclap shook the city, and the headlong flight of armed men through the streets told that the King's murderers had done their work.<sup>1</sup>

The tragedy of the Kirk of the Field brought the revels of Mary's court abruptly to a close. Three months afterwards she married Bothwell; but at these hateful nuptials, says a chronicle of the day, 'there was neither pleasure nor pastime used as was wont to be used when princes were married.'<sup>2</sup> More than twenty years, it would seem, were to pass before Holyrood saw another masque. It came from England, a gift from Queen Elizabeth to King James the Sixth and his Danish bride,<sup>3</sup> and was perhaps the first example they beheld of a class of entertainments which, during their reign at Whitehall, was raised to its highest pitch of splendour by the art of Inigo Jones, the music of Lawes, and the learning and poetry of Ben Jonson.<sup>4</sup>

Masque for the marriage of King James VI.

Mary Stewart had a fondness for dogs which was inherited by more than The Queen's dogs.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil's, or Murray's Diary, and Depositions of William Pourie, of Hay of Talla, of John Hepburn, of Thomas Nelson, and of French Paris, in M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 87, 88, 244, 254, 255, 257, 258, 267, 277, 278. Depositiones for the King's slaughter, 11. Feb. 1567. Hopetoun MS. G. Buchananani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. xviii. capp. 12, 13. Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at Westminster, on the 6th Dec. 1568. Hopetoun MS.

<sup>2</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 111, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Quhilk [marriage] Monsieur du Croq, the Frenche ambassadour sa greittie disdaynit, that, being ludgit within a very schort space to the Palace of Halyrudehous, he wald not at the Quenis desyr pas to banket.'—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at Westminster on the 6th Dec. 1568. Hopetoun MS.) Compare Du Croc's despatches to Catharine of Medicis, published by Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. pp. 110, 112, and by M. Teulet, Lettres de Marie Stuart, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. J. P. Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

<sup>5</sup> 'The masque,' says Gifford, 'magnificently constructed, was not committed to ordinary performers. It was composed, as Lord Bacon says, for princes, and by princes it was played. The prime nobility of both sexes, led on by James and his Queen, took upon themselves the respective characters; and it may be justly questioned whether a nobler display of grace and elegance and beauty was ever beheld, than appeared in the masques of Jonson.'—(Gifford's Ben Jonson, vol. i., mem. pp. ccxxv., ccxxvi.)

Masques at the English court of King James VI.

Queen Anne of Denmark was an actor in Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness in 1605, Masque of Beauty in 1607, Masque of Queens in 1609; and in Samuel Daniel's Masque of the Vision of the Twelve Goddesses in 1604, and Masque of Tethys's Festival, or the Queen's Wake, in 1610. 'I believe,' says Warton, 'that she is the first of our Queens that appeared personally in this most elegant and rational amusement of a court.'—(History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 540, note, edit. 1840.)

one generation of her descendants. There is mention in the text of 'blue velvet for collars to the Queen's little dogs.'<sup>1</sup> We learn elsewhere that, in ordering her household, a daily ration of two loaves was set apart for them;<sup>2</sup> that they were under the charge of a keeper;<sup>3</sup> and that some of them were occasionally sent to France.<sup>4</sup> The taste continued to the last. 'If my uncle'—she wrote from her prison at Sheffield, in 1574, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris,—'if my uncle, the Cardinal of Guise, has gone to Lyons, I am sure he will send me a couple of pretty little dogs, and you will buy me as many more; for, except in reading and working, my only pleasure is in all the little animals that I can get. They must be sent in baskets, well stowed, so as to keep them warm.'<sup>5</sup> A little dog followed her to the scaffold at Fotheringhay, and nestling among the clothes which she threw off as she bared her neck for the block, lay there until all was over and the clothes began to be gathered up, when it crept between the severed head and body, and would not leave them until it was taken away by force.<sup>6</sup>

Gifts by Mary to her kinsfolks, companions, and attendants appear

<sup>1</sup> P. 141.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pour les chains de la Royne, ij pains.'—(Menu de la Maison de la Royne faict par Monsieur de Pinguillon 1562, p. 10, in Despences de la Maison Royale 1561-2. ms. Register House.)

<sup>3</sup> There were payments from the Treasury of £12, in January 1561-2, 'to Anthone Guedio for keiping of the Quenis Grace doggis;' and of £33 in March 1564-5, for liveries to the 'boy that keipis the doggis,' and to a boy of the Queen's French tailor.

<sup>4</sup> P. 148.

There was a payment from the Treasury, in March 1565-6, of £6, 'be the Quenis Grace speciale command to George Temple, baxter in Leithe, for certane breid furneist be him to certane doggis passand in France.'

<sup>5</sup> Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. pp. 228, 229.

<sup>6</sup> 'La Reyne d'Escoce avoit un petit chien avec elle sur l'eschaffaut, qui se tint tout ce tems-là assis, coy, ne se bougeant nullement d'auprès d'elle. Mais sistost que la teste fut tranchée et mise sur la place, on le vit remouvoir et crier, puis se mist en une place,

qui estoit entre le corps et la teste, et se tint là jusques à ce que l'on le vinst oster; ce qui fut fait par force, et estant mis près le sang tout chaud, refusa de le lescher, chose non contraire au naturel des chiens.'—(*Le Vray Rapport de l'exécution faicte sur la personne de la Reyne d'Escoce*, published by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 884.)

'One of the executioners pulling off 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 corpse, but came and lay betweene her head and her shoulders, which being imbued with her bloode, was caryed away and washed.'—(Reporte of the manner of the Execution of the Scottish Quene, in Sir H. Ellis' *Letters illustrative of English History*, second series, vol. iii. p. 117.)

'Fut trouuee vne petite chienne dedans sa robbe, qu'il l'auoit suiue en bas, laquelle vne grande Princesse de France a voulu auoir pour l'amour de la defunte.'—(*La Mort de la Royne d'Escoce* 1589, reprinted by Jebb, *De Vita Mariæ Scotorum Reginae*, t. ii. p. 641.)

The Queen's dog, on the scaffold at Fotheringhay.

in almost every page. There is a present of we know not what to the Duchess of Montmorency in France.<sup>1</sup> A little dog is sent to another French friend.<sup>2</sup> Silks and cloths of silver and gold are given to the Earls of Murray, Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell,<sup>3</sup> for their dresses at the Prince's baptism. There is a present of linen to Mary Courcelles, a French bedchamber woman, who helped the Queen in her escape from Lochleven, and lived to be rewarded by her son when seated on the English throne.<sup>4</sup> A more famous Gifts to Riccio. but less fortunate servant, David Riccio, or Secretary David as he is called, has three gifts. At the Queen's marriage, which he is said to have done so much to bring about, he gets ten yards of black velvet brocaded with gold,<sup>5</sup> probably for a wedding garment. Five months afterwards he has four yards of black velvet;<sup>6</sup> and in January 1566, he receives as much cloth of gold figured with scales.<sup>7</sup> We are told elsewhere that the Italian, who affected princely state in his horses, and other appointments, strove to hide the defects of his person by the sumptuousness of his dress.<sup>8</sup> It is related, as an instance of his splendour, that, on the night of his murder—Knox Knox and Riccio. gloried in calling it a 'just act, and most worthy of all praise,'<sup>9</sup>—he had on

<sup>1</sup> P. 144.

<sup>2</sup> P. 148.

<sup>3</sup> P. 166.

<sup>4</sup> P. 141. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 73, note 1. M. Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, t. i. p. 435. See above, pp. xlix, l., note 1.

<sup>5</sup> P. 155.

<sup>6</sup> P. 159.

<sup>7</sup> P. 161.

Riccio's ugliness.

<sup>8</sup> 'Supellectili, cultu corporis, equorum et genere et numero, longe Regem superabat: quae res eo videbatur indignior, quod non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum destruebat.'—(G. Buchanani *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. cap. 55.)

A few weeks before his murder, he had a grant from the King and Queen, of £200 'for reparatiounis of his chalmers.' After his death, the Queen ordered inquiry to be made for his horses.—(Comptum Thesaurarii Reginae Scottorum, 31. Jan. 1565-6, 29. Maii 1566. MS. Register House.)

<sup>9</sup> 'That pultron and vyle knave Davie was justlie punished . . . by the counsall and handis of James Dowglas, Erle of Morton, Patrik Lord Lyndesay, and the Lord Ruthven, with otheris assistaris in thare company, who all, for thare just act, and most worthy of all praise, ar now unworthely left of thare brethrein, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exyle.'—(Knox's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 235.) When the young wife of Knox's old age became a widow, she chose one of Riccio's murderers for her second husband—Andrew Ker of Faudonsyde, who is said to have held a pistol to the Queen's breast.

The murder of Riccio justified as a religious duty.

The fanaticism which inspired so many of the assassins of Riccio, had been inflamed by sermons and prayers protracted through a whole week, and was not to be appeased by the blood of one sacrifice. On the same night, and under the same roof, it sought and found another victim in a learned and zealous Dominican, Friar John Black, a professor in St. Mary's College at St. Andrews, who had publicly disputed against one of the most eminent of the Re-

Murder of Friar John Black.



a furred night-gown of damask, a doublet of satin, and hose of russet velvet.<sup>1</sup>

Bothwell's marriage with Lady Jane Gordon.

Mary appears to have taken unusual interest in Bothwell's marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Huntly, who fell at Corrichie.<sup>2</sup> She was a party

formed divines.—(Goodall's Examination, vol. i. pp. 247-252. Mr. David Laing's note, in Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii., app. no. iv. pp. 592-595.)

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Earl of Bedford and T. Randolph, 27th March 1566, in Sir H. Ellis' Letters illustrative of English History, vol. ii. p. 218.

Riccio's oak at Melville.

Buchanan (lib. xvii. cap. 55) says that Mary wished to make the Italian a peer, and to put him in possession of one of the fairest baronies on the Esk. On the night of his murder, Lord Ruthven told the Queen that Riccio 'had caused her Majesty to put out the Lord Ross from his whole lands, because he would not give over the lordship of Melvin to the said Davie.'—(Scotia Rediviva, p. 341.) A tree in the park at Melville, near the site of the old castle, is still shown as 'Riccio's oak.'

Bothwell's wives :  
1. Lady Jane Gordon ;

<sup>2</sup> The worth, the beauty, and the accomplishments of Lady Jane Gordon (see above, p. xliii. note 1) would seem to have taken a strong hold on Bothwell. Secretary Maitland told Queen Mary after Carberry, that even after Bothwell became her husband, he wrote letters to his first wife, protesting his affection for her, and grossly disparaging the Queen : 'Et luy dict davantage que le Duc avoit escript plusieurs fois à la Contesse de Bautuel, sa première femme, depuis qu'il a couché avec la Roynne, par lesquelles il mande à ladite Contesse la tenir pour sa femme et la Roynne pour sa concubine.' Mary affected not to believe the story, but Lethington replied that the letters would speak for themselves. The French ambassador, who reports the conversation, adds : 'Mais nous ne doutons point en ce royaume qu'il n'aime mieux sa première femme que la Roynne.'—(Letter from Du Croc to Catharine of Medicis, 17th June 1567, printed by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etats relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 170.) The letters and sonnets which Mary is said to have written to Bothwell are full of jealousy of his Countess. The sixth sonnet alludes to her learning, and we know otherwise that she could read the *Legenda Aurea* in the original Latin.—(M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 346, note.) It would appear from the fourth sonnet that Bothwell was not her first lover.

Buchanan (lib. xviii. cap. 30) affirms, that when Bothwell, after his divorce from Lady Jane Gordon, married the Queen, he had other two wives still living : 'duas

uxores, adhuc vivas, haberet, tertiam ipse nuper, suum fassus adulterium, dimisisset.'

One, doubtless, was Dame Anna Rostung, daughter of a wealthy Norwegian, Christopher Thronsdon Rostung. She was known in Norway as 'the Scottish lady,' in August 1565 ; and two years afterwards, when Bothwell in his flight from Scotland was brought captive to Bergen, she claimed him as her husband. The contemporary diary of Absolon Pedersen Beyer, reader of theology in Bergen, relates that, on the 17th of September 1567, she 'upraided the Earl Bothwell that he had taken her from her native country, and would not treat her as his lawful wife, although he had pledged himself to [her parents] and herself, by hand, mouth, and letters, which she caused to be read before him. And whereas,' the diary continues, 'he has three wives still living, first herself, second another in Scotland [*i.e.*, Lady Jane Gordon] from whom he has bought himself, and lastly Queen Mary : therefore, said Dame Anna, he was good for nothing. Then he promised her a yearly rent from Scotland of a hundred dollars, and gave her a ship, with anchor, ropes, and other appurtenances.'—(Notices of James, Earl Bothwell, by Professor P. A. Munch of Christiania, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 3d June 1850. MS. in the Library of the Society. Cf. *Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, 1568, app. pp. xxxv. xxxix. *Bannatyne Club* : 1829.) This is obviously the lady mentioned by De Thou : 'cum accusatus esset ab amicis cuiusdam nobilis virginis Noruegicæ, quam ante plures annos, pacto matrimonio violatam, alia superinducta deseruerat.'—(Thuanii *Historiarum Sui Temporis*, lib. xl. t. i. p. 819, edit. 1625.)

2. Dame Anna Rostung ;

The other may have been the heroine of 'the Lay of the Last Minstrel,' Dame Janet Beton, widow of Sir Walter Scott of Branksome. In an action against her, in April 1559, it was pleaded 'that James Erle Boithuell, schirif principale of Edinburgh, within quhais jurisdiction the said Dame Jonet now dwellis is suspect to be juge . . . in the said mater ; the said Erle and scho, as . . . is informitt, being quyetly mariit or handfast, or, at the leist, sik vtheris caussis of suspicione being betuich tham that the said Erle is suspect to be juge in ony causs to be movit aganis hir be ony persounis, as is notourlie knawin.'

3. Dame Janet Beton, Lady of Branksome.

to the marriage contract,<sup>1</sup> and gave the bride her marriage dress (it was of cloth of silver, lined with white taffeta).<sup>2</sup> The bride was of the old faith, and the

—(Register of Acts and Decrees, vol. xix. foll. 346, 347. *ms. Register House*.) In September 1560, Randolph wrote to Cecil of a report that the Earl Bothwell was married. —(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 163.) The Lady of Branksome's name was associated with Bothwell's in a placard, affixed on the door of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, six days after the King's murder, accusing the Queen of 'assenting thairto, throw the perswasion of the Erle Bothwell, and the witchcraft of the Lady Buckcleugh.' —(Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 156.) The Lady of Branksome frankly confessed that she had fallen, but not with Bothwell, before her first marriage. —(Liber Officialis S. Andree, p. 86. *Abbotsford Club*: 1845.) But that her sister, Lady Reres, was a paramour of Bothwell ('inter pellices Bothuellii fuerat'), appears to rest only on the authority of Buchanan's 'Detectio Mariae,' and other works of that kind.

If we can trust the paper known as Bothwell's Testament or Confession, he declared, on his death-bed, 'that all the frendship which he had of the Quene, he gatt alwayes by witchcraft, and the inventions belonging thereunto, specially by use of sweete water;' or, as it runs in the French version, 'par enchantement, auquel dès sa jeunesse, à Paris et ailleurs, il s'estoit beaucoup addonné.' He confessed, also, 'comme il avoit débauché deux filles d'un grand seigneur de Danemarque, les menants en Escosse, et deux autres d'un grand seigneur de la ville de Lubecque, sous ombre de mariage avec leurs filles, et tant d'autres filles nobles, tant en France que Danemarque, Angleterre et Escosse.' —(Prince Labanoff, *Pièces et Documents relatifs au Comte de Bothwell*, pp. 44, 47. *Bishop Keith's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 304, 305.) He was reputed guilty of still worse things. See the Earl of Bedford's letter to Cecil, 6th April 1565, in *G. Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 459, note

m.; and the first deposition of French Paris, in *M. Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 274.

<sup>1</sup> It is dated at Edinburgh, on the 9th of February 1565-6. The bridegroom settles on the bride the lands and castle of Crichton, etc. But they are heavily mortgaged; and the bride's dowry of twelve thousand merks is to be applied to the redemption of the mortgages. The contract is signed by the Queen, with whose 'aduiss and express counsale' the marriage is contracted; by the Earl of Huntly, the bride's brother, who undertakes to pay her dowry; by the Countess Dowager of Huntly, who, as she cannot write, subscribes, 'with my hand led on the pen be the Lord Bischope of Galloway;' by the bride, 'Jane Gordoun with my hand;' by the bridegroom, 'James Erle Boithuille,' as in the facsimile given below of his subscription to another deed; and by George Lord Seton, Alexander Lord Hume, David Lord Drummond, and Laurence Master of Oliphant, who are sureties for payment of the bride's dowry. The witnesses to the contract are the Earl of Atholl, the Earl Marischal, the Bishop of Galloway, the Commendator of Lindores (John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross), Mr. James Balfour, parson of Flisk (afterwards Sir James Balfour, Lord President of the Court of Session), and Mr. David Chalmer, chancellor of Ross. —(Register of Deeds, vol. viii. foll. 232-234. *ms. Register House*.)

It appears that Bothwell's chief creditor was an Edinburgh merchant, James Barron, an eminent Reformer, the friend of Knox, and a representative of the Scottish capital in the first General Assembly. It was he who brought Bothwell and Knox together in 1562, (see above, pp. xxxvi. xxxvii. note 2); and their first meeting was in his house. —(Register of Deeds, vol. v. fol. 370; vol. viii. fol. 352. *ms. Register House*. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 246, 268; vol. ii. pp. 322, 323.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 162.

Bothwell's marriage contract with Lady Jane Gordon.

Queen wished the nuptials to be solemnised in the Palace Chapel according to the old rites. But no entreaties could overcome Bothwell's tender regard for the Protestant religion;<sup>1</sup> the conscience which smiled at murder and adultery, was appalled by the forms of a heterodox belief;<sup>2</sup> and the marriage vows which he was to break almost as soon as they were made, were blessed by a Protestant preacher in the face of a Protestant congregation.<sup>3</sup> The Queen gave the marriage banquet, which, according to the custom of the time, was upon a Sunday; and justing, and running at the ring, and making of knights prolonged the festivities, it is said, through five days.<sup>4</sup>

Of Mary's own infatuated marriage with Bothwell,<sup>5</sup> little more than a

The Queen's marriage with Bothwell.

The Fleshly Gospellers.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xlv. note 3.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from the Knight of Lethington's verses 'On the Miseries of the Tyme,' that men such as Bothwell, 'quha in thair wordis appeiris rycht godlie, bot yit thair warkis the plaine contrair declaris,' were known by the name of 'the Fleschlie Gospellaris':—

'Thai think it weill—an thay the Paip do call  
The Antechryst; and mess, idolatrie;  
And syne eit flesche upon the Frydayes all—  
That thai serve God rycht than accordinglie,  
Thocht in all thingis thai leif maist wicketlie.'

—(Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, p. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 88. Principal Robertson's History of Scotland, app. no. xx.; Works, vol. ii. p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> History of Scotland by R. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 394. edit. 1749.

<sup>5</sup> One who has been cited as a contemporary writer, although he was not born till nearly forty years after Mary's death, affirms that by her marriage with Bothwell she had a daughter, who was carried to France, and became a nun in the convent of Notre Dame at Soissons.—(Jean Le Laboureur, Additions aux Memoires de Michel de Castelnau, in Jebb, De Vita Mariae Reginae Scotorum, t. ii. p. 610.)

The story does not seem to have received much or any credit until of late years, when Dr. Lingard and Prince Labanoff gave it their sanction. The grounds on which belief is claimed for it, are very ably and fairly stated by Earl Stanhope in the Quarterly Review, vol. lxxvii. no. cliii. pp. 141-144. If I remain unconvinced, I may appeal, not only to the contemporary chronicle of George Marioreybanks of Edinburgh,

which expressly declares that the Queen had no issue by Bothwell (Annals of Scotland, p. 19), but to the decisive authority of Mary herself. The birth of her supposed daughter is placed in February 1568; but the Queen, writing to her aunt and mother-in-law, in July 1570, calls King James 'zoure littil sonne [i.e., grandson, *petit-fils*], and my *onclie* childe.'—(Letter to the Countess of Lennox, in Principal Robertson's Dissertation on King Henry's murder, appended to his History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 273, note b., edit. Oxf. 1825; and in Prince Labanoff's Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. iii. p. 78.) Mary, indeed, would seem to have prided herself on giving birth to but one child. One of her favourite devices showed a lion and its whelp, with the legend VNVM QVIDEM SED LEONEM.—(Anderson's Diplomata Scotiae, pl. clxxvii. no. 4. Letter to Ben Jonson, 1. July 1619, in the Works of Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 137, edit. 1711.)

The story of Le Laboureur, it may be added, is not the only one of its kind. Bishop Burnet gave currency to the still more unlikely tale that Mary, during her imprisonment in Lochleven, became by George Douglas the mother of a son, who was the father of Robert Douglas, a famous Covenanted divine, who preached at the coronation of King Charles II. at Scone in 1651.

The wife whom Bothwell divorced to marry Mary, was, by her second husband, the mother of five sons and two daughters. But she bore no child to Bothwell. Nor does it appear that, of all the marriages and all the amours of that licentious Earl, there was any issue beyond one bastard son, to whom Bothwell's divorced mother bequeathed all her property. The bastard's mother is unknown, but he seems to

Had the Queen issue by Bothwell?

twelvemonth afterwards, the text preserves only one notice—the delivery from her wardrobe in May 1567 of some Spanish furs (which had belonged to her mother) to make a night-gown for my Lord Duke of Orkney.<sup>1</sup> There are

have inherited his father's lawlessness and turbulence.—(The Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. pp. 304, 423.)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 176, 26.

Bothwell was made Duke of Orkney on the 12th of May 1567 (three days before his marriage with Mary), by a patent, which the Queen, in her marriage-contract, undertook to ratify in Parliament. It seems to have passed the Great Seal, but was not recorded. He carried it with him to Denmark. It was ignored by the Scottish Parliament, which attainted him simply as Earl Bothwell.—(Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. xxxvi. foll. 92, 93, 46. *ms.* Register House. Goodall's Examination, vol. ii. p. 59. *Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, app. no. ii. pp. xxxvi., xl. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 5-10.)

The most scholarly and accomplished of our older genealogists, contemplating the rise and fall of the Hepburns, remarked two things as memorable in their history: (1.) The ruin which they brought upon their benefactors; (2.) The hereditary gallantry or natural arrogance which prompted four generations of their chiefs to aspire to the love of as many widowed Queens. 'This house,' says Sir George Mackenzie, 'was a fatal house to their retainers; for they arose by the Dunbars in the decay of the English power in Scotland, Reg. Dav. II., the first being ane mean captive, thereafter a follower of the house of March. At the first banishment of the Dunbars, Reg. Rob. III., they followed the Douglasses. This was the second step of their rising. The third went by the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas, whereby they got many lands, and were made Lords of Parliament [A.D. 1456-7]. The fourth was by the forfeiture of the Duke of Albany, and the slaughter of King James III. at Bannockburne, at which time they were made Earls [A.D. 1488]. It was hereditary to the house of Hailes to be kind to the widowed Queens, as Patrick [first Lord Hailes] to Queen Jean, widow of James I.; his son [Adam, Master of Hailes] to Queen Mary of Gelderland [widow of James II.]; Patrick [third] Earl Bothwell, to Queen Mary of Lorrain, widow of King James V.; his son [James, fourth Earl Bothwell] to Queen Mary.'—(Genealogical Collections, *ms.* Advocates' Library.)

The widow of King James I., the heroine of 'the King's Quair,' stooped to marry a knight's younger

son, who was still living, although in exile, when she fled to the castle of Dunbar, while it was held by the first Lord Hailes against the crown. The amour of the heroic Queen Mary of Gueldres with the Master of Hailes, has been doubted by Sir David Dalrymple, but, it is to be feared, upon no sufficient grounds. As to Queen Mary of Guise, we have the solemn affirmation of Earl Patrick, or 'the Fair Earl,' as he was called, that she 'promest faithfullie, be hir hand writ, at twa sindre tymis, to tak the said Erle in mariage, hir talking deliuerit to him thairupoun, and day assignit thairto,' and, he might have added, 'his wife divorced therefor.'—(Short Chronicle of the Reign of King James II., pp. 7, 37, 38. J. Major, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, lib. vi. capp. 15, 19. G. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Historia, lib. xi. cap. 23, lib. xii. cap. 18, lib. xv. cap. 12. Lord Hailes, Remarks on the History of Scotland, ch. viii., in Annals of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 69-71. Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 199, 252. The Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. pp. 279, 414, 415.)

Nothing is recorded of the personal appearance of Patrick, the first Lord Hailes, or of his son Adam, Master of Hailes. Lindsay of Pitscottie describes Patrick, the third Earl Bothwell, as 'fair and whitely, something hanging-shouldered and going forward, but of a gentle and humane countenance.' Patten, the English historian of the battle of Pinkie, says, that he was 'of a right comely port and stature.' Sir Ralph Sadler adds, that he is 'the most vain and insolent man in the world, full of pride and folly.'

I have already spoken of the ungainly looks of his son, Queen Mary's Bothwell (see above, pp. xxvi., xxvii., note 5). As I write, a portrait (painted by Otto Bache in 1861), of what is shown as his mummy at Faareveille, is presented by Mr. Horace Marryat to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and if he can be judged by this, Brantôme assuredly did him no injustice when he called him one of the ugliest of men. 'I defy any impartial Englishman,' says Mr. Marryat, 'to gaze on this body without at once declaring it to be that of an ugly Scotchman. It is that of a man about the middle height; and, to judge by his hair, red mixed with grey, of about fifty years of age. The forehead is not expansive; the form of the head behind denoting bad qualities, of which Bothwell, as we all know, possessed plenty: high

2. Queen Mary of Gueldres;

3. Queen Mary of Guise.

Bothwell's mummy.

The house of Hepburn fatal to its benefactors:

Four of its chiefs aspire to the love of four widowed Queens:

1. Queen Jane Beaufort:

no traces of the gifts which her accusers affirmed that she made to him of the clothes, armour, and horses of the King whom he had murdered,<sup>1</sup> and of more than twenty thousand crowns' worth of her own jewels.<sup>2</sup>

*Inventory of the furniture lost at the King's murder in February 1567.*

The next Inventory is of the furniture which was placed, by the Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe, in the house prepared for the King at the Kirk of the Field, and perished with him in the explosion that left scarcely one stone of the pile standing upon another.<sup>3</sup>

cheek-bones ; remarkably prominent, long, hooked nose, somewhat depressed towards the end (this may have been the effect of emaciation) ; wide mouth, hands and feet small, well-shaped, those of a high-bred man.'—(Residence in Jutland, vol. i. pp. 417-419.) The British chaplain at Copenhagen, who was present at the opening of the tomb, in May 1858, says, 'the skeleton was that of a strong, square-built man, from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 7 inches long ; light hair mixed with grey remained attached to the skull ; the forehead was low and sloping ; the cheek-bones high ; the nose prominent ; and the hair and teeth agreed with Bothwell's age.'—(Account of the latter years of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, by the Rev. R. S. Ellis, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 313.) The church of Faareveile is close by the castle of Drachsolm, where Bothwell, it would seem, died on the 14th of April 1578, not in the castle of Malmoe, in 1575 or 1576, as was believed in Scotland at the time.

The King's horses, etc., said to be given to Bothwell.

<sup>1</sup> 'Alsua she disponit hir said vmquhile husbandis horss, clething, armour, and quhatsoeuer wes his, to Boithuell his cheif murtherar and vtheris his knawin vnfreindis.'—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, at Westminster, on the 6th Dec. 1568. Hopetoun MS.)

'Bona defuncti, arma, equos, vestem, reliquamque supellectilem, ac si fuissent redacta in fiscum, Regina, aut interfectoibus, aut paternis inimicis, divisit. Haec ut palam gerebantur, ita multorum dictis palam incescebantur : adeo ut quidam opificum, qui vestem Regiam Bothuelio ad corporis modum adaptabat, ausus sic dicere, "Hic se jus et morem patrium libenter agnoscere, cum spolia defuncti cedant carnifici." '—(G. Buchanani *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. c. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> Bodwell rode upon the courser that was the King's, when he rode to the assize.'—(Letter from Drury to Cecil, 15th April 1567, in Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 520, 521.)

<sup>3</sup> In answer to questions by Cecil in November 1573, the Earl of Morton affirmed that Bothwell had delivered to him of the Queen's jewels to the value of 20,000 or 30,000 crowns.—(G. Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. iii. p. 82.)

Part of the Queen's jewels said to be given to Bothwell.

Mr. Chalmers characteristically calls the assertion a 'deliberate falsehood, for the obvious purpose of calumnious deception, by a miscreant, who was very capable of asserting any lie, or committing any villany.'—(Id. vol. iii. p. 85.) But the assertion was not first made by Morton, nor does it rest only on his authority. Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairny, in his examination before the Justice-Clerk and others, on the 19th October 1573, deponed that 'ane suldert namyt John Hythe . . . quha . . . wes with the Erll Boithuile quhen he fled away to Orknay, shew to this d[e]ponair that the Erll Boithuile said thay had gottin of his within the Castell [of jowellis quhilk the] Quene had gevin him better nor xx<sup>m</sup> crownis.'—(Hopetoun MS.)

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 177, 178.

It is printed for the first time from the original, authenticated by the Queen's subscription, in the Register House.

Many of the entries have numbers (printed within parentheses), referring to corresponding numbers in older inventories printed in the text.

The Inventory of the Queen Regent's moveables, delivered to Servais de Conde, in September 1561 (pp. 18-27), is referred to at p. 177 (7.)

The Inventory of the Queen's moveables in Holyrood, in November 1561 (pp. 28-48), is referred to at

Long before the Scottish capital had spread itself to either side of the The Kirk of the Field : steep and narrow ridge stretching from the Abbey to the Castle, the height from which the University now looks down upon the Cowgate was crowned by a church known from its site and dedication as St. Mary's, or Our Lady Kirk in the Fields. It was founded before the close of the thirteenth century, when it would seem to have been served by the Austin Canons of Holyrood, in whose patronage it was.<sup>1</sup> Early in the sixteenth century, it appears as a collegiate church, with an hospital or bedehouse, and endowments for a provost, prebendaries, and choristers, whose manses formed a small close or quadrangle, called 'the Priests' Chambers,' having the 'Provost's Place' or house on the south side, and a draw-well in the middle. The city wall, which was extended round the buildings after Flodden, did not save them from the fury of the English arms in 1544. Ten years afterwards, the ruined hospital, standing about a spear- The Duke's Lodging. cast to the north, passed into the hands of the Duke of Chatelherault,<sup>2</sup> who built on its site a mansion, which, at the time of the King's murder, was inhabited by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Duke's bastard brother, and the ablest man of all the Hamiltons. It is told by a partisan of the rival house of Lennox, that, on the night which made the name of the Kirk of the Field for ever memorable in our annals, the Duke's Lodging, as it was called, was filled with armed men, who watched as if for some expected event, and that the lights which gleamed in its windows suddenly disappeared before Arthur Seat and the Craggs had ceased to echo the peal which told that the tragedy was completed.<sup>3</sup>

p. 177 (7. 45), (91. vj piece), (6) ; p. 178 (35), (84), (167).

The Inventory of the Earl of Huntly's moveables, brought to Holyrood in December 1562 (pp. 49-56), is referred to at p. 177 (2 H), (18 H) ; p. 178 (18 H).

<sup>1</sup> *Decimæ tam Religiosorum quam Cleri in Archidecanatu Laudonensi*, circa A. D. 1295, in the Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, etc., of the Priory of Coldingham, pp. cxl., cxii. Surtees Society : 1841.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, etc., pp. xxxiv-xlii. 261-272. Bannatyne Club : 1861. This volume contains a facsimile of a rude drawing and plan of the Kirk of the Field, at the moment of the King's murder, sent by the English envoy in Scotland to the court at Whitehall, and now in the State Paper Office.

<sup>3</sup> *G. Buchanani Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. cap. 15. *Ane Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis*, 1571, reprinted in Dr. Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 338, 339.

The Kirk of the Field :  
The Provost's Place  
(the King's Lodging);

The King was brought to the Provost's Place on Saturday the first, and was murdered on the morning of Monday the tenth of February. The house, which is said to have stood waste for some time, had only two months before come into the possession of the brother of Sir James Balfour, one of Bothwell's most trusted associates.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been a building of two storeys, containing six or seven rooms. It had three doors. One on the north side, opening from the close or quadrangle, led to the rooms on the ground floor, and to the turnpike or spiral stair by which the second floor was reached. Another door opening from the city wall, on which the south gable of the house abutted, led into a cellar on the ground floor. A third door, on the east side, opened into a garden, to which we are told that the Queen, although the season was the dead of winter, used to pass with Lady Reres at night, to sing and take her pastime. It was through this door that the conspirators, who had false keys to all the locks, brought in the gunpowder by which the house was blown up.<sup>2</sup>

The Garden ;

The Provost's Place contained a hall, two chambers or bedrooms, a cabinet, a wardrobe, and a cellar, besides a kitchen, apparently under another roof.<sup>3</sup> Of these rooms, only three or four seem to have been furnished from Holyrood.<sup>4</sup> The rest either stood empty, or more probably were left with the furniture which was found in them.

The Hall.

The hall was hung with five pieces of tapestry, part of the plunder of

<sup>1</sup> Registrum Secreti Sigilli, 9. Dec. 1566, vol. xxxv. foll. 95, 96. MS. Register House.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson's deposition, in Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. iv. pp. 164-168. Depositions of French Paris and of Hay of Talla, in M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 270-290, 252-255.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from the Privy Council of Scotland to Catharine of Medicis, written on the day of the murder, describes the building as consisting 'd'une salle, deux chambres, cabinet, et garderobe.'—(M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95.) The cellar appears in Nelson's deposition: 'that dur, quhilke passit through the sellare and the toun wall.' The first

deposition of French Paris mentions the kitchen: 'Je m'en vins à la petite cour, et entre à la cuisine demandant une chandelle au cuisynier.' The hall (perhaps including the wardrobe), is probably to be identified with 'the litill gaylery,' spoken of in Nelson's deposition, as leading 'derrict to sowth oute of the Kingis schalmir, havand ane windo in the gawill throw the toun wall.' It was separated from the King's chamber by a stone wall, which saved Nelson and two others who slept with him in the gallery, from the explosion which destroyed everything on the other side of the wall.

<sup>4</sup> P. 177: 'Et y auoict vne chanbre salle et garderobe garnye ainsy quil sensuyct.'

Strathbogie.<sup>1</sup> It had a high chair or chair of state, covered with leather,<sup>2</sup> and The Kirk of the Field :  
a dais or cloth of state of black velvet, fringed with black silk.<sup>3</sup>

The walls of the King's chamber, on the upper floor, were hung with six The King's Chamber ;  
pieces of tapestry, which, like the hangings of the hall, had been spoiled from  
the Gordons after Corrichie.<sup>4</sup> The floor had a little Turkey carpet.<sup>5</sup> There  
were two or three cushions of red velvet,<sup>6</sup> a high chair covered with purple  
velvet,<sup>7</sup> and a little table with a boardcloth or cover of green velvet brought  
from Strathbogie.<sup>8</sup> The bed, which had belonged to the Queen's mother, was  
given to the King in August 1566. It was hung with violet-brown velvet,  
pasmented with cloth of gold and silver, and embroidered with cyphers and  
flowers in needlework of gold and silk. It had three coverlets, one being of  
blue taffeta quilted.<sup>9</sup> A bath stood beside the bed, having for its lid one of  
the doors of the house taken from its hinges for the purpose.<sup>10</sup> It was in this  
room that the Queen sat talking with the King, on the Sunday night before his  
murder, while Bothwell, having seen the sacks of gunpowder emptied on the  
floor of the chamber below, played at dice with Argyle, Huntly, and Cassilis.

The wardrobe, which seems to have been on the upper floor, was hung The Wardrobe ;  
with six pieces of tapestry figuring a rabbit hunt.<sup>11</sup> Here there was a canopy  
of yellow shot taffeta, fringed with red and yellow silk.<sup>12</sup>

In a chamber on the ground floor, directly under the King's chamber, The Queen's Chamber.  
there was a little bed of yellow and green damask,<sup>13</sup> with a furred coverlet,<sup>14</sup>  
in which the Queen slept on the nights of Wednesday and Friday, and in-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 177, 51.

<sup>2</sup> P. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 177, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 177, 51.

<sup>5</sup> P. 177.

<sup>6</sup> P. 36.

<sup>7</sup> P. 177.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 177, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 177, 19, 31, 34.

<sup>10</sup> 'Befoir . . . the Quenis lying in the Kingis  
Lugeing . . . sche causit tak down the uttir dour that  
closit the passage towart baith the chalmeris, and

causit use the samyn dour as a covir to the bath fatt  
quherin he wes baithit : and sua ther wes na thing left  
to stope the passage into the saidis schalmeris bot only  
the portell durris. As alsua sche causit tak down the  
. . . new blak bed, sayand it wald be sulyeit with  
the bath.'—(Nelson's deposition in Anderson's Collec-  
tions relating to Queen Mary, vol. iv. p. 166.)

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 177, 39.

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 178, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 177, 178, 45.

<sup>14</sup> M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 87,  
88.



The Kirk of the Field : tended to sleep on the very night on which the King was murdered.<sup>1</sup> It was in this room, which had a window looking into the close,<sup>2</sup> and a door opening into the passage to the garden,<sup>3</sup> that the murderers placed the gunpowder by which the building was hurled into the air ; the Queen's bed, it was said, being moved to one side of the chamber, so that the powder might be heaped up right under the King's bed.<sup>4</sup> Two of the murderers, Young Talla and John of Bowton, were locked into the room, and lay concealed there for more than three hours, when, having fired the match, they escaped from the house by the door opening into the garden, where they found Bothwell and the rest of his accomplices impatient for the explosion.<sup>5</sup>

Bed said to have been taken back to Holyrood.

In the articles of accusation which the Regent Murray preferred against the Queen before the English commissioners at Westminster, it was affirmed that, on the Friday before the murder, she ordered a bed and some tapestry of value to be carried back from the Kirk of the Field to Holyrood, and to be replaced by others of less worth.<sup>6</sup> Nelson, one of the valets of the King's

<sup>1</sup> 'Sche sett upe ane grein bed for hir self in the . . . laich chalmir [undir the King] quherin sche lay . . . tua nyctis [*videlicet* the Wednesday and Fraday befor his murthour], and promist alsua to haif biddin thair upoun the Sounday at nycht.'—(Nelson's deposition in Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. iv. p. 166.)

<sup>2</sup> Deposition of John Hepburn, called John of Bowton, in Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. pp. 186.

<sup>3</sup> Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, at Westminster, on the 6th December 1568. Hopetoun ms.

<sup>4</sup> 'Comme le dit Paris vouloyt dresser le lict de la la Roynie en sa chambre qui estoyt droyt sous la chambre du Roy ainsi que Monsieur de Boduel luy avoyt commandé . . . le dict Sieur de Boduell defendist au dit Paris de ne dresser le lict de la Roynie droict sous le lict du Roy, "Car je y veulx mettre la pouldre en cest endroyt là," ce dit-il.'—(Second deposition of French Paris in M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 284.)

<sup>5</sup> Depositions of John Hay, younger of Talla, and of John Hepburn, called John of Bowton, in Ander-

son's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182, 186.

<sup>6</sup> 'At hir cuming to Edinburgh, she convoyit the King to the appoynted ludging . . . quhilk was vnmeit in all respectis for ony honest man to luge in ; setuat in a solitar place at the outmost parte of the towne ; ruynous, waist, and not inhabite be ony of a long tyme before . . . Bot to abuse the warld be apperance of that new reconsiliatioun betuix hir and [him] . . . she lay in the hous vnder the King, quhair also thaireftir the pulder wes placit, being ane vnmeit place for a Prince to ludge in, twa nyctis, *videlicet*, the Wednesday and Fryday before his murther . . . Vpon the Sounday at nycht . . . the Quene past vp the way to that same hous, and gaif the King all maner of intertenement, to colour the act quhair of the executioun followit sa neare, for she said she wald ly thair all nycht. Howbeit, in the meanetyme, Parice, hir familiar servand in hir chalmir, was in the laich hous quhair she lay the nyctis preceding, and oppynit the dur thair of takand in the pulder and the murtherars thairat, for he kepit the key that oppynnyt to that entres of the garding. And becaus thair wes a bed and sum tapestre of valour in that ludging sett vp for

Night of the King's murder.

chamber, deponed that the bed which was taken away was a new one of black figured velvet, and that the bed which was substituted for it was an old one of purple.<sup>1</sup> This may mean the bed of violet-brown velvet described in the text. But the text is silent as to any change of one bed for another. It is equally silent as to any change of tapestry, nor is such a change spoken of by Nelson or by any other witness, although French Paris asserted that, on the Saturday before the murder, he was sent by Margaret Carwod to fetch a furred coverlet from the Queen's chamber.<sup>2</sup> Buchanan gives a place in his history to the story of the bed, but affirms that it was the Queen's, not the King's bed, which was changed,<sup>3</sup> so contradicting not only the evidence of the King's valet Nelson,

*Coverlet said to have been taken back to Holyrood.*

the King, befor his cuming thairto, she causit remove the samin be the Kepaires of hir Gardrop to Halyrud-hous, on the Fryday preceding the murther, and ane vther wors wes sett vp in the place thair of quhilk she thocht guid anewch to be wairit in sic vse, seing it wes destinat for the same. The pulder being laid in the laich hous quhairat Boithuile in proper persoun wes present, he come thairfra in to the Kingis chalmer. And eftir he had plaid at the djce a quhile with the vtheris lordes quhilkis attendit thair on the Quene, Parice come vp out of hir chalmer and gaif ane signe that all wes prepairit; quhilk sa sone as she persauit (being kissand and familiarlie interteneand the King, at quhilk tyme she pat ane ring on his finger) she said "I have faillit to Bastian, that this nycht of his mariage promisit him the mask." And swa incontinent [she] cryit for hors and departit toward Halyrudehous, Boithuile being in hir company. . . . Vpoun the morne eftir the murther quhilk wes Twysday, the ellevint day, Margret Carwod, the Quenis familiar and secrete servand (quhais gret credite in all thingis is not vnknawin to our aduersaires) was mariet within the Quenis Palace, and the banket maid on the Quenis charges, quhilk declarit that the dule schortlie for the King decayit: and thair wes the dayis following mair travell for the inquisition of certane money stowin fra the said Margret, nor for the Kingis murther recently committit.—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, at Westminster, on the 6th December 1568. Hopetoun MS.)

<sup>1</sup> 'The Quene . . . convoyit him to the . . . hous, and at his cuming thairto, the schalmir wes hung, and ane new bed of blak figurat welwet standing

thairin . . . Sche causit tak down the said new blak bed, sayand it wald be sulyeit with the bath, and in the place thair of sett upe ane auld purple bed that wes accustomat to be carit.'—(Nelson's deposition in Anderson's Collections relating to Queen Mary, vol. iv. pp. 165, 166.)

The new black bed spoken of by Nelson seems to be the 'bed of blak figurit veluat . . . all enrichit with pasmentis of gold and siluir, and freinyeit with gold and siluir,' which came into the Queen's possession, with other spoils of Strathbogie, in December 1562. It was sent to her at Hamilton, during the ten days that she kept court there in May 1568, between her escape from Lochleven and her defeat at Langside (p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas Hubert's first deposition in M. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 276, with the note and correction by M. Teulet in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 87, 88.

<sup>3</sup> 'Caetera quidem circumspecte, et callide provisae videbantur: in re tamen levi, non levia vestigia, ad scelus deprehendendum, relinquebantur. Lecto enim, in quo Regina noctes aliquot cubitaverat, inde ablato, viliores in ejus locum substituerunt, in tanta famae prodigalitate, exiguae pecuniae parci.'—(G. Buchanani *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xviii. cap. 13.)

Earl Stanhope, assuming the bed to have been changed, contends that the fact should be received as a token of the Queen's innocence. 'Can we conceive any woman,' he asks, 'much less a sovereign, pausing on the verge of an atrocious murder to secure some household furniture from damage, and incurring the risk of suspicion on that account? There is a pre-

Margaret Carwod's marriage.

but the Regent's articles of accusation, in the preparation of which he himself is believed to have helped.<sup>1</sup>

*Inventory of part  
of the Queen's books,  
church vestments,  
masquerade dresses,  
and pictures, in  
1569.*

The last Inventory in the volume is of part of the Queen's library, the vestments of her Chapel Royal, her masquing habits, and paintings, delivered up to the Regent Murray, eighteen months after her flight into England.<sup>2</sup> We have elsewhere an inventory of another and larger portion of her library kept in the Castle in 1578.<sup>3</sup> Both inventories, unfortunately, are so inaccurate and imperfect that it is impossible to identify many of the works which they enumerate. Nor have we any means of knowing how far they should be received as lists of all the Queen's books. It has been seen that these were kept at Holyrood in a room carpeted with green cloth;<sup>4</sup> and that they were catalogued under three divisions, Greek, Latin, and Modern Languages.<sup>5</sup>

Greek books.

In Greek, we find Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Isocrates; all Plato, with a volume of commentaries besides; Demosthenes; Ptolemy's Geography; two copies of Lucian; Athenaeus; the Poemander of Hermes

cedent of King Frederick the Second—Thiebault, we think, tells the story—who, seeing his nephew and presumptive heir fall from his horse in battle, cried out, "There is the Prince of Prussia killed! Let his saddle and bridle be cared for!" But where shall we find another case of a Queen exclaiming, "Strangle my husband in his bed, but spare, oh spare, the curtains and the coverlet."—(The Quarterly Review, vol. lxvii. no. cxxxiv. pp. 339, 340.)

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchanan *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xix. cap. 16. M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 147, 161, 169, 241-244.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 179-187.

It is printed, for the first time, from the original in the Register House, authenticated, in November 1569, by the signatures of the Regent Murray and his secretary, Mr. John Wood of Tilliedavy.

It would appear that, with the exception of four or five volumes, all the books in this list were lost before the end of March 1578, when a new catalogue was

made, without any regard to the threefold classification of the earlier inventory.

At some time between 1568 and 1573, a box of the Queen's books, some of them 'merkit with the Quene and King of Frances armes,' passed into the hands of Lord Torphichen. They would seem to have been rescued from the wreck of the Queen's moveables at Holyrood, 'quhillkis wer all dispersit, dismemberit, and spilt, be sogeouris and harling thame on sleddis through the foule muris.'—(Mr. Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, pp. 182-192.)

<sup>3</sup> It is printed, in the Appendix to the Preface, No. II., from the original in the Register House. It is included in Mr. Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, pp. 242-248; and is reprinted, with bibliographical notes, to which I have to acknowledge myself much indebted, in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. i. pp. 3-12.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. lxi, 126.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. xlviii, lix, 124, 179-183.

Trismegistus; the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius of Caesarea; St. Chrysostom's Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul; the Dictionary of Hesychius; the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, a common text-book for rhetoric in Queen Mary's days;<sup>1</sup> the Greek Grammar of Clenardus, then, perhaps, in the height of its popularity in the schools; and the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* of that great scholar of whom Buchanan wrote:

'Gallia quod Graeca est, quod Graecia barbara non est,  
Utraque Budaeo debet utrumque suo.'<sup>2</sup>

There is a copy of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, but whether in Greek or in the Latin version, does not appear.

There are Latin translations of Diodorus Siculus; Diogenes Laertius; and the Geography of Ptolemy, perhaps the fine edition recently published at Lyons by the unfortunate Servetus,<sup>3</sup> containing his remarkable estimate of the national character of the Scotch.<sup>4</sup> There are French translations of Herodotus; the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon; Aristotle's Ethics; the *Timaeus*, and the Symposium of Plato;<sup>5</sup> the *Olynthiacs* of Demosthenes;<sup>6</sup> Hippocrates; part of Plutarch, doubtless in the admired version of Amyot; Herodian; the

Latin and French  
translations from  
the Greek.

<sup>1</sup> It was in use at Edinburgh in 1628.—(Professor Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 377.)

<sup>2</sup> G. Buchananani Epigrammatum lib. ii. no. 7: 'Gulielmo Budaeo.'

<sup>3</sup> Clavdii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarrationis Libri Octo, ex Bilibaldi Pirckeymheri translatione, sed ad Graeca et prisca exemplaria à Michaële Villanouano iam primum recogniti. Adiecta insuper ab eodem Scholia quibus exoleta urbium ad nostri seculi morem exponuntur. Lygdvni, 1535. fol.

<sup>4</sup> 'Scoti ad iram paullo propensiores . . . Gallis amicissimi, Anglorumque regi maxime infesti . . . Indiscreti Scotorum habitus, indiscreta fere omnia, eadem fere lingua, ijdem mores, subita ingenia, et in ultionem prona, ferociaque. In bello fortes, inediae, nigiliae, algoris patientissimi, decenti forma sed cultu negligentiori: invidi natura ac caeterorum mortalium contemptores: ostentant plus nimio nobilitatem suam, [ita], ut, in summa egestate, suum genus ad regiam stirpem referant: necnon dialecticis argutiis sibi

blandiuntur: gaudent mendacio, nec pacem colunt ut Angli.'—(Europae Regionvm traditio recens Michaelis Villanouani: De Britannia et Hybernia.)

There is no trace of Servetus ever having been in Scotland. But his practice as a physician may have led him into camps, and almost every camp in that age swarmed with Scotch. Or he may have written, as Sir James Mackintosh supposed, from the knowledge which he gathered in the monasteries and colleges, where the poor scholars of all Europe were mingled.—(Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, p. 365, note i. edit. 1853. History of England, vol. ii. p. 39, note f, edit. 1831.)

<sup>5</sup> Le *Timée* de Platon, traitant de la nature du monde et de l'homme; ensemble les trois *Olynthiaques* de Demosthène; le tout traduit du Grec, avec l'exposition des lieux difficiles, par Louis le Roi. Paris, 1551. 4to.

Le *Sympose* de Platon, ou de l'amour et de beauté, traduit du Grec par Louis le Roi, avec trois livres de commentaires du même sur ledit *Sympose*, extraits

Servetus' character of the Scotch.

Aethiopica of Heliodorus, bishop of Tricca;<sup>1</sup> and the *Περὶ Βασιλείας* of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais.<sup>2</sup>

Latin books.

Latin literature is less favourably represented. We have account only of the Offices of Cicero, three volumes of his works, printed on vellum, and nine in gilt binding; two copies of Virgil, with a volume of commentaries on his Georgics; Horace; Livy, with a copy of the Annotations of the Swiss scholar, Henricus Loritus; the *De Viris Illustribus* of Cornelius Nepos, in the epitome of Aemilius Probus; the *De Arboribus* of Columella; St. Augustine, with a volume of commentaries upon his Epistles; Vegetius; and two works of Boethius, his *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and his book on the Topica of Cicero. There are two French and Latin Dictionaries, and what served for a time as a sort of Latin dictionary, the *Cornucopia sive Linguae Latinae Commentarii* of Nicolas Perotti, bishop of Siponto.<sup>3</sup>

Middle Age and  
Modern Latin  
prose.

There are a good many volumes of medieval and modern Latin prose, of which it may be enough to name the *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* of Bertram, or Ratramn, the monk of Corbey; the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony; the *De Sphaera* of Joannes de Sacrobosco; the *Scriptum super*

de toute philosophie, et recueillis des meilleurs auteurs tant Grecs que Latins, dans lesquels les passages des poëtes sont mis en vers François par Joachim du Bellay. Paris, 1559. 4to.

<sup>1</sup> P. 180: 'The Historie of Ethiopia be Diodore.'

*Histoire Aethiopique d'Heliodorus, traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Théogènes et de Chariclée, traduite du Grec en François.* Paris, 1547, fol.

The high repute in which this romance was held in Scotland, may be seen from the praise bestowed upon it by the poetical Earl of Stirling about 1630: 'The Aethiopian History of Heliodorus, though far inferior to the Cyrus of Xenophon for the weight and state of the matter, as fitted to instruct greatness; yet above it for the delicacy of the invention and variety of accidents, strange, yet possible, leading the curious reader by a baited appetite, with a methodical intricateness, through a labyrinth of labours, entertaining his expectation, till he come unto the end, which he must seek that he may understand the beginning: A work

whereof the author, though he had loss thereby (being a bishop), needed not to be ashamed, his chief person doing nothing that was not worthy to be imitated.'—(Anacrisis, in the Works of W. Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 161.)

<sup>2</sup> P. 180: 'The Institution of ane Christiane Prince be the Beshope Senesorie.'

*Institution d'un Prince Chretien, traduite du Grec de Synese, par Daniel d'Auge.* Paris, 1555. 8vo.

The recognition of this work is not the only service of the same kind for which I have to thank Mr. Halkett of the Advocates' Library. I am under like obligations to Mr. David Laing of the Signet Library.

<sup>3</sup> The first Principal of the University of Aberdeen, writing about 1530, makes room in his Scottish History for a few words in praise of Perotti's school-books: 'Nicolaus Perotus Sipontinus episcopus, multo sudore annixus vt in disciplinis tradendis rudis aboleretur vetustas et adolescentes bonis artibus elegantiori sermone rite instituerentur.'—(H. Boethii Scotorum Historiae, lib. xviii. fol. 382. edit. 1575.)

## THE PREFACE.

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materia Concilii Generalis of Nicolaus de Clamangiis; the Chronica Chronicorum, as the Nuremberg Chronicle was called; the De Genealogia Deorum of Boccacio; the Commentarii Reipublicae Romanae of Wolfgangus Lazius; and the Roma Instaurata of Flavius Blondus, which the younger Scaliger, niggard of praise as he was, confessed to be a good book, although, as he added, there is nothing in it which you will not find elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

We recognise only four volumes of modern Latin poetry—the Carmina of the Italian, Petrus Angelus Bargaeus; the Elegy on King Henry the Second of France, by the biographer of Budaeus, Louis Leroy;<sup>2</sup> the Epithalamium on the Queen's marriage with Darnley, by the youthful pen of one who, in older years, amid his great practice as a lawyer, still found leisure for Latin verse, Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, the variously accomplished author of the Jus Feudale;<sup>3</sup> and Buchanan's translation of the Psalms, inscribed to Mary in lines which, perhaps, on one bank of Tweed, although they are no longer on every grammar schoolboy's lips, may still be thought unsurpassed by all the verse that has been lavished upon her during three hundred years by poets of almost every nation and language of Europe:

Modern Latin poetry:

Sir Thomas Craig's  
Epithalamium;

Buchanan's Psalms.

‘Nympha, Caledoniae quae nunc feliciter orae

Missa per innumeros sceptrā tueris avos;

<sup>1</sup> Scaligerana, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> P. 181: ‘Ludowici Regii Consolatio.’

Ad Illust. Reginam D. Catharinam Medicem Francisci II. Franciae Regis matrem Consolatio, in morte Henrici Regis ejus mariti. Paris, 1560. 4to.

The author was a friend of Buchanan.—(Iambon Liber, 14: ‘Ad Ludovicum Regium.’)

<sup>3</sup> Henrici illvstrissimi Dvcis Albaniae Comitiss Rossiae etc. et Mariae serenissimae Scotorum Reginae Epithalamium. Per Tho. Craigvm. Impressvm Edinbvrghi per Robertvm Lekprevik. Anno 1565. 8vo.

The copy in the University Library at Edinburgh is the only one now known. But the poem has been twice reprinted, first, by Mr. David Laing, in facsimile, at Edinburgh, in 1821; and again, with a translation into English verse, in a privately printed work, ‘Epithalamia tria Mariana, infelicibus eheu! avibus conscripta, plures abhinc annos Anglice vertit, et (amicis

perpaucissimis donanda) prelo nunc primum mandat Franciscus Wrangham. Cestriae, 1837.’ The other Epithalamia in Archdeacon Wrangham’s tract are on the Queen’s first marriage—the one by our own Buchanan, the other by the illustrious Michel de l’Hôpital, chancellor of France. ‘It would not be difficult,’ says the accomplished translator, ‘even if no names had been prefixed to them, to assign, from internal evidence, to the scholar and the statesman, their respective verses. Perhaps a finer panegyric was never penned, even by the mighty Wizard of the North himself, than that paid to the “quiver’d Caledonians” by their classical compatriot, in the lines beginning

Archdeacon  
Wrangham’s  
‘Epithalamia  
tria Mariana.’

“Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,  
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando  
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et aestus;  
Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,  
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam;  
Polliciti servare fidem,” etc., etc.’

Quae sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,  
 Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus ;  
 Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino  
 Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.  
 Illa quidem, Cirrha procul et Permesside lympa,  
 Pene sub Arctoi sidere nata poli :  
 Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere foetum,  
 Ne mihi displiceant quae placuere tibi :  
 Nam quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,  
 Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo.<sup>1</sup>

Italian and French  
 translations from the  
 Latin.

We find Italian versions of Sallust and of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ; and French versions of Sallust, Ovid's *Epistles* (the metrical translation of Octavien de Saint Gelais), Valerius Maximus (whom Darnley is said to have translated into English),<sup>2</sup> Lucan, Suetonius, and part of Orosius. Of Latin works, written in the middle ages, or after the revival of letters, we have French translations of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Chronicon Summorum Pontificum* of Martinus Polonus, the *De Vitis Pontificum* of Platina, the *Moriae Encomium* of Erasmus, the *Cosmographia* of Petrus Apianus.

Italian books.

The Italian books are the *Triumphs* of Petrarch ; the *Decameron* of Boccaccio ; the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, which may have been commended

Buchanan's  
 'Nympha,  
 Caledoniae.

<sup>1</sup> This famous dedication seems to have fascinated Scottish writers of Latin verse. It left its mark, almost in the moment of its birth, on Sir Thomas Craig's *Epithalamium* on the Queen's second marriage. It suggested a dedication to her, during Buchanan's lifetime, by one who lived to win higher titles to distinction, Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, whose fine taste and skill in building made Fyvie and Pinkie what they now are.—(Bishop Lesley's *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 282.) It was obviously in the mind of Mark Alexander Boyd when he wrote the dedication of his *Epistolae Heroidum* to King James vi.—(*Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 142.) It inspired Thomas Dempster's dedication of his Latin version of the *Cherry and the Slae*, to Captain Alexander Bruce of Kincavell.—(*Cerausum et Sylvestre Prunum*, p. 2. edit. 1696.) Its influ-

ence may be traced in two dedications by Arthur Johnstone, the dedication of his *Psalms* to the Countess Marischal, and the dedication of his *Song of Solomon* to King Charles I.—(*A. Jonstoni Poemata*, pp. 422, 423.) And its echoes linger in the graceful lines in which Dr. Francis Adams of Ban-chory inscribed to Lord Aberdeen the pages meant 'to show that the Muses of Greece and Rome vouchsafe still, as in Arthur Johnstone's days, an occasional visit to the banks of the Dee and its sister stream, as well as to those of the Isis and the Cam.'—(*Arundines Devae*, pp. ii. xiii. Edinb. 1853.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The King's father translated Valerius Maximus into English.'—(*The Workes of James, King of Great Britaine*, pref. by Bishop Montagu of Winchester. Lond. 1616.)

to Mary by the lines believed to celebrate her father's praise;<sup>1</sup> a poem on the Siege of Troy; the Asolani of Bembo; the three octavos of Lettere Volgari de diversi nobilissimi Huomini, printed at Venice in 1564; and Italian versions of Sallust, Ovid's Metamorphoses, the romance of Ogier the Dane, and the Marcus Aurelius of Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Cadiz. There are French translations of the Orlando Innamorato of Boiardo; of the Vite de Santi of Pietro Natali of Venice; and of the De Gestis Francorum of Paolo Emili of Verona, better known, perhaps, as Paulus Aemilius.

There are two Spanish books—a volume of Chronicles, and an edition of the Cancionero de Romances, probably that of Antwerp in 1555. There is a copy, either in the original Spanish, or in an Italian or French version, of a book which Ronsard presented to King Charles the Ninth of France, with some verses by himself<sup>2</sup>—the Dialogues on Love, of Leon the Hebrew. There are French translations of the popular romance of Palmarin, and of the still more popular romance of Amadis de Gaul. The Italian translation of that 'golden book,' as it was called, the Marco Aurelio of Guevara has already been spoken of; and there is a copy of the second edition of the French translation, printed at Paris in 1555, with the title of L'Horloge des Princes.

The books in French, as might have been expected, far outnumber the books in any other language. Passing by translations and merely ephemeral works, we have, in history, the Chronicles of Froissart, with their stories of Scottish chivalry gathered in the castles of the Douglasses;<sup>3</sup> the Chronicles of Monstrelet; the work in which the poet and historian, Jean Lemaire of Belges, traced the descent of the Franks from the son of Hector of Troy; La Mer des Histoires, printed at Paris in 1536; a Life of Charlemagne, printed at Poitiers in 1546; the History of the First Crusade under

<sup>1</sup> History of Scotland, by W. Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 348. edit. 1681.

<sup>2</sup> Oeuvres de Pierre de Ronsard, vol. i. pp. 541, 542. edit. 1623.

<sup>3</sup> 'A mon retour . . . en Avignon, je trouvai un

chevalier et deux écuyers d'Ecosse de l'hôtel du Comte de Douglas lesquels je reconnus, et ils me reconnurent par les vraies enseignes que je leur dis de leur pays. Car de ma jeunesse, je, auteur de cette histoire, je chevauchai tout partout le royaume

Froissart at Dalkeith.



French books : Godfrey of Bouillon, by Philip Aubert of Massoigne ; the Genealogy of the Kings of France, by Jean Bouchet, printed at Paris in 1537 ; the Discourse on the History of Lorraine and Flanders, by Charles Estienne ; a Chronicle of the Emperors and Kings of Austria ; the Chronicle of Scotland by Denis Sauvage, the historiographer of King Henry the Second ; the History of his Own Time, and the Chronicle of Savoy,<sup>1</sup> by Guillaume Paradin ; the Ecclesiastical History of his Own Time, by the Franciscan friar, Simon Fontaine ; Charles du Moulin's Origin and Progress of the Realm of France, printed at Paris in 1561 ; the Mirror of Politics, by Guillaume de la Perrière. In prose fiction we have the romances of Jason, Lancelot du Lac, Gyron the Courteous, Gadifer and Perceforest,<sup>2</sup> and the endless sequels of Amadis de Gaul ; and one or more of the later books of Rabelais, who, among other references to Scottish affairs, remembers the capture of Inchkeith<sup>3</sup> by the French under Montalembert in the summer of 1549. In poetry we have the works of Alain Chartier, whom the Princess Margaret of Scotland, the hapless wife of the Dauphin, who became King Lewis the Eleventh, stooped to kiss as she passed through the hall where he had fallen asleep ; the poems of the Queen of

d'Ecosse, et fus bien quinze jours en l'hôtel du Comte Guillaume de Douglas, père de ce Comte James, dont je parle présentement, en un châtel, à cinq lieues de Hamdeboursch, que on dit au pays Dalquest ; et ce Comte James, je l'avois vu jeune fils et bel damoiseil, et une sienne soeur que on appelloit Blanche ; si fus informé des deux parties, et tout en la saison que la bataille avoit été . . . Je ne sçais à qui la terre de Douglas est retournée. Car quand je, auteur de cette histoire, fus en Ecosse, et en son châtel à Dalquest, vivant le Comte Guillaume de Douglas son père, ils n'étoient que deux enfants, fils et fille.—(Les Chroniques de Jean Froissart, liv. iii. chapp. 117, 121 ; t. xi. pp. 387, 388, 422. edit. Buchon, 1825.)

<sup>1</sup> P. 179 : 'The Corniclis of Sauoy.'

Cronique de Savoye. Par Maistre Guillaume Paradin Chanoyne de Beauieu. A Lyon, par Jean de Tovrnes et Gil. Gazeav. 1552. fol.

This volume was among the Queen's books in the Castle in 1578, and is now, with a volume which belonged to Bothwell, in the fine library of Mr. James T. Gibson-Craig. It is in the original brown

calf binding, stamped with the arms of Scotland, and the crowned cypher of the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Saxt and Last Volume of the Auld Cronicles of England in French.'

Le Sixiesme et Dernier Volume des Anciennes Croniques d'Angleterre auquel est contenu lacheuement des aduentures merueilleuses dudit pays mises a fin par le preux cheualier Gulifer yssu de sang du noble roy Perceforest nouvellement imprime a Paris. 1528.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et pense que, a ce matin, ayt esté lisle des Cheuaulx prez Escosse par les seigneurs de Termes et Dessay saccagee et sacmentee, avecques tous les Angloys qui lauoyent surprinse.'—(Rabelais, liv. iv. chap. 67.)

The capture of the Horse Island, as the French called Inchkeith, in the summer of 1549, by André de Montalembert, sieur de Dessé, is related in Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, pp. 226-229, and in the Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 48. The victor—'le magnanime et vertueux d'Essé,' as Du Bellay calls him—immediately afterwards returned to France, leaving the command of the French forces in Scotland to Paul de Thermes.

Rabelais' mention of Inchkeith.

The Queen's copy of Paradin's Chronicle of Savoy.

Navarre, 'Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses;' the poems of Clement Marot, containing verses on the first nuptials of King James the Fifth of Scotland; two copies of a work which, printed at least as early as 1527, ran through many editions, 'Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhetorique, contenant plusieurs traités en rime Francoys,' among which is a ballad of two Scottish soldiers of fortune, in the broken French of their nation; the poems of Marc Claude de Buttet, who attempted to bring the Greek and Roman metres into use in the poetry of France; one of the poems of Olivier de Magny; the second edition of the Olive of one of the Queen's three favourite poets, Joachim Du Bellay, the author of some pleasing verses in her praise;<sup>1</sup> his *Recueil de Poesie*; his *David and Goliath*; the translations from Greek and Latin poets into French verse, which he contributed to Leroy's translation of Plato's *Symposium*; his prose *Defence of the French Language*; Aubert's *Elegy upon his Death* in 1560; two copies of the poet Ronsard's *Discourse on the Miseries of his Time*; his *Answer to the Calumnies of the Preachers and Ministers of Geneva*; his prose *Abbreviate of the Art of French Poetry*; his *Nouvelles*; and the *First Book of his Poems*, dedicated to the Queen, and filled with verses in her praise, which she requited by a gift of two thousand crowns' worth of plate inscribed *A RONSARD L'APOLLON DES FRANCOIS*.<sup>2</sup> The French Apollo is said to have received his first lessons in verse from a Scottish scholar and poet, who taught him to read Virgil and Horace during the two years and a half which he passed at Holy-

French books :  
Poetry ;

Joachim du Bellay ;

Ronsard.

<sup>1</sup> Les Oeuvres Francoises de Joachim Du Bellay, foll. 481, 482, 485. edit. Rouen, 1597. At foll. 476-479, there are verses for a tilting match in which the Queen's first husband figured: 'Entreprise du Roy Dapphin pour le tournoy, sous le nom des Cheualiers Auantureux.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Premier Liure des Poèmes,' writes Ronsard's commentator, P. de Marcassus, 'est adressé à la plus belle Princesse qui fust iamais, Marie Stuart veuve de François II. et mere de Jacques Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Ceste Princesse cherissoit grandement nostre poëte, et l'estimoit, comme elle le tesmoigna bien par le buffet de vaiselle d'argent, de la valeur de deux mille escus, qu'elle luy enuoya, avec

ceste inscription: A RONSARD L'APOLLON DES FRANCOIS.—(Oeuvres de Ronsard, vol. ii. p. 1171.)

Ronsard's biographer, Claude de Binet, tells the story somewhat differently: 'Ceste belle Royne d'Escosse, toute prisonniere qu'elle estoit, laquelle ne se pouuoit saouler de lire ses vers sur tous autres, en recompense desquels et de ses loüanges y parsemées, l'an 1583 elle luy fit present d'un buffet de deux mille escus qu'elle luy enuoya par le Sieur de Nau son secretaire, avec un inscription sur un vase qui estoit elabouré en forme de rocher, representant le Parnasse, et un Pegase au dessus. L'inscription portoit ces mots: A RONSARD L'APOLLON DE LA SOVRCE DES MVSES.'—(Oeuvres de Ronsard, vol. ii. p. 1652.)

The Queen's gift of plate to Ronsard.

rood as page to King James the Fifth.<sup>1</sup> He left Scotland at the age of sixteen, but revisited it on a political mission some years afterwards, before his growing deafness finally determined him to devote himself to a life of letters. His fame was probably at its height when he was called to teach the young Queen of Scots to write French verses.<sup>2</sup> He deplored her return to Scotland in an elegy<sup>3</sup> which she was often seen to weep over in days when leaving France was yet her heaviest sorrow. When greater afflictions had wrung her heart, the pages of Ronsard beguiled the weary years of her long captivity.<sup>4</sup> Nor was he unmindful of her regard. When the publication of the Sonnets to Bothwell filled her friends with alarm, her old master was ready to avow his belief that verses so coarse and rugged could never have been written by her.<sup>5</sup>

English books.

It was not until she had ceased to reign, and had left Scotland for ever, that she set herself seriously to the study of English;<sup>6</sup> and among her books, it would seem that only three in that tongue are to be recognised with certainty

Ronsard at Holyrood.

<sup>1</sup> 'Il fut donné page à Monsieur d'Orléans : avec lequel ayant demeuré quelque temps, il receut commandement de suivre le Roy d'Escosse, qui estoit lors [A.D. 1537] deçà la mer, et l'accompagner en son royaume : ce qu'il fit, et y séjourna deux ans et demy, pendant lesquels il apprit les particularitez et la langue de la province. Or ce fut là premierement qu'il commença à prendre goust à la poesie. Car vn gentil-homme Escossois, nommé le Seigneur Paul, tres bon poëte Latin, se plaisoit à luy lire tous les iours quelque chose de Virgile ou d'Horace, le luy interpretant en François, ou en Escossois : et luy qui auoit desia jetté les yeux sur les rymes de nos anciens autheurs, s'efforçoit de le mettre en vers le mieux qu'il luy estoit possible.'—(Oraison Funebre sur la mort de Monsieur de Ronsard, prononcée en la Chapelle de Boncourt, l'an 1586, par Monsieur dv Perron, depvis Cardinal etc., in the *Oeuvres de Ronsard*, vol. ii. p. 1670.)

It would be hard to recognise under any name like Paul, any Scottish writer of Latin verse in the reign of King James v.; and, indeed, another biographer not only informs us that he was assured by the poet's friend, Baif, that Seigneur Paul was a Piedmontese, but shifts the scene to the French court.—(Claude de Binet, in the *Oeuvres de Ronsard*, vol. ii. p. 1641.)

<sup>2</sup> M. Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. i. p. 494.)

<sup>3</sup> Elegie sur le despart de la Roynne Marie retournant à son royaume d'Escosse. A Lyon, 1561. 8vo. It is reprinted, but with many changes, in the *Oeuvres de Ronsard*, vol. ii. pp. 1178, 1179.

<sup>4</sup> Surtout elle aymoît la poésie et les poëtes, mais surtout M. de Ronsard, M. du Bellay, et M. de Maison Fleur, qui ont fait de belles poésies et elegies pour elle, et mesmes sur son partement de la France, que j'ay veu souvent lire à elle mesme en France et en Escosse, les larmes à l'oeil, et les souspirs au coeur.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 84.)

<sup>5</sup> *Oeuvres de Ronsard*, vol. ii. p. 1652. See above, p. cix. note 2.

<sup>6</sup> 'Elle se mesloit d'estre poëte, et composoit des vers, d'ont j'en ay veu aucuns de beaux et très bien faictz et nullement ressemblans à ceux qu'on luy a mis à sus avoir faicts sur l'amour du Comte de Bothwell : ils sont trop grossiers et mal polis pour estre sortis de sa belle boutique. M. de Ronsard estoit bien de mon opinion en cela, ainsi que nous en discourions un jour, et que nous les lisions.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 84.)

Ronsard's opinion on the Sonnets to Bothwell.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Nicholas White to Cecil, 26th Feb. 1568-9, in Haynes' Collection of State Papers, p. 509.

—a Catechism ; the Acts of Parliament of Queen Mary of England ; and the Acts of Parliament of King James the Fifth of Scotland. This last work, Scottish books. printed at Edinburgh, in 1541, and Sir Thomas Craig's Epithalamium, printed at Edinburgh, in 1565, appear to be the only books from a Scottish press, unless we hold the Catechism to be the Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton, printed at St. Andrews in 1552. Other two works may be claimed for Scotland, but both were printed abroad. Buchanan's Psalms were published at Paris. The work described as the Astrology of James Bassantine, may be either his *Explication de l'Astrolabe*, or his *Discours Astronomiques*, both written in the language of his adopted country, and both published at Lyons, the former in 1555, the latter in 1557. It was believed that, within a twelvemonth after the Queen's return from France, the author foretold her captivity and ruin, and the succession of the King of Scots to the crown of England.<sup>1</sup>

Mary was too deeply interested in the great ecclesiastical revolution of her age to neglect its literature. The Reformed doctrines, indeed, had been made the subject of her school exercises ; and among the themes which she had to turn from French into Latin, was a make-believe letter from Mary Queen of Scots to John Calvin, rebuking his denial of purgatory, out of the mouths of

Controversial  
divinity.

Bassantine's prediction of the Queen's fate.

<sup>1</sup> The story is reported by Sir James Melville. 'This puttis me in remembrance,' he writes, 'of a taill that my brother Sir Robert tald me, the tym that he wes busyest dealing between the twa Quenis, to interteny ther frendship, and draw on ther meting at a part besyd York [A.D. 1562]. . . . Ane Bassentin, a Scottis man, that had bean traueleit, and was learnit in high scyences, cam to him and said : "Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of yow that I loue yow hartly, and therefore can not forbear to schaw yow, how that all your vprycht dealing and your honest trauell wilbe in vain, wher ye beleue to obtean a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. Ye bot tyn your tym ; for first, they will neuer meit togither ; and nyxt, ther will neuer be bot dissembling and secret hattrent for a whyll, and at lenth captyuite and vtter wrak for our Quen be England." My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic deuclisch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false, vngodly, and vnlawfull for Christiens

to medle them with. Bassentin answerit again : "Gud Mester Meluill, tak not that hard oppinion of me. I am a Christien of your religion, and feares God, and purposes neuer to cast my self in any of the vn-lawfull artis that ye mean of, bot sa far as Melanthon, wha was a godly theologue, has declaired and wreten anent the naturell scyences, that ar lauffull and daily red in dyuers Christien vniversites ; in the quhilkis, as in all vther artis, God geues to some les, to some mair and clearer knowlege then till vthers ; be the quhilk knowlege I haue also that at lenth, that the kingdome of England sall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther are some born at this instant that sall bruk landis and heritages in England. Bot alace, it will coist many ther lyues, and many bludy battailes wilbe fochten first or it tak an sattede effect ; and be my knowlege," said he, "the Spaniartis wilbe helpers, and will tak a part to themselves for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leaue again." '—(Sir James Melville's Memoirs, pp. 202, 203.)

Controversial  
divinity.

Socrates and Plato.<sup>1</sup> Nor did her shelves show only one side of the controversy. We find the four folios of Luther's *Enarrationes in Genesim*; the *Harmoniae Evangelicae* of the elder Osiander; the *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio qua ratione Christiana ac in verbo Dei fundata Reformatio instituenda sit*, of Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne; the *De Coena Domini* of Peter Martyr; the French version of Calvin's *Institutes*; and his fatal Defence of the burning of Servetus.<sup>2</sup> Among works on the other side, we recognise two written at Holyrood, and published at Paris in 1562, by René Benoist, the doctor of the Sorbonne, who accompanied the Queen from France, and afterwards became the confessor of King Henry the Fourth<sup>3</sup>—his *Necessarius atque Certus Modus tollendae Religionis Discordiae*, and his *Triomphe et Excellente Victoire de la Foy*. We miss a book which the English envoy presented to Mary in October 1561—the Oration of Theodore Beza at that famous conference at Poissy, which, it was vainly hoped, would reconcile the religious differences of France.<sup>4</sup> But we have the Oration made on the same

<sup>1</sup> Latin Themes of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, published, for the first time, from the original manuscript in her own handwriting, in the Imperial Library at Paris, by M. Anatole de Montaiglon, pp. xiii.-xv., 22, 23. Warton Club: 1855.

Calvin's defence  
of the burning of  
Servetus.

<sup>2</sup> *Defensio Orthodoxae Fidei de Sacra Trinitate, contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serueti Hispani: vbi ostenditur haereticos iure gladii coerendos esse, et nominatim de homine hoc tam impio iuste et merito sumptum Geneuae fuisse supplicium. Per Iohannem Caluinum. Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554. 8vo.*

'I am more deeply scandalised,' writes the greatest of historians, 'at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the auto da fés of Spain and Portugal.'—(Gibbon's History, chap. liv., note 36. Cf. his Miscellaneous Works, vol. v. pp. 400-404. edit. 1814.) Mr. Hallam has avowed his belief, that 'the death of Servetus has perhaps as many circumstances of aggravation as any execution for heresy that ever took place.'—(Introduction to the Literature of Europe, vol. ii. p. 109, note. edit. 1839.)

Calvin and Knox.

If nothing can be said in extenuation of the burning of Servetus, it may at least be remembered, to Calvin's credit, that, a few years afterwards, he appears to have withheld his sanction from Knox's intolerant denial to

the Queen of the same liberty of conscience which he claimed for himself. See above, p. lxxviii., note 4. We may please ourselves with the belief, that still less would the apostle of Geneva have approved of the praise which the Scottish Reformer bestowed upon the murder of Riccio—'an event,' as Sir James Mackintosh has called it, 'sufficient to dishonour a nation, and to characterise an age.'—(History of England, vol. iii. p. 78.)

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lv., note.

<sup>4</sup> 'I advertised the Lord James . . . before that I would desire audience of the Queen's Majestie, his sovereign . . . to know of him, whether that the Queen would take it in no evil part, if I presented to her Grace, at my next coming unto her, the Accord at the Assembly at Poissy in the controversy upon the Sacrament. He encouraged me boldly to it, thereunto assuring me that she would accept it well. The Oration of Beza that I gave unto her Grace before, she read (as he saith) to the end. . . . I thought best to give his lordship the copy [of the Accord] . . . That night, after supper, he presented it unto her. She doubted first of the sincerity thereof; I was alleged to have received it from your honour. Many disputes, I heard say, rose that night upon it. The Queen said

The Colloquy of  
Poissy.

occasion by Beza's adversary, the Queen's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine. There is a book of devotion by another Cardinal of the house of Guise, the Queen's granduncle, that splendid but licentious prelate of whom the story ran that a blind beggar in the streets of Rome was so startled by the munificence of his alms, as to exclaim—'Thou art either the Christ, or the Cardinal of Lorraine.'

Among the few Manuscripts enumerated, we discover a copy, in the Queen's handwriting, of the famous Latin speech in defence of learned women, which, when no more than thirteen, she delivered in the hall of the Louvre, in presence of King Henry the Second, Catharine of Medicis, and the whole French court.<sup>1</sup>

Manuscripts :  
The Queen's Latin speech at the Louvre.

she could not reason, but that she knew what she ought to believe. The Marquis [of Elbeuf] affirm'd that he never thought Christ to be otherwise in the sacrament than it was there written ; but yet doubteth not but the mass is good. Against that much was said, but little good done. . . . She asked whether her uncle the Cardinal's Oration was printed : I said that I lookt daily for it.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 24th October 1561, in Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 94-96, 101.)

'The Accord at the Assembly at Poissy,' was a short statement of the doctrine of the Eucharist, approved by Beza and his colleagues on one side, and by the Cardinal of Lorraine on the other, but afterwards repudiated by the Cardinal's colleagues. It ran in these words : 'Confitemur Jesum Christum in Coena nobis offerre, dare, et vere exhibere substantiam sui corporis et sanguinis, operante Spiritu Sancto : nosque recipere et edere spiritualiter et per fidem, verum illud corpus quod pro nobis mortuum est, ut simus ossa de ossibus ejus, et caro de carne ejus : ut eo vivificemur, et ea quae ad salutem nostram necessaria sunt, percipiamus. Et quoniam fides innixa verbo Dei res perceptas facit praesentes ; per illam verum et naturale corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi per virtutem Spiritus Sancti comedi et bibi fatemur, eoque respectu praesentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sancta Coena agnoscimus.'—(Vita T. Bezae, in Melchior Adam's Vitae Theologorum Exterorum, pp. 110, 111. edit. Francof., 1705.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Elle s'estoit faicte fort sçavante en Latin. Estant en l'age de treize à quatorze ans, elle declama devant le Roy Henry, la Reyne, et toute la court, publiquement en la salle du Louvre, une oraison en Latin

qu'elle avoit faicte soubstenant et deffendant, contre l'opinion commune, qu'il estoit bien seant aux femmes de sçavoir les lettres et arts liberaux. Songez quelle rare chose c'estoit et admirable de voir cette sçavante et belle Reyne ainsi orer en Latin, qu'elle entendoit et parloit fort bien ; car je l'ay veu là : et fut si curieuse de faire faire à Antoine Fochain, de Chauny en Vermandois, et l'adresse à ladite Reyne, une rethorique en François que nous avons encore en lumiere, afin qu'elle l'entendist mieux et se fist plus eloquente en François, comme elle a esté, et mieux que si dans la France mesme eust pris sa naissance.'—(Brantôme, t. v. pp. 83, 84.)

The text-book referred to by Brantôme is the *La Rhetorique François* d'Antoine Fouquelin de Chauny en Vermandois. A tresillustre princesse Madame Marie Royne d'Ecosse. A Paris, 1555. 8vo. The author speaks of the high hopes which the Queen awakened : 'De quoy vous me semblez donner un certain presage, alors qu'en la presence du Roy, accompagné de la plupart des Princes et Seigneurs de sa cour, vous soutenies par une oraison bien Latine, et defendies contre la commune opinion, qu'il estoit bien seant aux femmes de savoir les lettres et ars liberaux. Au quel endroit je diroy en quelle admiration d'un chacun vous auriez esté onye, quel jugement auroit esté fait, et quelle esperance auroit esté conceüe de vous par toute cette si noble compaignie, si je le pouvoi dire sans soubçon de flatterie. . . . Que pleut à Vôte Majesté que j'eusse peu finer de cete tant elegante oraison, ou plutôt de la Françoisse traduction, qu'il vous en pleut faire quelque temps apres : il ne m'eut esté besoin chercher si loing des exemples, etc.'

I give this passage as it is quoted by M. Francisque-

p

Manuscripts :  
French sonnets,  
probably by Cha-  
tellard ;

The Queen's book  
of French verses  
on the Institution  
of a Prince.

The Queen's Latin  
themes.

In the volume described as a manuscript of French Sonnets, we should, perhaps, recognise the volume of his own verses which Chatellard presented to the Queen on his infatuated return to Scotland in 1562.<sup>1</sup> The parchment manuscript on the 'Government of Princes' was, perhaps, a work of the same class as the *De l'Institution d'un Prince*, compiled by Budaeus for the use of the Queen's first husband, King Francis the Second, and as the 'book of verses, in French, of the Institution of a Prince,' written by the Queen for the use of her son, King James, and kept by him in a cover of her needlework as one of his most cherished heirlooms.<sup>2</sup> There are some other manuscripts

Michel in his *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. i. p. 493. M. Anatole de Montaiglon, who first brought it to light, in his edition of the Latin Exercises written by the Queen in 1554, writes : 'Much has been said on the early learning of Mary. The great credit she has received on this account will be perhaps a little destroyed by this publication ; for the reader will see her knowledge of the Latin to be not very sound nor firm, and some blunders are of such a nature as to render us somewhat incredulous as to her learning at this period of her life. The admiration, inspired by the praise bestowed by Brantôme on the famous Latin speech delivered in the French court, will be somewhat impaired by the thought that it was a little after our themes, which perhaps were given to her as a first preparation towards this subject, and show us that she was certainly not unaided in the composition of her speech. . . . It had been said by one of the court, . . . that women had nothing to do with learning ; and by way of justification for himself and encouragement to his pupils, the preceptor fills fifteen letters (xxvi.-xl.) with the names of learned girls and women. His learning was easy ; numerous were the books on illustrious women, and perhaps he did not even seek so far. In one place (letter xxxv.), he speaks of a certain Cassandra Fidelis as praised by Politianus in some one of his Epistles ; and when we refer to them, this letter of Politianus, the thirteenth in the third book, is found to be on the subject of learned women, and with the commentary of Franciscus Silvius in the Parisian edition of 1523, it contains almost all the names used by the preceptor.'—(*Latin Themes of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*, pref. pp. xvii., x., xii.)

Mr. Leopold Massey (writing from Paris in November 1862) affirms that the French versions of these Latin Themes are 'in a Scotch hand, and Scotch-

French, the hand and the French of John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, who took the degree of doctor of laws in the University of Paris, not many years before these letters are dated.'—(*The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ccxiii. p. 758.)

The dates of the Themes run from the 25th of August 1554 to the 5th of January 1554-5. Can it be shown that Lesley was then in France ? It has hitherto been supposed that he returned to Scotland in April 1554.

<sup>1</sup> 'Chastelet . . . is well entertained by the Queen, and hath great conference with her. He rideth upon the soar gelding that my Lord Robert gave unto her Grace. He presented a book of his own making, written in meeter : I know not what matter.'—(*Letter from Randolph to Cecil*, 18th Nov. 1562, in *Bishop Keith's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 177-180.)

The book must have been manuscript, for Chatellard seems to have printed nothing : 'Il fit plusieurs rithmes tres belles, que j'ay veues escrites en main ; car jamais elles n'ont esté imprimées, que j'aye veu.'—(*Brantôme*, t. v. p. 123.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The Queene his Maiesties mother wrote a booke of verses in French of the Institution of a Prince, all with her owne hand, wrought the couer of it with her needle, and is now of his Maiestie esteemed as a most pretious jewell.'—(*The Workes of James, King of Great Britaine*, pref. by Bishop Montagu of Winchester. Lond. 1616.)

'Queen Mary of Scotland wrote a book of verses in French of the Institution of a Prince, all with her own hand, wrought the cover with her needle, which the King kept as a relick of her memory, as I have seen.'—(*W. Sanderson, Lives of Queen Mary and King James VI.*, p. 262. Lond. 1656.)

Among the books which Drummond of Hawthorn-

which it may be difficult or impossible now to identify;<sup>1</sup> but we need not hesitate to recognise in what is described as 'a great Diet Book of the Duke,' a large finely written folio of the Household Expenses of the Regent Arran in the year 1546, still preserved among the public records of Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

Manuscripts :

Household book  
of the Regent  
Arran.

The catalogue, which enumerates in all about two hundred and forty works,<sup>3</sup> closes with a note of six Mass Books burned by the Regent Murray.<sup>4</sup> It might be supposed that they were no common volumes which were cast into the fire by such illustrious hands,—that if the governor of a nation stooped to do a hangman's work, it was because the superstitious vulgar shrank from destroying what had been adorned by kings or hallowed by saints of old. But, in truth, the passions of that age ran so high, that when offences against religion were to be punished, it was accounted meritorious in the best and noblest to share in offices which, in ordinary times, are abandoned to the meanest of mankind. Thus, at Paris, in a procession which inaugurated the burning of six Huguenots, King Francis the First marched on foot, carrying a torch in his hand;<sup>5</sup> at Westminster, the Parliament of King Edward the Sixth commanded all the Roman Catholic ritual books to be openly burned by the Reformed archbishops and bishops, their chancellors or commissaries;<sup>6</sup> and in Scotland, before the Reformation was six months old, the church books and vestments

Service books burned  
by the Regent Mur-  
ray.

den gave to the University of Edinburgh in 1626, was one by Queen Mary, 'Tetrasticha, ou Quatrains à son Fils. MS.'—(Avctarivm Bibliothecae Ediffburgense, p. 23. Edinb. 1627.)

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, 'Ane Epistle to the Quene writtin in Frenche be Diodet Sairell;' 'Ane Oratioun buik in write.'

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Emptorum et Expensarum Domicilij Jacobi domini de Hammiltoun comitis Arranie necnon Protectoris et Gubernatoris tocius regni Scocie: Wilhelmo Coluill commendatario de Culros gerente et exercente officium Rotulatoris anno nostre salutis millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto. MS. Register House.*

<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of King Francis the First's library at Fontainebleau, showed 1781 manuscripts and 900 printed books.—(M. Edmond Werdet, *Histoire du Livre en France*, par. i. p. 344. Paris, 1861.) But the

Queen's kinswoman, Louise of Lorraine, wife of King Henry III. of France, seems at her death in 1601 to have had no more than 83 works. They were for the most part in morocco bindings, and were valued in all at about 160 livres. There were 7 in Latin, and 5 in Italian. Demosthenes was the only Greek author.—(Le Prince Augustin Galitzin, *Inventaire des Meubles Bijoux et Livres estant a Chenonceaux le huit Janvier 1603*, pp. 10-16. Paris, 1856.)

<sup>4</sup> P. 187: 'Item mair tayne be my Lordis Grace hym self vj syndrie buikis. Item tane be my Lordis Grace and brint vj Mess Buikis.'

<sup>5</sup> Le Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, t. iii. coll. 298, 299. edit. 1713.

<sup>6</sup> Act 3 and 4 Edward VI., 4. Nov. 1549; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iv. pp. 110, 111.

Library of Louise  
of Lorraine,  
Queen Dowager  
of France.

Library of King  
Francis I. of  
France.



at Dalhousie were given to the flames, by the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible not to regret the service books of the Chapel Royal destroyed by the Regent. We may reasonably grieve for them as fair examples of the Scottish art of that age,—interesting proofs of the skill and taste of the monks of Culross and the canons of St. Andrews.<sup>2</sup> But it is not necessary to think that they must have had still higher claims to our regard, or to deplore their loss as if they were the venerable books of which the confessor of St. Margaret relates, that her husband, the rude unlettered King Malcolm, would kiss and fondle them for her sake, or take them away that he might bring them back to her glittering with gold and gems.<sup>3</sup>

The library which the Queen's predecessors had gathered at Holyrood was lost in the first years of her reign, when the Palace was sacked and burned by the English.<sup>4</sup> Her books, therefore, it would seem, must have been collected for her own use, and may be looked upon as showing, in some sort, the bent of her reading and the measure of her learning. We see at once how her shelves were filled by what Sir James Melville tells us of her fondness for history,<sup>5</sup>

The Queen's love of History.

Church vestments and books at Dalhousie, burned by the Earls of Arran and Murray.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Laird of Dalhousie is in ward in the Castell of Sanctandrois, becaus he gaif thre or four pair Friars meat in his Place. My Lord of Arran and my Lord James seirchit all his Place, and gatt thame not; but thai brunt all the bukis and mess-claiths that wes in the Place.'—(Letter from T. Archibald to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 18th Dec. 1560, in Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 7, 8, note 2.) It is probably of this baron of Dalhousie that Drummond of Hawthornden tells, that when asked by the Regent Murray how he liked a preacher to whom they had been listening, he answered, 'Passing well; purgatory he hath altogether ta'en away; if, the morn, he will take away hell, I will give him half the lands of Dalhousie.'—(Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. pp. 79, 80.)

Service books written at St. Andrews and at Culross.

<sup>2</sup> Payments were made from the Treasury of £14, 8s. to the bedell of St. Andrews for a Breviary to King James IV. in 1502-4; of £14 to the monks of Culross, for books to the Franciscans of Stirling, in 1502-4; and of £24 'to Dene Mychaell Donaldsone, monk of Culross, for an grete Antiphonall buke,' for the Chapel Royal, in 1538-9. In recording that Abbot Thomas who died in 1535 gave a Missal and a

Gradual to his monastery of Kinloss, his biographer is careful to add that both were written at Culross.—(Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, p. 35.) A Psalter, it would seem of the fifteenth century, now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh (18.8.11), is inscribed ME FIERI FECIT RICARDUS MERCHEL. QUONDAM ABBAS DE CULENROS.

<sup>3</sup> 'Libros, in quibus ipsa vel orare consueverat, vel legere, ille, ignarus licet litterarum, saepe manuversare solebat et inspicere; et dum ab ea quis illorum esset ei cañor audisset, hunc et ipse cariorum habere, deosculari, saepius contrectare. Aliquando etiam advocato aurifice ipsum codicem auro gemmisque perornari praecepit, atque perornatum ipse Rex ad Reginam, quasi suae devotionis indicium, referre consuevit.'—(Turgot, Vita S. Margaretæ, c. ii. § 11, in the Acta Sanctorum, Jun. t. ii. p. 330.)

St. Margaret's books.

<sup>4</sup> 'Also, we brent thAbbey called Holy Rodehouse, and the Pallice adioynynge to the same.'—(The Late Expedition in Scotlande, vnder the Erie of Hertforde, 1544, p. 7, reprinted in Dalrymple's Fragments of Scottish History. Edinb. 1798.) Cf. Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. pp. 1, 2, 13, 14.

Holyrood burned in 1544.

<sup>5</sup> Sir James Melville told Queen Elizabeth in 1564,

and by what Brantôme and others tell us of her love of French poetry.<sup>1</sup> Her two or three volumes of Spanish are in keeping with what is related of her slender knowledge of that speech.<sup>2</sup> She had better store of Italian

The Queen's love of French poetry.

that when the Scottish Queen 'had leaser fra the affaires of hir contre, sche red vpon gud bukis, the historeis of dyuers contrees.'—(Memoirs, p. 124.)

The Queen's French verses.

<sup>1</sup> 'Surtout elle aymoît la poésie et les poètes, mais surtout M. de Ronsard, M. du Bellay, et M. de Maisson Fleur . . . Elle se mesloit d'estre poète, et composoit des vers, d'ont j'en ay veu aucuns de beaux et très bien faictz . . . Elle en composoit bien de plus beaux et de plus gentils, et promptement, comme je l'ay veüe souvent, qu'elle se retiroit en son cabinet, et sortoit aussi tost pour nous en monstrier à aucuns honnestes gens que nous estions là . . . La Reyne donc, qui aimoit les lettres, et principalement les rithmes, et quelquefois elle en faisoit de gentilles, se plut à voir celles dudit Chastellard, et mesme elle luy faisoit response.'—(Brantôme, t. v. pp. 84, 85, 123.)

French verses by her now lost.

Neither Chatellard's verses nor the lines which the Queen wrote in answer, have been preserved. The 'Quatrains à son Fils,' or metrical 'Institution of a Prince,' which she composed for the instruction of King James, although long treasured by him as a choice relic, and extant in more than one copy, so late as 1627, has since disappeared. Even by those who believe that she wrote the twelve Sonnets to Bothwell, it is now admitted that the French originals have been lost.—(M. Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, pp. 65, 66.) It would seem that no more than six pieces, containing in all not quite three hundred lines, which can be shown to have been written by her, are now known to exist:

Verses by her now extant.<sup>1</sup>

(i.) Her lines in French (eleven stanzas, of six lines each) on the death of her first husband, King Francis II., printed by Brantôme, t. v. pp. 88-90.

(ii.) A sonnet, in two versions, Italian and French, sent by her to Queen Elizabeth, apparently soon after her flight to England in 1568, printed by M. Laing, in his *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 220, 221.

(iii. and iv.) A sonnet in French, and a poem of a hundred lines in the same language, 'Méditation faite par la Roynie d'Escoce, Dovairiere de France, recueillie d'un Livre des Consolations Divines, composez par l'Evesque de Rosse,' written in 1572; printed by Bishop Lesley in his *Piae Afflicti Animi Consolationes*, Paris, 1574, and reprinted in D. Home's *Lettres et Traitez Chrestiens*, Berger, 1613, and in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 341-348.

(v.) A sonnet in French, beginning 'Que suis je, hélas, et de quoi sert ma vie,' supposed to have been

written at Fotheringhay, preserved in the State Paper Office, and printed in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. v. pp. 43, 44. edit. 1806. There are also preserved in the State Paper Office, two stanzas in French, beginning 'Celuy vraiment n'a point de courtoisie,' supposed to be 'written by the Queen of Scots, lamenting her condition,' about 1582.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 935.)

(vi.) Fourteen scraps of French verse, containing fifty lines in all, written on the margins of an illuminated Book of Hours, now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 346-352. A description of the book, and facsimiles of two of its pages, are given in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iii. part iii. pp. 394-403.

The touching lines, beginning 'Adieu, plaisant pays de France,' supposed to be written by her as she set sail for Scotland, and first published (as 'tirée du manuscrit de Buckingham') in the *Anthologie Francoise* in 1765, have been proved by M. Philarté Chasles and others to be the avowed composition of Anne-Gabriel Meusnier de Querlon, a French journalist, who died in 1780.—(M. Edouard Fournier, *L'Esprit dans l'Histoire*, pp. 157-163. edit. 1860.) Warton has shown that two English lines said to have been written by her on a pane of glass at Fotheringhay, are part of a poem printed in 1557.—(*History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 62.) The 'Mutuus Amor,' cited by a recent biographer as a proof of the ease with which she could write Latin poetry, is by Buchanan.—(*Miscellaneorum Liber*, xvi.) Nor does there seem to be any sufficient authority for ascribing to her the Latin lines beginning 'O Domine Deus! speravi in te,' printed as hers in Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. v. p. 45.

Verses wrongly ascribed to the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> 'In optimis quibusque Europae linguis perdisceadis plurimum studij locabat; tanta autem erat suavisitas sermonis Gallici, ut in eo facunda doctissimorum iudicio haberetur; nec Hispanicum, aut Italicum neglexit, quibus ad vsum magis, quam ad ostentationem, aut volubilitatem, utebatur; Latinum intelligebat melius, quam efferebat; ad Poeticas leporem plus a natura, quam ab arte habuit. Literarum formas pingebat scite, et, quod in muliere rarum, velociter.'—(G. Conaci *Vita Mariae Stvartae*, 1624, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 15.)

Her knowledge of languages.

That Mary was a swift writer, is likely enough;

Her handwriting.

The Queen's knowledge of Italian and Latin.

books, for that was a tongue which she could both read and write.<sup>1</sup> Her early proficiency in Latin may perhaps have been overrated at the French court; but she had Buchanan for her master after she returned to Scotland,<sup>2</sup> and, when in her twentieth year, read Livy with him every day after dinner.<sup>3</sup> Nothing seems to be recorded as to her acquaintance with Greek;<sup>4</sup> but with the Greek books which we see in her possession,<sup>5</sup> it is hard to believe that her studies did not extend to that language, more especially when it is remembered that she lived in an age of learned sovereigns, and was bred in the most learned court of Europe.

Did she know Greek?

The Queen's person.

Her own court of Holyrood was probably the most accomplished which Scotland ever saw. She herself was confessed by every one to be the most charming princess of her time.<sup>6</sup> Her large sharp features might perhaps

but for the rest, some may be tempted to hold with honest Pepys, who, on Evelyn's showing him a few of her letters, exclaimed, 'Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and on what plain uncut paper.'—(Diary, 24th Nov. 1665, vol. iii. p. 126. edit. 1851.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxxiii. note 2; p. cxvii. note 2; G. Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 265.

The Queen and Buchanan:

<sup>2</sup> 'Ther is with the Quene, one called Mr George Bowhanan, a Scottishe man, verie well lerned, that was schollemaster unto Monsieur de Brisack's sone, verie godlye and honest.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 30. Jan. 1561-2, in G. Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 319, note.) See above, p. lxxvi. note 1.

She reads Livy with him daily.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Queen readeth daily, after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Bowhanan, somewhat of Lyvie.'—(Letter from Randolph to Cecil, 7. Apr. 1562, in G. Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 105.) She had been trained to habits of reading at the French court: 'Tant qu'elle a esté en France, elle se reservoit tousjours deux heures du jour pour estudier et lire: aussi il n'y avoit gueres de sciences humaines qu'elle n'en discourust bien.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 84).

<sup>4</sup> Con praises her Latinity, but says nothing as to her Greek. See above, p. cxvii. note 2. A still earlier biographer gives her credit for five languages, but Greek is not one of them: 'Latine, Gallice, Scotice, Anglice, Hispanice, docta.'—(Adam Blackwood, Martyre de Marie Stwart, 1587-1589, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 177.)

It may be questioned if the distinction of Scotch and English into two languages, is one which Mary herself would have made. 'Les Escossois et Anglois,' said the younger Scaliger, who had travelled in Britain, 'parlent mesme langage Saxon, vieux Teuton-ique, ils se servent de mesme Bible, et ne different pas plus que le Parisien d'avec le Piccard.'—(Scaligerana, pp. 365, 366, 68.)

Scotch and English one language.

<sup>5</sup> A good many translations from the Greek appear among the Queen's books; and we know that she used translations as a help to acquire the knowledge of at least one language. 'She harde the Englishe sarvice with a booke of the Psalmes in Englishe in hir hand . . . When sarvice was done, hir Grace fell in talke with me of sundry matters . . . beginning first to excuse her ill Englishe, declaring hir self more willing then apt to lerne that language; howe she used translations as a meane to attayne it.'—(Letter from Nicholas White to Cecil, 26th February 1568-9, in Haynes' Collection of State Papers, p. 509.)

The Queen studies English by translations.

\* Num studiis, genere, atque opibus, num denique forma Inuenient aliam quae se huic componere possit?

The Queen's beauty.

—(In Francisci Illvstriss. Franciae Delphini, et Mariae Sereniss. Scotorvm Reginae Nuptias, Ampliss. Viri M[ichaelis] H[ospitalii] Carmen. Paris. 1560. 4to.)

'Toy qui as veu l'excellence de celle  
Qui rend la ciel sur l'Escosse enuieux,  
Dy hardiment, contentez-vous mes yeux,  
Vous ne verrez iamais chose plus belle.'

—(Joachim Du Bellay, 'La Roynie-Dauphine,' in his Oeuvres Françaises, foll. 481, 482.)

have been thought handsome rather than beautiful but for the winning vivacity and high joyous spirit which beamed through them. It has been questioned whether her eyes were hazel or dark grey,<sup>1</sup> but there is no question as to their starlike brightness.<sup>2</sup> Her complexion, although fresh and clear, would seem to have been without the brilliance so common among our island beauties.<sup>3</sup> Her

The Queen's  
features ;

her eyes ;

her complexion.

'Ipsam quatuor regnorum insignia ornare ; sed forma, cui parem ea aetate fuisse nullam memorant, digna Europae totius imperio habebatur.'—(F. Strada, *De Mariae Scotorum Reginae Vita et Morte*, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 105.)

... 'vne Roynie si belle,  
Belle en perfection : car toute la beauté  
Qui est, et qui sera, et a iarnais esté,  
Pres de la sienne est laide, et la mere Nature  
Ne composa iarnais si belle creature.

Que ne vivent encor les Palladins de France !  
Vn Roland, vn Renaud ! ils prendroient sa defense,  
Et l'accompagneroient et seroient bien heureux  
D'en auoir seulement vn regard amoureux.'

—(Ronsard, 'Regret a l'Hvillier, pour Marie Stvard, Roynie d'Escoce,' in his *Oeuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 1177, 1178.)

'Encore qu'elle n'eust ny sceptre ny couronne, sa seule personne et sa divine beauté valoient un royaume. . . . Le feu Roy Charles, son beau frere . . . je l'en ay veu tellement amoureux, que jamais il ne regardoit son pourtraict qu'il n'y tint l'oeil tellement fixé et ravy, qu'il ne s'en pouvoit jamais oster ny s'en ressasier, et dire souvent que c'estoit la plus belle princesse qui nasquit jamais au monde.'—(Brantôme, t. v. pp. 87, 90, 91.)

'Estant donc arriué en Escosse, ie trouuay cette Princesse en la fleur de son âge, estimée et adorée de ses sujets, et recherchée de tous ses voisins ; en sorte qu'il n'y auoit grande fortune et alliance qu'elle ne püst esperer ; tant pour estre parente et heritiere de la Reyne d'Angleterre, que pour estre douée d'autres graces et plus grandes perfections de beauté, que Princesse de son temps.'—(Memoires de Michel de Castelnau, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 460.)

'Audiui a multis, iisque sane in hoc genere bene lynceis, quicquid viderant in Anglia, Gallia, Italia, Germania, Flandria pulchri et venusti, id totum, quantum et quantum erat, prae hac conformatione membrorum, hac venustate, hac maiestate, hac huius Reginae suauitate penitus sorduisse.'—(Maria Stvarta Regina Scotiae innocens a caede Darleana, vindice O. Barnestapolio, 1588, in Jebb, vol. i. p. 385.)

'Inter omnes suae aetatis Reginas admirabili atque incomparabili corporis pulchritudine praedita.'—(Martyre de Marie Stvart, par Adam Blacuod, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 177.)

'Etiam post taediosi carceris molestiam, pristinum oris decus ac pulchritudo, quo tot homines in sui amorem rapuerat, integre adhuc relucebant . . . de cetero obesior solito, quasi jam valetudine minus firma.'—(Thuani *Historiarum Sui Temporis lib. lxxxvi. cap. 13 ; t. iv. p. 435. edit. 1733.*)

<sup>1</sup> G. Chalmers's *Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. pp. xviii, xix. Mr. Albert Way's *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Edinburgh* in 1856, p. 205. The preponderance of authority appears to be in favour of grey, and Lord Byron has ruled accordingly :

... 'blue eyes or gray—  
The last, if they have soul, are quite as good,  
Or better as the best examples say :  
Napoleon's, Mary's (Queen of Scotland), should  
Lend to that colour a transcendent ray.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Quand vos yeux estoiez, deux beaux logis d'amour,  
Qui feroient d'une nuit le midi d'un beau iour  
Et penetrant les coeurs' . . .

—(Ronsard, 'Regret, a Marie Stvård, Roynie d'Escoce,' in his *Oeuvres*, vol. ii. p. 1172.)

'Aspice quantus honos frontis, quae gratia blandis  
Interfusa genis, quam mitis flamma decoris  
Fulguret ex oculis.' . . .

—(G. Buchanani *Silvae*, iv : 'Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae, Regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium.')

'Le premier soir que nous feusmes embarquez, le Seigneur de Chastellard, qui depuis fust executé en Escosse, . . . (qui estoit gentil cavalier et homme de bonne espée et bonnes lettres), ainsi qu'il vist qu'on allumoit la fanal, il dict ce gentil mot : "Il ne seroit point besoing de ce fanal, ny de ce flambeau, pour nous esclairer en mer, car les beaux yeux de ceste Reyne sont assez esclairs et bastans pour esclairer de leurs beaux feux toute la mer, voire l'embrazer pour un besoing."—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 94.)

<sup>3</sup> Ronsard speaks of her alabaster brow and ivory bosom : 'vostre front d'albastre,' 'cet yuoire blanc qui enfle vostre sein.'—(Oeuvres, vol. ii. p. 1172.) But Sir James Melville admits that her complexion

The Queen's hair ; hair appears to have changed with her years from a ruddy yellow to auburn, and from auburn to dark brown or black, turning grey long before its time.<sup>1</sup>  
 her figure ; Her bust was full and finely shaped, and she carried her large stately figure with majesty and grace.<sup>2</sup> She showed to advantage on horseback,<sup>3</sup> and still more  
 her voice ; in the dance.<sup>4</sup> The charm of her soft sweet voice is described as irresistible ;<sup>5</sup> and she sang well, accompanying herself on the harp, the virginals, and still

was not equal to Queen Elizabeth's : 'the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome.'—(Memoirs, p. 124.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxvi. note 2 ; G. Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. xix ; Mr. Albert Way's Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Edinburgh in 1856, pp. 204-206, 210, 211.

Brantôme, who last saw Mary in the autumn of 1561, assures us that her hair was what in Scotland we should perhaps have called 'blind fair' : 'si beaux, si blonds, et cendrez.' Ronsard, who had known her from a girl, writing at the moment of her departure from France, speaks of her golden ringlets :

'Quand vostre front d'albastre, et l'or de vos cheueux, Annelez et tressez.' . . .

—('Regret, a Marie Stvart, Roïne d'Escosse,' in his Oeuvres, vol. ii. p. 1172.) Sir James Melville, on being pressed by Queen Elizabeth to say whether her hair (which he tells us was 'golden coloured,' 'reder then yellow') or the Scottish Queen's was the fairest, evaded the question by the answer, that 'the fairnes of them baith was not ther worst faltes.'—(Memoirs, p. 123.) This was in 1563. Six years afterwards, Nicholas White wrote to Cecil that Mary's hair was black. Brantôme tells us that it was grey in 1577. She wore borrowed tresses of auburn on the scaffold at Fotheringhay.

<sup>2</sup> . . . 'Quam conspirarit amico,  
Foedere cum tenera gravitas matura juvena,  
Lenis et augusta cum majestate venustas.'

—(G. Buchanani Silvæ, iv : 'Francisci Valesii et Mariæ Stuartæ Regum Franciæ et Scotiæ, Epithalamium.')

'Quand vostre belle taille et vostre beau corsage  
Qui ressemble au pourtrait d'une celeste image.' . . .

—(Ronsard, 'Regret, a Marie Stvart, Roïne d'Escosse,' in his Oeuvres, vol. ii. p. 1172.)

We learn from Sir James Melville that she was taller than Queen Elizabeth.—(Memoirs, p. 124.)

'Elle estoit d'une belle charnure et grâce : la poi-

trine ronde.'—(La vray rapport de l'exécution faicte sur la personne de la Reyne d'Escosse, printed by M. Teulet, in his Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse, t. ii. p. 883.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Equum conscondere et domare, quantum ad iter, aut venationem qua delectabatur, necessarium erat, studuit, reliquam illius exercitationis curam ad viros, non mulieres, spectare dictitans.'—(G. Conaci Vita Mariæ Stvartæ, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 15.)

The Queen's  
horsemanship.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ad numeros probe ob miram corporis agilitatem saltabat, venuste tamen et decenter, nam tacito humilique membrorum motu quamlibet chordarum harmoniam exprimebat.'—(G. Conaci Vita Mariæ Stvartæ, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 15.)

Her dancing

No one who has seen Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's inimitable drawing at Abbotsford (it is engraved in Mr. Mark Napier's Memorials of Dundee, vol. i. p. xvi.), will need to be reminded how Sir James Melville, on being pressed by Queen Elizabeth to say whether she or Queen Mary was the better dancer, answered that the Scottish Queen 'dancit not sa hich and disposedly' as her English sister.—(Memoirs, p. 125.)

<sup>5</sup> 'Elle avoit encore ceste perfection pour faire mieux embrazer le monde, la voix très douce et tres bonne.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 86.)

'Quand vos sages propos, quand vostre douce vois  
Qui pourroit esmouvoir les rochers et les bois,  
Las ! ne sont plus icy.'

—(Ronsard, 'Regret, a Marie Stvart, Roïne d'Escosse,' in his Oeuvres, vol. ii. p. 1172.)

'Such styncken pryde of wemen as was sein at that Parliament [May 1563], was never sein befor in Scotland. Thre syndrie dayis the Quene raid to the Tolbuyth. The first day sche maid a paynted orisoun ; and thair mycht have been hard among hir flatteraris, "*Vox Dianæ!*" The voce of a goddess (for it could not be *Dei*) and not of a woman ! God save that sweat face ! Was thair ever oratour spack so properlie and so sweetlie !'"—(John Knox, History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 381.)

oftener on the lute, which set off the beauty of her long, delicate, white hand.<sup>1</sup> The consciousness how that hand was admired, may have made it more diligent in knitting and in embroidery, in both of which she excelled.<sup>2</sup> Her manner was sprightly, affable, kindly, frank perhaps to excess, if judged by the somewhat austere rule already beginning to prevail among her Scottish subjects. She spoke three or four languages, was well and variously informed, talked admirably,<sup>3</sup>

The Queen's hand ;

her address, accomplishments, etc.

The Queen's skill  
in music.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ad cantus excellentiam multum ei profuit natura quaedam non adscita vocis inflexio ; testudinem, lyram, et clauicymbalum quod vocant, apte pulsabat.'—(G. Conaei Vita Mariae Stvartae, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 15.) 'Thre bukis of musik' appear in the catalogue of the wreck of her library in 1578.

Sir James Melville told Queen Elizabeth in 1564, that the Queen of Scots 'sometymes wald play vpon lut and virginelis.' On being asked if she played well, he answered 'Reasonably, for a Queen.' He confessed afterwards that on the virginals she did not play so well as the English Queen.—(Memoirs, pp. 124, 125.) A fine miniature of Mary, in Lord Fitzhardinge's possession, shows her playing on a lute. In December 1566, she ordered £10 to be paid 'for luit stryngis, and the caryage of the lutis and raparis of thame.'—(Treasury Warrant. ms. Register House.) 'Two lutes, and two lute bookes, covered with velvet,' appear in her Fotheringhay Inventory.

'Elle chantoit très bien, accordant sa voix avec le luth, qu'elle touchoit bien joliment de ceste belle main blanche, et de ces beaux doigts si bien façonnez, qui ne devoient rien à ceux de l'Aurore.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 86.)

Ronsard speaks more than once of the beauty of her hand. Thus in his Regret :

'Quand vostre longue et gresle et delicate main.'

And again in his Fantaisie :

'Et vostre main des plus belles la belle,  
N'a rien sinon sa blancheur naturelle,  
Et vos longs doigts, cinq rameaux inégaux.'

—(Oeuvres, vol. ii. pp. 1172, 1174.)

Her knitting and  
needlework.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quod reliquum erat in gynaeceo inter matronas ancillasque lucubrantes transigebat, aut texens, aut acu pingens : variae adhuc [A. D. 1624] in Gallia ab ea miro artificio elaboratae operae cernuntur, quas Dium altaribus sacrauit, in eo potissimum monasterio, in quo post recentem in regnum illud appulsum enutrita fuit.'—(G. Conaei Vita Mariae Stvartae, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 15.)

'I asked hir Grace,' says Nicholas White, in describing his interview with the Queen at Tutbury in February 1568-9,—'I asked hir Grace, sence the wether did cutt of all exercises abrode, howe she passed the tyme within. She sayd that all that day she wrought with hir nydill, and that the diversitie of the colors made the worke seme lesse tedious, and contynued so long at it till veray payn made hir to give over. . . . Upon this occasion she entred into a pretty disputable comparison between karving, painting, and working with the nydill, affirming painting in hir awne opinion for the most comendable qualitie.'—(Letter to Cecil, in Haynes' State Papers, pp. 509, 510.) One of her first requests, after the gates of Lochleven had closed upon her, was for 'an imbroiderer to draw forth such work as she would be occupied about.'

In 1619, Drummond of Hawthornden describes, in a long letter to Ben Jonson, 'the *impresas* and emblems on a bed of state wrought and embroidered all with gold and silk by the late Queen Mary, mother to our sacred Sovereign.' 'The workmanship,' he concludes, 'is curiously done and above all value.'—(Works, p. 137.) This was doubtless the bed, described as 'vncomplete, sewit be his Maiesties mother, of gold, silver and silk,' which, in September 1616, was ordered to be sent from Holyrood to England, 'thair to be mendit and prouidit with furnitour answerable,' and then to be sent back to Holyrood.—(Registrum Secreti Concilii : Acta 1615-1617, fol. 63. ms. Register House.) It is apparently the 'bedd wrought with needle woork of silke, silver, and golde, with divers devices and armes, not throughlye finished,' found in the Queen's apartments after her execution, and bequeathed by her to her son King James.—(Fotheringhay Inventory in Prince Labanoff's Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. vii. p. 254. Cf. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 1021.)

State-bed embroi-  
dered by the  
Queen, and be-  
queathed to her  
son.

<sup>3</sup> 'Toutesfois, quand elle devisoit avec aucuns, elle usoit de fort doux, mignard et fort agreable parler, et avec une bonne majesté, meslée pourtant avec une fort discrete et modeste privauté, et surtout avec une fort belle grace.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 85.)

Her conversa-  
tion.

and wrote both in prose and in verse, always with ease and sometimes with grace or vigour.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's court.

In the ring of which she was the centre were statesmen like Murray and Lethington, soldiers like Kyrkcaldy of Grange,<sup>2</sup> men of letters like Buchanan, Lesley, Sir Richard Maitland, and Sir James Melville.<sup>3</sup> The first poet of France published verses deploring his absence from her brilliant court;<sup>4</sup> Damville, the flower of French chivalry, repined at the fate which called him away from it so soon;<sup>5</sup> Brantôme and the younger Scaliger,<sup>6</sup> delighted to speak in old age of the days which they passed beneath its roof. If Knox darkened its gates only to prophesy wrath and woe, his glowing eloquence melted hearts almost as bigoted as his own, and wrung admiration from minds which were shocked by the ferocity of his temper,<sup>7</sup> and by the arrogance and intolerance

The Queen's letters.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. cxiii. note 1; p. cxvii. note 1. 'De plus, elle escrivoit fort bien en prose, surtout en lettres, que j'ay veües très belles et très éloquentes et hautes.'—(Brantôme, t. v. p. 85.)

Kyrkcaldy of Grange.

<sup>2</sup> 'That worthy champion . . . wha had done sic notable service in France . . . that I hard the King, Hendre IL, point vnto him and said, "Yonder is ane of the maist vailyeant men of our tym" . . . and the Gret Constable of France wald not speak with him oncouerit . . . and England had proif of his qualites . . . wher he . . . be singular combat vincust the Lord Yuers brother, betuen the tua armyes of England and Scotland.'—(Sir James Melville's Memoirs, pp. 256, 257.)

Sir James Melville.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sir James Melville . . . whose Memoirs, now freed from all suspicion of interpolation, may be justly compared with the most valuable materials which British history affords.'—(Sir Walter Scott, History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 93. edit. 1830.)

<sup>4</sup> 'O Liure donq' plus heureux que ton maistre,  
Tu vas au lieu auquel' ie voudrois estre,  
Voire où ie sui tousiours par le penser,  
Et si le corps pouuoit la mer passer  
Comme l'esprit, ie verrois à toute heure  
Le beau séjour où la Roynie demeure,  
De qui les yeux luisent comme vn beau iour.

En si plaisant et celeste séjour  
Vit la vertu, l'honneur, la courtoisie,  
Et la beauté, etc., etc.'

—(Ronsard, 'Envoy, a Marie Stvart, Roynie d'Es-cosse,' in his Oeuvres, vol. ii. p. 1176.)

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. lxxv. note 3.

<sup>6</sup> 'Marie Stuard, Reyne d'Escoce, avoit un beau mary, et delectabatur turpidis adulteris. (Apud Pe-tronium sunt mulieres quae foenum ament.) Lors que j'y estois elle estoit en mauvais mesnage avec son mary, à cause de la mort de ce David. L'Histoire de Buchanan est tres-vraye, elle ne parloit point avec son mary: l'Ambassadeur qui fut envoyé, eut d'elle un buffet de 400 escus, et fit contribuer tous ceux qui estoient avec elle jusques aux valets. C'estoit une belle creature.'—(Scaligerana, pp. 255, 256.)

I have failed to find any other trace of Scaliger's visit to Holyrood. It must have been at some time between Riccio's murder in March 1566, and Darnley's murder in February 1567. The great scholar's recollections of what he saw or heard in Scotland are not always to be relied on. There can be no question, for example, as to the inaccuracy of what he says (pp. 200, 201) about the Queen's father: 'Le Roy d'Ecosse, Jacques v. estoit camard, ce qui estoit bien laid, quia nasus honestamentum faciei.'

The Reformer's violent counsels and intemperate speech were remarkable, even in his own ruthless age. See above, pp. xviii. xlii. xlv. xlvii. l. lxiii. lxxii. lxxvi. lxxviii. lxxix. xci. cxii. 'John Knox,' says a careful reviewer of his writings, 'inculcated as a most sacred duty, incumbent on the civil government in the first instance, and, if the civil government is remiss, incumbent on the people, to extirpate completely the opinions and worship of the

Joseph Scaliger at Holyrood.

Knox's violence.

of his creed.<sup>1</sup> Nor, in the Holyrood of that day, were learning and accomplishments the gifts only of two or three. It was no unlettered throng which acted or applauded masques in which the dialogue ran in Latin or Italian verse. Even the contemptible King got credit for writing a ballad and translating Valerius Maximus.<sup>2</sup> His murderer, the brutal debauched Both-

Catholics, and even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman, and child.'—(The Edinburgh Review, vol. xxvii. p. 167. Sept. 1816.)

Knox's intemperate language:

'As to Maister Knox,' wrote Buchanan, in the year in which the Reformer died, 'his Historie is in hys freindes' handes, and thair in consultation to mitigate sum part the acerbite of certain wordis.'—(Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 429.) It was remarked, before the publication of this letter, that 'the extravagances of John Knox have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan: he was too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves tasted the bitterness of persecution.'—(Dr. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 316.)

his History of the Reformation:

It was long believed that the most offensive passages in the Reformer's History were unauthorized interpolations; but this belief has been dispelled by Mr. David Laing's late elaborate edition, which places beyond doubt that what have been called 'the scurrile discourses in it, more fitting a comedian on a stage than a divine or minister,' 'the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions in that book,' are written by Knox himself. Lord Hailes has shown how little its statements are to be relied upon even in matters which were within the Reformer's own knowledge.—(Memorials of Scottish Councils, coun. 1549, in the Annals of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 260-262, note. edit. 1819.) But with all its faults, the work has high literary merits; and Mr. Grub scarcely says too much, when he calls it 'superior to anything previously to be found in the prose literature of Britain, and unequalled by any work which appeared in Scotland before the middle of the eighteenth century.'—(Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 185-188.)

his intolerance.

<sup>1</sup> 'Knox's famous intolerance is well known. . . . In a conversation with Maitland he asserted most explicitly the duty of putting idolaters to death. Nothing can be more sanguinary than the Reformer's spirit in this remarkable interview. St. Dominic could not have surpassed him. It is strange to see men, professing all the while our modern creed of charity and

toleration, extol these sanguinary spirits of the sixteenth century.'—(Mr. Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 138, note. edit. 1842.)

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. cvi. note 2.

In a letter to Queen Mary of England in 1554, Darnley says: 'It haith pleased your moste excellent Maiestie lailtie to accepte a little plote of my simple penning, which I termed *Utopia Nova*; for the which it being base, vile, and maymed, your Maiestie haith given me a riche cheane of golde.'—(Sir H. Ellis, Letters Illustrative of English History, second series, vol. ii. pp. 249-251.) The letter has a strong savour of the schoolmaster; and probably all that Darnley (who was then in his ninth year) had to do either with it or with the *Utopia Nova*, was to transcribe the copies set before him by his tutor, John Elder, a native of Caithness, who had studied at St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, and was the author of 'A Letter sent into Scotlande,' printed in 1555; and of a Letter to King Henry VIII., giving an account of the Scottish Redshanks or Highlanders, printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 3-18, and again in the Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis of the Iona Club, pp. 23-32. The 'Letter sent into Scotlande' was addressed to Darnley's uncle, Lord Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness; and along with it Elder sent some verses and adages written by Darnley, whom he praises as likely to prove 'a witty, virtuous, and an active well-learned gentleman.' His mother is said to have taken great pains in his education, 'lui ayant fait apprendre dès sa jeunesse à iouer du luth, à dancier, et autres honnestes exercices.'—(Memoires de Castelnau, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 462.) The singular beauty of his penmanship is attested by a letter to the Earl of Leicester, written from Dunkeld on the 21st February 1564-5, now in the British Museum.—(Addit. MSS. 19,401, no. 46, fol. 101.)

Verses, etc., attributed to the King.

The Bannatyne Manuscript ascribes to 'King Henry Stewart' a ballad of eight stanzas, 'The Complaint, an Epistle to his Mistress on the force of Luve,' first printed by Allan Ramsay in The Evergreen, vol. i. pp. 108-111. edit. 1724, reprinted by Lord Hailes, in his Ancient Scottish Poems, pp. 220, 221, 316,



well, collected books and seems to have been fastidious as to their bindings;<sup>1</sup> and as he rode along his well-marshalled lines at Carberry,<sup>2</sup> abiding the issue of his fate, he could remind the French ambassador of the story of him who, having failed in his endeavours to mediate between the hosts of Scipio and of Hannibal, withdrew to a spot from which he could scan the fortune of the fight, and never in his life saw better sport.<sup>3</sup>

Vestments of the  
Chapel Royal.

The list of the Queen's books is followed by an inventory of vestments of the Chapel Royal, masquing habits, and paintings.<sup>4</sup> Among the vestments we may recognise an altar cover of cloth of gold,<sup>5</sup> and a canopy of purple velvet,<sup>6</sup>

Bothwell's library.

and again in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. pp. 24-31.

<sup>1</sup> Two volumes which belonged to Bothwell are still known. Both have been handsomely bound in calf, and bear the book stamp of his arms.

One volume is, *Larismetique et Geometrie de Maistre Estienne de la Roche dict Ville France*, nouvellement imprimee et des fautes corrigees, a la quelle sont adioustees les Tables de diuers comptes, avec leurs Canons, calculees par Gilles Huguetan natif de Lyon. A Lyon, 1538. fol. It came into the possession of William Forbes of Tolquhon, in 1588, the year before the completion of his fine Aberdeenshire castle, where it remained till the beginning of the last century. It has been well kept, and now stands, beside a book which belonged to Queen Mary, in the library of Mr. James T. Gibson-Craig.

The other volume contains two books:—(i.) *Les Dovze Livres de Robert Valtvrin touchant la Discipline Militaire translatez de langve Latin en Francoyse par Loys Meignet Lyonnois*. A Paris, 1555. fol. (ii.) *Flaue Vegece Rene homme noble et illustre du fait de Guerre et fleur de cheualerie quatre liures : Sexte Jule homme consulaire des Stratagemes especes et subtilitez de guerre quatre liures : Aelian de l'ordre et instruction des batailles vng liure : Modeste des Vocables du fait de guerre vng liure : Pareillement cxx histoires concernans le faite de guerre iointes a [V]egece. Traduicts fidellement de Latin en Francois : et collationnez (par le polygraphe humble secretaire et historien du parc dhonneur) aux liures anciens tant a ceulx de Bude que Beroalde et Bade*. A Paris, 1536. fol. It is now in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The book stamp impressed upon it, and upon the better-preserved volume in Mr Gibson-Craig's library, is engraved on the title-page of *Les*

*Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, 1568. It shows his arms (quarterly : first and fourth, a bend ; second and third, on a chevron, a rose between two lions rampant respectant : behind the shield, an anchor : supporters, two lions : crest, a horse's head bridled : motto, KIIP TREST), with the circumscription IACOBVS HEPBVRN· COMES BOTHV· D· HAILLES· CRITHONE· ET LIDDES· ET MAGN· ADMIRAL· SCOTLÆ·

A facsimile of an autograph French letter from Bothwell (signing himself 'James duc of Orkinay') to King Charles IX. of France, written from Copenhagen on 12th Nov. 1568, is given by M. Teulet in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> We have the testimony of the French Ambassador to the skill with which Bothwell ordered his troops on his last battle-field : 'Il fault que je dise que je vis ung grand cappitaine parler de grande asseurance et qui conduisoit son armée galliardement et sagement.'—(Letter from Du Croc to King Charles IX., 17th June 1567, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 119.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Il me dist qu'il ne falloyt donc plus parler, pour ce qu'il voyoit ses ennemys qui s'approchoient et avoient desjà passé le ruisseau ; que si je voullois ressembler à celluy qui moyennoit une paix et amitié entre les deux armées de Scipion et d'Annibal, ayant leurs deux armées prest à se joindre comme ces deux icy, ne pouvant rien faire, il ne se voullust rendre partial d'ung costé ni d'autre, il print une place pour juger, et au partir il eust an veue le plus grand passe-temps qu'il vist jamais.'—(Letter from Du Croc to King Charles IX., 17th June 1567, printed by M. Teulet in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 176.)

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 184-186.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 184, 53 no. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 184, 53 no. 34, xxiii. note 6.

Bothwell at  
Carberry.

part of the cathedral ornaments of Aberdeen given in keeping to the Earl of Huntly, and seized by the crown among the rich spoils of his castle of Strathbogie.<sup>1</sup> The list of masquing habits reckons thirty-three dresses, for the most part of satin ; and we learn elsewhere that there were twelve breast-plates, twelve back-plates, and twelve helmets, all of cloth of gold or silver, with five coronets and as many coiffs.<sup>2</sup> The only portraits mentioned are eight panels of ' the New Doctors,' or, as they seem to be called in an earlier inventory, the Doctors of Germany.<sup>3</sup> The painted cloths enumerated were hangings for walls ;<sup>4</sup> twenty-eight are distinguished as of large size and Flemish workmanship.

Masquerade dresses.

Paintings.

The dispersion of the treasures accumulated in the Queen's coffers, wardrobe, and jewelhouse, would seem to have begun, like other graver misfortunes, with her infatuated passion for Bothwell. In March 1567 she gave him three of her costliest church vestments of cloth of gold ; not long afterwards he had a gift of some of her mother's Spanish furs ; and, if her adversaries can be trusted, she bestowed upon him the horses, armour, clothes, and furniture of her murdered husband.<sup>5</sup> Early in May, on the eve of the marriage so fatal to both, she ordered the gold font sent by Queen Elizabeth for the Prince's baptism, to be turned into money (it weighed three hundred and thirty-three

Dispersion of the Queen's jewels, etc.

Gifts to Bothwell.

Gold font, the gift of Queen Elizabeth, ordered to be coined.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. xxv. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fyve masking garmentis of crammosie satine freinyeit with gold and bandit with claith of gold. Sex maskenis of the same pairt of thame uncompleit. Tuentie foure scheildis of claith of gold for bak and foir. Tuelf heid peces of clath of silver claith of gold and crammosie satine. Ellevin pair of slevis of craip of silver bandit with claith of gold. Thre Egyptianis hattis of reid and yallow taffeteis. Sum uther bladdis of silver claith and uther geir meit for maskene. Fyve masking quaiffis for the hind heid. Fyve litle crownis for the foirheid.'—(Masking Claythis etc. within the Castell of Edinburgh pertening to Our Soverane Lord and his Hienes derrest Moder, 1578, in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 237.)

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 186, 25 no. 71.

<sup>4</sup> 'La toile peinte était une des tentures les plus ordinaires pendant le moyen âge. On commençait par coucher un encollage assez épais sur le tissu, à peu près comme le font encore nos décorateurs de théâtres, et sur cet apprêt on peignait soit des sujets, soit des ornements.'—(M. Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français, pp. 278, 279.)

Painted cloths.

In a list of goods plundered by Scottish pirates, during Queen Mary's reign, from a bark bound from Dieppe to Dantzic, we find 'fyve paintit claythis of the Forlorne Sone.'—(Registrum Secreti Concilii : Acta 1563-1567, p. 42. Ms. Register House.)

<sup>5</sup> P. 53, no. 32 ; pp. 176, 26 ; p. xcvi. note 1.

Jewels given by  
the Queen to  
Bothwell.

ounces,<sup>1</sup> and yielded five thousand crowns), for the hire of mercenaries to quell the revolt for which, it was foreseen, that marriage would be the signal.<sup>2</sup> Before the middle of June, when they parted on Carberry Hill, never to meet again, she had lavished upon him jewels valued at more than twenty thousand crowns, or six thousand pounds sterling.<sup>3</sup> Her last words to him were vows of fidelity;<sup>4</sup> and next day, although closely imprisoned, and so wild with despair, that she refused all nourishment, and with bare bosom and hair streaming about her ears, showed herself at her chamber window, calling upon the people for help,<sup>5</sup> she is said to have found means of conveying to him a purse of gold, as a token of her faith and affection.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 5. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 103) describes the font as of fine gold 'of twa stanes of weicht.'

<sup>2</sup> 'The Queen is come to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed by the Earl Bothwell . . . She minds to levy five hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen. The money that she hath presently to do this, which is five thousand crowns, came from the font your lordship brought unto the baptism.'—(Letter from Kyrk-caldy of Grange to the Earl of Bedford, 8. May 1567, in Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 409.) James Beton, writing from Edinburgh on the 17th June, for the information of the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, reports that the Confederated Lords found the font, not yet melted, in the Mint, upon the 12th of June.—(M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 108.)

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. xcvi. note 2.

The Queen's parting  
from Bothwell.

<sup>4</sup> Elle fait partir Monsieur le Duc [d'Orkney], avecque grande angoise et douleur de son cousté,' says a friendly eye-witness, 'et plus souventefois s'entrebèserent au départir. Sur la fin, Monsieur le Duc luy demanda si elle ne vouloit de sa part garder la promesse de fidelité que elle luy avoit faicte; de quoy elle luy assura. Là dessus, luy bailla sa main ainsi que il départoit,' etc., etc.—(Récit des événements du 7 au 15 Juin 1567, par le Capitaine d'Inchkeith, printed by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 165, 166.)

The Queen after  
Carberry.

<sup>5</sup> 'L'on la mena souper au logis du Prévost. Mais, combien qu'elle n'avoit mangé de xxiii heures paravant, ne voulut oncques rien gouter . . . Le lendemain ensuyvant, elle fust gardée comme une captive dans sa chambre, où n'y avoit nul de ses serviteurs qui eust entrée pour parler à elle. Et, par nuyt, elle

vient en une des fenestres de sa chambre et cria au secours. Et le lendemain, de cas pareille, devant tout le peuple, elle se meist à la fenestre, criant à l'ayde et au secours; et se tint là un certain espace, jusques à ce que les seigneurs en furent advertis qui luy allèrent reconforter par bonnes parolles.'—(Récit par le Capitaine d'Inchkeith, in M. Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 166.)

'Sche cam yesterday to ane windo of hir chalmer that lukkit on the hie gait, and cryit forth on the pepill quhow sche was halden in prison, and keepit be hir awin subjects quha had betrayit hir. Sche cam to the said windo sundrie tymes in sa miserable a stait, her hairs hingand about her loggs, and hir breist, yea the maist pairt of all her bodie, fra the waist up, bair and discoverit, that na man could luk upon hir bot sche movit him to pitie and compassion.'—(Letter from James Beton, to his brother Andrew, for the information of the Archbishop of Glasgow, 17. June 1567, in M. Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 114.)

'And being in Edinburgh vpoun the xvj day of . . . Junij 1567 . . . the noblemen past to hir humlie requiring hir that she wald . . . be content that the pretendit and vnlawfull mariage quhairin she wes unprouisitlie enterit tobe dissoluit for hir awin honour, the saulgard of hir sone, and the quietnes of hir realme and subiectis. To the quhilk na vther ansuer culd be obtenit bot rigorous minassing on the ane pairt, avowand tobe revengit on all thame that had schawin thame selfis in that cause; and on the vther part offerand to leif and gif ower the realme and all, swa she mycht be sufferit to posses the murtherar of hir husband. And in farther pruiif of hir inordinat affectioun towards him she convoyit a purs with gold

The Queen's  
last gift to  
Bothwell.

The jewels which the Queen had given to Bothwell, with most of her own moveables, were detained in the Castle, or fell into the hands of the Confederated Lords.<sup>1</sup> More than thirteen hundred ounces of her silver plate, according to one account, or twice that quantity according to another, were coined at once to meet the more urgent needs of the new government.<sup>2</sup> A few weeks afterwards, when Murray, before accepting the Regency, waited upon the Queen at Lochleven, she is said to have entreated him to take her diamonds and other valuables into his keeping as the only means of saving them for herself and her child.<sup>3</sup> The trust, it is added, was accepted unwillingly. It was certainly ill kept. The Regent needs little defence from the Queen's complaint that fear of offending him hindered Sir Robert Melville from delivering up a ring which had been sent to her by Queen Elizabeth as a pledge of affection, and which Mary now

Plate coined by  
the Confederated  
Lords.

Jewels, etc., given  
in charge to the  
Regent Murray.

to him be Dauid Kintor the same xvj day.'—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at Westminster, on the 6th Dec. 1568. Hopetoun MS.)

<sup>1</sup> After the Queen was sent to Lochleven, on the 17th of June 1567, the Confederated Lords 'went down to the Palace of Ilalyrudhous, and tooke up an inventar of the plait, jewells, and other movables. Upon the 24th day of June they threw down sindrie things in the Queen's Chappell, where the Queene had her masse.'—(Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 366.)

'Ces traistres abominables . . . toute la nuict se mirent à piller tous ses meubles, bagues et ioyaux, qu'elle auoit en son Palais, et ne luy laisserent chose quelconque, dont elle et son fils n'ont oncques peu retirer que bien peu.'—(Adam Blackwood, Martyre de Marie Stwart, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 219.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Vpoun the xv and xvj dayes of Julij [1567], the [Confederated] Lordis causit streik the Quenis wark in xx shilling, xxx shilling, and x shilling peices, quhilk extendit to aucht stane wecht.'—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 117.)

'Thay spairit not to put violent handis upoun hir Majesties copburd, weyand saxtene stane weght, and meltit the same, and convertit all in coyne, wherby they forgeit a staff to brek hir heid with hir awin geir.'—(Historie of King James the Sext, p. 16.)

An order of the Confederated Lords for coining

twenty-seven pieces of the Queen's plate (weighing seventy-four marks, or five hundred and ninety-two ounces), which were in the hands of Servais de Conde, is printed in the Appendix to the Preface, No. III., from a collation of two copies, one in Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. cv. cvi.; the other in Selections illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, p. 194.

It is dated on the 10th of July 1567. Fourteen days afterwards, the Confederated Lords issued an order to Servais de Conde to deliver up 'the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword Royall of the realme' for the coronation of the Prince.—(Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. cvi.)

<sup>3</sup> 'The Queen required him . . . to take her jewels, and things of value which were hers, into his custody . . . He shewed himself very unwilling to have the custody of her jewels . . . Since . . . she hath written a letter of her own hand unto the said Earl, requiring him to take her jewels, and all she hath of value, into his custody; for otherwise she is sure neither she nor her son shall have good of them.'—(Letter from Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 20. Aug. 1567, in Bishop Keith's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 738.)

On the 10th of September, Sir James Melville writes to Throckmorton, that 'the delivery of the Castle and jewels to the Regent has colded many of the stomachs' of the Hamiltons.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 845.)

The Regalia.

Pearls sold by  
Murray to Queen  
Elizabeth.

wished to recover, in the vain hope that it would be a spell to summon help from England.<sup>1</sup> But he has to answer a heavier charge. The jewels had not been many months in his hands before he despatched an envoy to London to sell some of the finest to the English Queen.<sup>2</sup> The transaction was so secret that it would seem not to have reached Mary's ears.<sup>3</sup> But it did not

On the 13th of October, the Regent named commissioners to audit the account of all the gold and silver received by the Earl of Morton from the Queen's servants or otherwise, since the 10th of June.—(Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. p. 28.) On the same day, a sum of 18s. 8d. was paid 'be my Lord Regentis Grace command for transporting of the Quenis Grace cofferris of Halierudehous to the Castell of Edinburgh,' and a sum of 55s. 'for transporting of the haill tapestrie furtht of the Abbey of Halierudehous to the Castell of Edinburgh.'—(Computum Thesaurarii Regis Scotorum, 1567. MS. Register House.)

Plate delivered to the Regent by the Queen's Almoner.

The Regent's acknowledgment of the receipt (on the 13th of November 1567) of sixteen pieces of the Queen's plate, from her almoner, Archibald Craufurd, parson of Eglesham, is reprinted in the Appendix to the Preface, No. IV., from Robertson's Topographical Description of Ayrshire, pp. 431, 432. The original is in the Craufurdland charter chest. There was a payment from the Treasury, in March 1567-8, for charging 'the Lard of Petfirren to deliuer certane siluer plaitis.'

The Queen's horses.

It appears that the Queen was allowed to dispose of her horses as she pleased. They were thirty-four in number. See Appendix to the Preface, No. VII.

Ring given by Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, as a pledge of succour in time of need.

<sup>1</sup> 'Il vous souvient qu'il vous a plu me mander diverse fois que vous entendiez, voyant la bague que m'avez envoyée, me secourir dans toutes mes afflictions. Vous sçavez comme mon frère de Mora a tout ce que j'ay. Ceulx qui ont quelque chose sont convenu me rien délivrer. Robert Melvin au moyns dit ne me l'oser rendre, combien que je la lui avois baylié segrettement comme mon plus cher joyau. Parquoi je vous supplie que voyant la présante, ayez pitié de votre bonne soeur,' etc. etc.—(Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, 1. May 1568, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. ii. pp. 67, 68.)

We have the other side of the story in the deposition of one of the Queen's attendants at Lochleven: 'The Quene desirte me sindry tymes ask ane ring fra him [Sir Robert Melville] quhilk he had of her in keping [that] scho gat fra the Quene [of] Ingland. I raid to him at Disart, quhair he was at that present, and schew the Quene desirte sic ane ring, bot, becaus

scho estemit [it] as ane jowall, I said I wald not cary it. He anserit, And houbet I wald, he wald nocht gif it; my Lord Regentis Grace knew of it, and he wald nocht offend him; he was the man he luffit best, and had ane sufficient pruiiff of the samyn baytht in hir motheris tyme and in hir awin; bot he wald vret ane excuis. Quhilk he send to me within tua dayis with ane precept to be subscreit be the Quene of his pen-siounne,' etc.—(MS. Fragment in the Register House.)

The ring was given up to the Queen during the brief triumph which followed her escape: 'Item declaris that efter the Quenis cuming furth of Lochlevin quhen sche wes in Hammyltoun she send for this deponar and he deliuerit vnto hir a ring . . . quhilk ring he hard sensyne that Johnne Betoun conveyit agane fra the Quene to the Quene of England.'—(Examination of Sir Robert Melville, 19. Oct. 1573. Hopetoun MS.)

It was in vain that Mary reminded Elizabeth of the promises of which the ring was the token: 'Davantage la dicte dame se souvient que la Roynne sa bonne soeur, en tesmoignage et confirmation de l'amitié qui estoit entre leurs Majestez, luy envoya une baggue avec assurance et promesse d'employer ses forces et moyens en sa faveur quand Sa Majesté en auroit besoing, et que, pour signal de ce, la dicte baggue luy seroit renvoyée; laquelle sa dicte bonne soeur a depuis receue par les mains du feu seigneur de Beton, soubz laquelle assurance Sa Majesté est aussi venue en ce pays.'—(Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, Sheffield, 14. Febr. 1571-2, in Prince Labanoff's Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. iv. p. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> It appears by a letter to Catharine of Medicis, from Bochetel de la Forest, the French ambassador at London, that the jewels had been brought to London for sale, in April 1568: 'actendu qu'ilz tiennent ceste affaire-cy secret.'—(M. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse, t. ii. p. 201.)

<sup>3</sup> A fortnight after the sale had been completed, the Queen is found giving instructions to Lord Fleming to move the French king to forbid their sale if they should be carried to France: 'Toucher un mot au dit Seigneur Roy des bagues et joyaulx de la dite Dame qu'elle a esté advertie d'envoyer ses envoyez par

escape the watchful Queen Mother of France. Catharine of Medicis was eager to possess herself of pearls which she had admired or envied of old at Fontainebleau, and of which she now heard that they were confessed at Whitehall to be of matchless beauty. But she was too late. Before she could tell the French ambassador in England to give the price which was set upon them, they had been bought by Queen Elizabeth for twelve thousand crowns, or three thousand six hundred pounds sterling.<sup>1</sup>

les rebelles hors du pays pour vendre. Et s'il se trouvoit y en avoir aucuns en France, que le Roy veuille commander les arrester et cependant faire deffendre à tous quelz qu'ils soient de n'en acheter n'y ne s'en mesler et entremettre aucunement.'—(Instructions to Lord Fleming, 30. May 1568, in Prince Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. ii. p. 89.)

Her friends in France heard of the affair, but their information was so little accurate that they believed that the jewels which fell into Queen Elizabeth's hands, came to her by gift, not by purchase: 'le reste ayant esté baillé par le bastard Murray à la Roynie d'Angleterre et à ceux de son conseil, vendu en France et en Flandres.'—(Adam Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie Stvart*, in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 219.)

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in five letters from the French ambassador, Bochetel de la Forest, to King Charles IX. of France, to Catharine of Medicis, and to her secretary, written from London, on the 2nd, the 8th, and the 15th of May, and in two letters in answer from Catharine of Medicis, of the 21st May 1568, printed partly by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. pp. 201, 202, 211, 214, 217, 218, and partly by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 129, 130, 132, 133.

It appears that Murray sent the jewels to London by his trusty dependant Nichol (or Michael) Elphinstone. They were shown to Queen Elizabeth on the 1st of May, in presence of the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, 'qui les trouvèrent d'une beauté nompareille.' They seem to have been kept from the sight of the French ambassador, so that he could not describe them to Catharine except from the reports of others: 'Je me suys enquis particulièrement de ces bagues de la Roynie d'Ecosse qui sont par deçà. J'ay sceu que les grosses perles, dont m'escrivoit une fois Vostre Majesté, y sont, et, comme on me les a spécifiées, il y en a six cordons, où elles sont enfilées comme patenostres, et, outre cela, environ vingt cinq à part et séparées les unes

des aultres, encores plus belles et plus grosses que celles qui sont enfilées, la pluspart comme noix muscades. Elles n'ont pas été troys jours icy qu'on les a fait apprécier par divers marchans, ceste Roynie [d'Angleterre] les voullant prendre pour la somme qu'elles seront évaluées; c'est à sçavoir à la raison que les prendroit ung marchand qui voudroit gagner dessus à les vendre. Elles ont été premièrement monstrees à troys ou quatre orfèvres et lapidaires de ceste ville [Londres] qui les ont estimées à troys milles livres sterlings, qui font dix mille escuz, s'offrant d'en bailler la dicte somme si on vouloit. Quelques marchans Italiens, qui les ont veues après, les ont prisées jusques à douze mille escus, qui est environ le prix, ainsi qu'on m'a dict, pour lequel ceste Roynie les prendra. Il y a un Genèveois qui les a veues après tous les aultres, qui les a estimées à seize mille, mais je pense qu'elles lui demeureront à douze . . . Le reste des dictes bagues n'approche pas de la valeur des perles, et n'en ay ouy spécifier que une pièce de licorne qui est bien mise en oeuvre et fort enrichie.' On the 15th of May, the French ambassador writes to Catharine of Medicis, that his nephew will tell her about the sale of the jewels to Queen Elizabeth for 12,000 crowns: 'et mesmement de ces bagues, lesquelles, ainsy qu'il vous dira, ont esté icy envoyées fort secrètement, et enfin, comme j'ay ci-devant escript, acheptées par ceste Roynie pour la somme de douze mil escuz.'

The pearls spoken of seem to be those which Mary, in her Testamentary Inventory, divided between the Scottish crown and the houses of Guise, Aumale, and Elbeuf (pp. 96-98, 101, 102). The bit of what was supposed to be the horn of a unicorn (probably part of the tooth of a narwhal) appears to be the 'piece de licorne garnye d'une chayne d'argent,' which the Queen bequeathed to her nephew Francis Stewart (p. 110). The horn, regarded as an antidote to all poison, was fastened to a chain, so that it might be dipped into cups or dishes. In May 1574, Mary writes from Sheffield to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris: 'Je vous prie

Unicorn's horn.

Catharine of  
Medicis and  
the Queen's  
pearls.

The bargain may have been hastened by tidings that, on the day after the jewels were first shown to the English Queen, Mary escaped from Lochleven. Henceforth there was an end of any semblance even of trust or forbearance between the Queen and her brother. The Parliament which met a few months after Langside, passed an Act placing her diamonds at his disposal;<sup>1</sup> and he lost no time in preparing for their sale. Mary implored the interposition of the English Queen;<sup>2</sup> and Elizabeth's remonstrances led Murray to abandon his intention.<sup>3</sup> Except complaints by the dethroned princess that the cause of her adversaries was maintained by the treasure of which they had spoiled her,<sup>4</sup> we hear no more of her jewels during the Regent's life.

Murray's intended sale of the rest of the Queen's jewels, stopped by Queen Elizabeth.

m'envoyer de la vraye terre sigillatée, si la pouvez recouvrer pour argent, sinon en demander à Monsieur le Cardinal mon oncle; ou, s'il n'en a, plutost que n'en recouriez à la Roynie, ma belle-mère, et au Roy, un morceau de fine licorne, car elle m'est bien necessère.' Some such fragment—'une rouelle de licorne garnye d'or attachée à une chaisne d'or;' 'a peece of an unicorne's horne with a little pendant of gold'—which she had beside by her at Chartley and Fotheringhay, she left to her son, King James.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iv. p. 170; t. vii. pp. 246, 254.) There was 'a peece of an unicorne's horne not garnysshed weyinge iii quarters and a half scant,' among the jewels of King Henry VIII. Among the jewels of King James in the Tower in 1605, were 'one longe peece esteemed for an unicorne's horne,' and 'three other peces esteemed likewise to be unicorne's horne.'—(*Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. pp. 263, 306.) The unicorn's horn is of frequent occurrence in French inventories of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.—(M. le Comte de Laborde, *Notice des Emaux du Louvre*, par. ii. 'Glossaire,' pp. 359-365.)

Act of Parliament of 1568 concerning the Queen's jewels.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 24. August 1568, vol. iii. p. 56: 'Ane Act maid this day concerning the Queenis jowellis.' In the absence of the parliamentary record, the terms of the Act are to be gathered from contemporary notices. A letter written from Edinburgh, on the 31st of August, tells the English minister that the Scottish Parliament has sanctioned the Regent's 'intromission,' with the Queen's jewels.—(*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 857.) On the 1st of September,

the Queen complains that the Scottish Parliament has ordered her jewels to be sold.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. ii. p. 172.) In February 1573-4, the Regent's widow, when sued for recovery of some of the Queen's diamonds before the Privy Council, appealed from its judgement, 'allegeing this caus aucht onelie to ressave tryell in Parliament, and befoir na uthir jugeis, in respect of ane Act of Parliament maid, as scho allegeit, committing the disposition of our said Soverane Lordis jowellis pertening sumtyme to his Hienes Moder, to umquhile James Erll of Murray, Regent of this realme for the tyme.'—(Mr. Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, p. 197.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Je vous supplie de commander . . . que le reste de mes bagues ne soyent vandues, comme ils ont ordonné en leur parlemant; car vous m'avés promis qu'il n'i auroit rien à mon presjudice. Je seroys bien ayse que les eussies pour plus de seurety, car se n'est viande propre pour traystres, et entre vous et moy je ne fays nulle diférance; car je seroys joyeuse qu'il y en eût qu'eussies agréable, les prenant de ma mayn ou de mon bon gré si les trouvés de votre goust.'—(Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, written from Bolton, on the 1st of Sept. 1568, printed by Prince Labanoff, in his *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. ii. p. 172.)

Mary's letter to Elizabeth to stop the sale of what remained of her jewels.

<sup>3</sup> On the 2nd of Oct. 1568, Queen Elizabeth wrote to Murray, advising him to forbear from the sale, or other disposition, of the jewels of the Queen of Scots. He answered, on the 6th, that he meant to obey her command.—(*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 267.)

<sup>4</sup> In December 1568, the Queen's Commissioners, in their answer to a protest by the Regent Murray,

In January 1570, the hand of Bothwellhaugh dealt to him the fate which he had conspired to inflict upon Riccio.<sup>1</sup> It then appeared that, among other crown diamonds of mark which he had bestowed upon his wife, was the famous Great Harry, presented to the Queen by her father-in-law, King Henry the

The Great Harry given by Murray to his wife.

charge him and his allies with 'maintening and setting furth' the accusation against the Queen, 'with hir awin pois, jewellis, and substance, quhilk unjustlie and violentlie thay rest and spuillzeit, be thair tressounabill corruption of the keiparis thair of.'—(Goodall's Examination, vol. ii. p. 293.) In October 1568, the same Commissioners complained that Murray and his associates had 'intromettit with the haill strenthis, munitionis, jewellis, and patrimonie of the crowne,' and that when the Queen escaped from Lochleven they made war upon her, 'be men of weir, quhilk they had wagit upon hir Grace's awin silver.'—(Goodall's Examination, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, 338, 340.) The Queen, in an appeal to all the princes of Christendom, written at Carlisle in June 1568, says that the Confederate Lords, after Carberry, 'incontinent s'impadronirono delli castelli, case, artiglierie, monitioni, oro, argento, gioje, mobili, vasi, vestimenti et d'ogni cosa di Sua Maestà, convertendo tutto in loro beneficio particolare et in stabilimento della loro tirannica usurpation;' or, as it runs in the French version, 'tout soudain après, se saisirent des chasteaux, maisons, artillerie, munitions, or, argent, baggues, joyaux, meubles, habillemens et vaisselle de Sa Magesté, convertissans le tout à leur particulier proffict et establissement de leur tyrannique usurpation.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 318, t. ii. p. 91, t. iv. p. 30; M. Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 245.)

Murray an accessory to the murder of Riccio.

<sup>1</sup> Murray's accession to the conspiracy against Riccio is placed beyond question by his subscription to the bond by which the conspirators oblige themselves 'to extirpe out of the realme of Scotland, or tak, or slay' every person whom the King 'sall pleis to command' as opposing his right of succession to the Scottish crown, in default of the Queen's issue. The bond, dated eight days before Riccio's murder, is printed in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iii. pp. 188-191, from the original in the charter-room of the Earl of Leven and Melville. Murray's is the first signature; Knox's father-in-law's is the third. The object of the bond, obvious enough on its very face, is made quite certain (i.) by the explicit avowal of its author, Lord Ruthven, who, like Knox, went

to his grave in the firm persuasion that the murder was a 'just act, and most worthy of all praise;' (ii.) by the counter-obligation granted by the King to the conspirators, in which 'an stranger Italian, called David,' is the only person named of those whom the conspirators are, 'in case of any difficulty . . . immediately to take them and slay them, wheresoever it happeneth,' even 'in presence of the Queen's Majesty, or within her Palace of Holyroodhouse.'—(Lord Ruthven's *Relation of the Death of David Rizzi*, in *Scotia Rediviva*, pp. 329-340. Goodall's Examination, vol. i. pp. 266-268. Mr. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 338-341.)

Four months before the murder was accomplished, Queen Elizabeth told the French ambassador at Whitehall, that the reason of Murray's disgrace at Holyrood was the information which had reached Mary of his design against Riccio's life: 'Et sur ce que je pressoyis ladicte dame de me dire d'où pouvoit estre advenu, sans quelque grand faulte dudict Comte de Moray, que la Roynie d'Escosse, qui l'avoit auparavant tant aimé et honoré, l'eust en si grand hayne? Elle, s'estant ung peu teue et secoué sa teste, me respondit que c'estoit pour ce que la Roynie d'Escosse avoit esté informée que le Conte de Moray avoit voulu faire pendre ung Italien nommé David qu'elle ayroit et favorisoyt, luy donnant plus de crédit et autorité que ses affaires et honneur ne devoient.'—(Letter from Paul de Foix to King Charles IX. of France, 16. Oct. 1565, printed by M. Teulet, in his *Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse*, t. ii. p. 93.)

Murray's letters in the State Paper Office and elsewhere, show how desperate were his fortunes when he embarked in the conspiracy to murder a man, for whose favour he had humbled himself to sue with professions of repentance for past neglect and promises of friendship for the future.—(*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 225-227. *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15. *Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, p. 147.) He lies under the further imputation of deserting his fellow-conspirators, when the success of the common enterprise, achieved at the hazard of their lives, had restored him to prosperity and power. He formally commissioned Sir James Melville to tell the Queen 'how that he

Murray's description of his fellow conspirators.



Second of France, and bequeathed by the Queen to the Scottish Crown as a memorial of herself and of the prince who gave it to her.<sup>1</sup> Mary's anger kindled at the tidings, and from her prison at Tutbury she threatened Lady Murray with vengeance if all the Queen's jewels in her possession were not instantly given up to the Earl of Huntly and Lord Seton.<sup>2</sup> The Countess entreated Cecil to move Queen Elizabeth to intercede for her with Mary;<sup>3</sup> and, whether by reason of this intercession or otherwise, it is certain that neither Huntly, on behalf of Mary, nor the Earl of Lennox, as Murray's successor in the Regency,<sup>4</sup> was able to force the Great Harry from the grasp of the widowed Countess.<sup>5</sup> Lennox, it appears, was foiled about the same time in an attempt to recover some of the Queen's jewels and furs from Mary Livingston's husband, whom he cast into prison at Blackness, and for whose

had dischargit him self vnto them that had committed the lait odious crym, and wald promyse Hir Maieste never to haue do with them nor trauell for them.'—(Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 152.) It is to this obviously that Knox refers when, commending the murderers of Riccio for 'thare just act, and most worthy of all praise,' he complains that they 'ar now unworthely left of thare brethrein, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exyle.'—(History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 235.)

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 90, 93. Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 265, 291, 307, 318.

<sup>2</sup> 'Albeit your late husband had so unnaturally and unthankfully offended us . . . we desired not his blood shed . . . but maun be sorry for his death, since the which, we are informed, ye have tane in possession certain of our jewels, such as our H of dyamant and ruby, with a number of other dyamante, ruby, perles, and gold work, whereof we have the memoir to lay to your charge. Which jewels, incontinent after the sight hereof, ye sall deliver to our right trusty cousins and counsellors the Earl of Huntley, our lieutenant, and my Lord Setoun, who will, on so doing, give you discharge of the same in our name, and will move us to have the more pity of you and your children. Otherwise, we assure you, ye shall neither bruike lands nor goods in that realm, but to have our indignation as deserves. Thus wishing you to weigh with good conscience, we commit you to God.' The Queen added, in her own hand, 'As I mynd to pitie yow in

your adversite, giff you doe your deuti, so be sur, iff you hald ani thing pertins me from me, yow and your birnes and meinteners schal feel my displeour heavilie. Nor is wrangous geir profitable. And so I will be to you as you schal deserve. MARIE R.'—(Letter from the Queen to the Countess of Murray, 28. March 1570, in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 62, 63.)

<sup>3</sup> On the 27th of October, the Countess of Murray wrote from Dunnottar to Queen Elizabeth, that 'she is now put at by so many that make actions against her and her bairns, that she sees no refuge from ruin but in her Majesty's protection and help.' On the 2d of November, the Countess wrote to Cecil, 'begging his mediation with the Queen of England . . . that her Majesty will cause the Queen of Scots to speak favourably to the Earl of Huntly, in respect to some jewels claimed of her as belonging to the said Queen of Scotland.' On the 13th of November, her entreaties were backed by Randolph in a letter to Cecil, 'requesting his favour towards the Countess of Murray, in respect to her persecution by Lord Huntly for the Queen of Scots' jewels.'—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 308.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Heidis sent to Mr. Randulphe for Ladie Countesse of Murray,' in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 104, 105.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 195-200.

Lady Murray begs the interposition of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen's threats against Lady Murray if she do not deliver up the Great Harry.

release the Queen instructed the Bishop of Ross to plead with Queen Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup>

When Mary fled from her capital to begin the disastrous campaign which closed at Carberry, most of her jewels were in the Castle; and they remained there, along with great part of her apparel and tapestry, after the fortress was surrendered to the Regent Murray. He gave it in keeping to Kyrkcaldy of Grange, and when that mirror of Scottish knighthood, yielding to his own chivalrous impulses, and to the persuasive eloquence of Lethington, passed over to the Queen's side after Murray's death, the Castle and all that it contained passed with him. During the three years that it was held for the Queen, her diamonds were the garrison's chief source of credit. In the summer of 1570, when Grange was straining every nerve to strengthen its defences,<sup>2</sup> he seems to have sent some of the Queen's jewels, dresses, and hangings to be sold in London. But the watchful ministers of the English Queen not only stopped the sale, on the pretext that, as they affirmed, it was without Mary's consent, but ordered the articles to be detained.<sup>3</sup> The English market being thus closed against him, Grange turned elsewhere. It is related that, in the following spring, his brother appeared in Leith Roads in a little bark laden with munitions and stores,

The Queen's jewels  
etc. in the Castle,  
1568-1573.

Jewels and furs  
in the keeping  
of Mary Living-  
ston and her  
husband.

<sup>1</sup> 'We have understand that the Erle of Lenox . . . perswmes to spoilze ws of certane jowelles, yea of the best we have restand in sum particulare handes in keiping, whom he tormentis therfor be inpresonement, bosting, and other unfeull regors. He hes inpresoned Johne Sempill becaus he refused to delyver to him these that he keipis, and we knaw not be what tytills or raison he hes to crave the same. Ye sall mak the Quene oure good sister understand cleirly thir extortions conforme to the particulare adwises ye have receavit, etc., etc.'—(Letter from the Queen to the Bishop of Ross, 24. November 1570, in Prince Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iii. pp. 124, 125.)

Among other acts of oppression urged against the Regent Lennox, it was said that 'he hes chairgit Johnne Simple to deliuer certane jowellis and fures of martrik, and sabels, pertening to the Quenis

Maiestie of Scotland, quhilke the said Johnes wyfe hes hed in keiping; and becaus Johnne Simple wald not deliuer the same to the Erle, he hes caussit put him in prisoun within the castell of Blaknes.'—(R. Bannatyne's *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland*, p. 348. Bannatyne Club: 1836.)

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents* (May and August 1570), pp. 174, 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland* (5. August 1570), vol. ii. p. 890.

On the 10th of December 1570, Mary writes from Sheffield to Lethington and Grange: 'I cannot beleve, having na certenty . . . that ye have appointed with my meubelles at the Quene of England's procurement. I traist, if so be, it is rather for my advantage nor otherwise, and will mak no new alteration without my advise.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iii. p. 134.)

bought in France with the price of a parcel of the Queen's diamonds.<sup>1</sup> About a twelvemonth afterwards another parcel seems to have been sold to a secret agent of Queen Elizabeth for two thousand five hundred pounds.<sup>2</sup> Other parcels were at different times given in pledge to Edinburgh merchants, goldsmiths, and others, for moneys advanced by them to supply the needs of the garrison.

Jewels sold in France; sold to Queen Elizabeth; pawned in Scotland.

Surrender of the Castle; jewels hidden in the rock, etc.; jewels delivered to the English general.

When at length the English cannon without, and want and mutiny within, forbade all hope of further resistance, and terms of capitulation began to be debated, one of the articles was, that Grange should account for all the Queen's jewels and other moveables.<sup>3</sup> But the implacable Morton, who had now succeeded to the Regency, would agree to nothing but unconditional surrender;<sup>4</sup> and rather than suffer what remained of the jewels to fall into his hands, the garrison seem to have hidden part of them in a crevice of the Castle rock, and to have delivered others to Sir William Drury, the commander of the English troops.<sup>5</sup> It was whispered that Grange carried some away concealed on his person, but to

Jewels sold to buy munitions for the Castle.

<sup>1</sup> 'Upon Tuisday, the 8th of May [1571], hors and foot were sent down to Leith, to bring up the provisioun, which Mr. James Kirkaldie brought out of France in a little barke . . . He tooke with him to France some of the Queen's jewells, sold them, and brought home three or foure last of powder, some croslets and rotchets of small ordinance, four or five tunne of wine, some bisket, bread, and suche other furniture.'—(Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 74.)

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland (29. March 1573), vol. ii. p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> 'Item, the Capten [Kyrkcaldy of Grange] desyris to mak compt and restitutionoun of all the prencelie jowels and uther movable guds delyverit unto him at the acceptation of the hous, ather to the Queynis lieutenents, or to sik uther person or persons, as the nobilitie now assemblit sall decerne; and that he may have a sufficient discharge thareupoun be act of Parliament.'—(Historie of King James the Sext, pp. 121, 141. Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 314, 333.) Sir William Drury's summons to surrender the Castle, on the 25th of April 1573, made special mention of the jewels and household stuff among its stores.—(Journal of the Siege, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 73.)

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> 'In Grange's chambre sondry papers was founde, and lately the Crowne, Sword, and Sceptre, and hydden in a woodden chest in a cave, where the inventory was of the jewelles, which are many and riche, but the most parte in gage; some with the Lard of Fernihurst [Grange's son-in-law], some with my Lady Hume, some with my Lady Lydington, and many with sondry other persons, who be all knowen. Whereof the Regent hath recovered some already, and shall do more. Grange had sondry delyvered him by one Mosman, before his coming out of the Castle, which he put in his hose, as Mosman sayth, and declareth the parcelles which the Regent's Grace hath sent to the Generall, as also the note of such as be in the hands of the Ladye Hume and of Lydington, because they be in the Generalle's garde.—(Letter from Sir H. Killigrew to Lord Burghley, 13. June 1573, in Mr. T. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 482.)

A 'Memor of the Kingis Jowellis now being in the Marschell of Barwickes handes,' drawn up soon after the surrender of the Castle, is printed in the Appendix to the Preface, No. v., from the original in the State Paper Office (Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xxv. no. 68).

Inventory of jewels in the hands of the English General, 1573.

this slander he gave an indignant denial, protesting, as he should answer to God, that he took nothing out of the Castle but the clothes upon his back and four crowns in his purse.<sup>1</sup>

The jewels hidden in the Castle were discovered without much difficulty, and among them were 'the Honours,' as the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State were fondly called among a people to whom they were dear, as the visible signs of a hardly-won national independence. It was not so easy to recover the spoil which had passed into the hands of the English commander. But Morton addressed himself to the English court,<sup>2</sup> and, although he had to contend against the claims of the Queen of Scots,<sup>3</sup> his influence and opportunity seem at length to have been so successful, that we hear of the

Discovery of the Regalia and other jewels hidden in the Castle.

Jewels recovered from the English general.

Grange's declaration as to the jewels in the Castle.

<sup>1</sup> Declaration of Sir William Kyrkcaldy of Grange, 13. June 1573, printed in the Appendix to the Preface, No. VI., from a copy (authenticated by Sir William Drury, and endorsed by Lord Burghley) in the State Paper Office (Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xxv. no. 69).

<sup>2</sup> An inventory of the jewels which had come into the possession of the English commander, appears to have been sent to the English ministers not long after the surrender of the Castle on the 29th of May 1573. On the 5th of August, Morton wrote to the Countess of Lennox, and to Killigrew, the English envoy in Scotland, 'to crave of the Marshal of Berwick [Sir William Drury] the jewels that are in his hands, which he is obliged in honour, and by indenture and promise made at the incoming of the Queen's Majesty's forces [of England], to deliver to the King's use.' On the 19th of August, he again wrote to the Countess of Lennox, with instructions and information as to the jewels in the possession of Sir William Drury and others.—(Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 478. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. pp. 378, 380.)

The Queen claims the jewels which had been in the Castle.

<sup>3</sup> We first hear of Mary's claim in a letter to La Mothe Fénelon, the French ambassador at London, written from Chatsworth, on the 3d of August 1573: 'Je vous prie de faire tous vos efforts envers la Reyne d'Angleterre afin qu'elle me fasse rendre mes pierres et autres hardes que j'avois dans le Chateau de Lislebourg.' On the 27th of September she again writes to him: 'Je vous prie solliciter l'inventaire de mes bagues, que ma dicte bonne soeur vous a dict qu'elle mandera à Morthon qu'il envoie, et qu'elles

me soyent rendues, comme elle scait qu'elles sont à moy.' She returns to the subject, on the 30th of November, in a letter written from Sheffield: 'Je vous prie . . . surtout poursuivre l'inventaire de mes bagues et qu'elles me soyent rendues, suivant ce que ma dicte bonne soeur vous a cy devant dit estre son intention et maintenant n'avoir oublié d'en faire escrire à Morthon. Je les ay cy devant demandées assez instamment et ay à cette heure matière de presser plus que jamais sur la responce qui vous a esté faite, par où il semble qu'il charge ceux, qui devant luy ont tenu le Chateau de Lislebourg, de les avoir toutes quasi escartées es mains de marchands et orfeuvres, ce qui n'est excuse pour luy servir d'acquit suffisant, ains pour le charger davantage et faire craindre qu'il les veut dérober. Car il a faict mourir ceux qui les avoient entre leurs mains et m'en devoient respondre, ou pour le moins qui pouvoient tesmoigner de ce qu'il y avoit; en quoy se manifeste trop évidemment sa finesse et sa ruse. Mais puisque la dicte dame ma bonne soeur a tel pouvoir sur luy, je croy qu'elle ne voudra luy suffir faire ce larcin. Le Comte de Moray ne prétendit jamais qu'elles fussent gardées pour aultre que pour moy, ainsi qu'il a tousjours plaine-ment déclaré devant sa mort, encore que Morthon luy a souvent voulu persuader, comme j'ay esté advertie, de les dissiper, afin d'en avoir sa part; ayant assez faict paroistre par aultres démonstrations qu'il n'i a imposture ou aultre meschancetté qu'il ne commette ou soit participant, où il y a espérance de butin et rapine.'—(Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. iv. pp. 77, 83, 90, 91.)

detention only of some diamonds on which moneys had been advanced,<sup>1</sup> and of one jewel which had found its way into Queen Elizabeth's possession.<sup>2</sup>

Jewels recovered  
from pawn, etc.

Parliament had given the new Regent powers for the recovery of the Queen's diamonds and other moveables which had fallen into private hands,<sup>3</sup> and he hastened to proceed against all who had jewels or household stuff in their keeping, whether by gift, by purchase, in pledge for moneys lent, or otherwise. He recovered six jewels which had been pawned with the Provost of Edinburgh for twenty-six hundred merks,<sup>4</sup> and a pearl necklace and fifteen diamonds which had been pawned with Lady Home for six hundred pounds.<sup>5</sup> In neither case was payment made of the sums for which the gems had been pledged. Lord Torphichen, the secularised Prior of the Knights of St. John in Scotland, was called to account for books, tapestry, and furniture.<sup>6</sup> While the body of her husband, the marvellously gifted Lethington, lay yet unburied,<sup>7</sup> sentence was given against Mary Fleming for restitution of a chain of diamonds and rubies.<sup>8</sup> The gallant Grange, after reckoning for every jot and tittle

Jewels pawned  
with the Eng-  
lish General.

<sup>1</sup> On the 3d of August 1574, Killigrew writes to Lord Burghley that the Regent means to claim certain jewels pawned to Sir William Drury for £600.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 386.)

Jewel in the  
hands of Queen  
Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> On the 19th of August 1573, Alexander Hay, one of Morton's dependants, writes to Killigrew that the Regent has recovered some of the jewels, but not that piece which was in the hands of the Queen of England, and until she delivers it up she will find little favour.—(Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 380.)

Act of Parlia-  
ment of 1573  
concerning the  
Queen's jewels.

<sup>3</sup> 'Forsamekle as the jowellis houshald stuff mvnitionis and movable guidis quhatsumeir, sumtyme pertening to the Quene our Souerane Lordis moder, and now pertening to his Majestie sen his Hienes coronatione, ar dispersit and fallin in the handes of diuers the subiectis of this realme and vtheris quhilkis hes the samyn, and dalie sellis and disponis, or hes sauld and disponit thairupoun . . . That thairfore . . . my Lord Regentis Grace caus persew the havaris, resettaris, sellaris, and intronettouris with the saidis jowellis, houshald stuff, mvnitionis, and movable guidis now pertening to our Soverane Lord . . . recovering and collecting of the same agane to his Hienes vse and

behalf,' etc., etc.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (26. Jan. 1572-3), vol. iii. p. 74.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Twa garnessingis, the ane sett with xviiij dya-montis and xviiij orient perll or thairby, the vther sett with xviiij dyamondis xviiij rubeis or thairby; togidder with vther foure seuerall peces sett in gold, quhairrof twa wes rubeis, ane dyamont, and ane sapheir.'—(Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1579-1581, pp. 577, 578. ms. Register House.)

Jewels pawned  
with the Pro-  
vost of Edin-  
burgh.

<sup>5</sup> 'Fyftene dyamontis all set in gold inammalit with quhyte, togidder with ane carcat of perll contenannd sevin greit perle and aucht knoppis of small perle, every knop contenannd fyftene small perle.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 195.)

Jewels  
pawned with  
Agnes Gray,  
Lady Home.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 182-192.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. xxii. xxiii. note 3.

Calderwood seems to find pleasure in recording that 'he lay so long unburied, that the vermine came from his corps, creeping out under the doore of the hous where he was lying.'—(History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 285.)

Lethington's  
body denied  
burial.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ane chayn of rubeis with twelf markes of dya-montis and rubeis and ane mark with twa rubeis.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 193, 194.)

Jewels in the  
hands of Mary  
Fleming.

in his charge,<sup>1</sup> had been sent to the gibbet to appease the preachers who clamoured for his blood, that God's plague might cease in the land.<sup>2</sup> And now Sir Robert Melville, with the halter round his neck, had to answer for everything which had passed through his hands, as well as to reveal the secrets of the Castle during its long defence.<sup>3</sup> As hard a task as any yet remained. Murray's widow, now again a wife, still kept possession of the Great Harry. She had baffled Mary, Huntly, and Lennox, and did not yield to Morton without an obstinate struggle, in which the English Queen had to interpose again and again.<sup>4</sup>

The Great Harry recovered from Murray's widow.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to the Preface, No. vi.

Grange's life demanded by the ministers.

<sup>2</sup> 'What offers were made on Grange's behalf for safety of his life, I send you herewith the copy, which, as you may consider, are large as meikle as possibly might have been offered. Yet, considering what has been, and daily is, spoken by the preachers, that God's plague will not cease quhill the land be purged of blood . . . I deliberated to let justice proceed as it has done.'—(Letter from the Regent Morton to Killigrew, 5. Aug. 1573, in Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 477, 478. Cf. Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 241.)

Simple, the preachers' poet, threatened Morton with the fate which befel the son of Kish for sparing the king of the Amalekites, and overtook the Regent Murray for not obeying the behests of Knox :

'Quhairfor put God the powar in your hand ?

Spair neuer Agag for na brybe of geir.  
Quhat come of Saull, with his fatt oxin thair ?  
Ga, reid the Bybill, it will sone declair.

My Lord of Murray wes degradit sone  
For not fulfilling of the Lordis desyre.'

—(The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh, imprentit anno 1573, reprinted in Dalrymple's Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, pp. 297, 298.)

Deposition of Sir R. Melville as to the Queen's jewels.

<sup>3</sup> His examination, on the 19th of October 1573, in so far as it relates to the Queen's jewels and other moveables, is printed in the Appendix to the Preface, No. vii., from the Hopetoun MS. It has been so much injured by damp, as to be illegible in many places.

The discharge granted to him by the Queen at Bolton, on the 15th of October 1568, to which he more than once makes reference in his examination, is printed in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol.

iii. pp. 187, 188, and in Prince Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. ii. p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> On the 3d of February 1573-4, the Regent and Lords of Council gave judgment against the Countess and her second husband, the Earl of Argyle, for refusing to restore or even to produce 'thre greit rubyis and thre greit dyamontis with ane greit jowell in the forme of ane H set with dyamontis.' An appeal was at once taken to Parliament. On the 18th of July 1574, Killigrew writes to Walsingham as to the need of Queen Elizabeth's interference for my Lord of Argyle and his lady. On the 12th of August, we hear of the conditions upon which the Regent of Scotland, at the request of the Queen of England, will agree that the Earl and Countess of Argyle shall retain in their hands certain jewels belonging to the King of Scotland. Seven days afterwards the Earl and the Countess write to Queen Elizabeth, thanking her for her intercession with the Regent. On the same day the Earl writes to Killigrew that he means to agree to the conditions proposed to him and his Countess, in respect of the King's jewels, in regard of which they had been so extremely handled. A conference took place between the Regent and the Earl, but the result was unsatisfactory ; and on the 10th of September the Countess once more writes to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of farther demands made by the Regent respecting the King's jewels, and requesting that her Majesty will again write to him. Nine days afterwards, there is a letter from Robert Fletcher to Killigrew, urging the necessity of the English Queen's intercession. On the 19th of October, Killigrew writes to Walsingham, begging that Queen Elizabeth may write to the Regent in favour of the Countess of Argyle. At length, on the 5th of March 1574-5, the Earl of Argyle appears before the Regent in Council,

The Countess of Murray and the Great Harry.

Jewels, etc., delivered to King James by Morton in 1578.

Fate of the Great Harry.

Jewel House in the Castle.

Three years afterwards, the Regent was deprived of his office. The Inventory<sup>1</sup> of the jewels, dresses, books, furniture, and hangings which he surrendered to the young King, shows, perhaps, less wreck than might have been looked for after ten years of tumult and civil war.<sup>2</sup> The Great Harry, it may be added, survived James's accession to the English throne, when its large diamond was taken to adorn a new and still more splendid jewel, the Mirror of Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> The Jewel House in the Castle was now emptied of all but the Regalia, and some five hundred pieces of plate, weighing about nine thousand ounces.<sup>4</sup> But Holyrood, although stripped of

and in name of the Countess, and of her daughters by the Regent Murray, delivers up 'ane greit H of dyamont, with ane ruby pendand thairat; sex uther jewellis, thairof thre dyamontis, and the uther thre rubyis, intronettit with and kept be the said Dame Agnes and hir said spous sen the deceis of the said umquhile Erll of Murray.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 195-200. Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. pp. 386-389. History of King James the Sixth, p. 150. G. Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State, p. 101.)

<sup>1</sup> The Inventory of the jewels and other property of the Crown given up by Morton, on the 26th of March 1578, is printed in Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, pp. 203-273, from the original in the Register House. The discharges granted to him are printed in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 99, 100; and in the Registrum Honoris de Morton, vol. i. pp. 92-100, 102-106, 110-115.

<sup>2</sup> Not a few of the articles which appear in the Inventories of 1561-6, and have no place in the Inventory of 1578, seem to have been in Mary's possession at Chartley and Fotheringhay in 1586-7.—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. pp. 231-274.)

The Mirror of Great Britain.

<sup>3</sup> 'A greate and ryche jewell of golde, called the Myrror of Great Brytaine, contenyng one verye fayre table dyamonde, one verye fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes cutt lozengewise, the one of them called the Stone of the letter M of Scotlande, garnished with small dyamondes, twoe rounde perles fixed, and one fayre dyamonde cutt in fawcettis bought of Sauncey.'—(Inventory of Jewels in the Tower of London, 22. March 1605, in *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of*

the Exchequer, vol. ii. p. 305.) We find what remained of the Great Harry—the gold setting, the chain, and the ruby—among the jewels for which the King gave a discharge to the Earl of Dunbar, in July 1606: 'the jewell callit the H, with the chane thairof, and als with the rubie of the samyn.'—(Mr. Thomson's Collection of Inventories, p. 329.)

<sup>4</sup> *Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1621-1625*, fol. 30 (10. July 1621). MS. Register House. They were sent to Scotland for the King's use, during his visit in 1617, and after being kept for some time in the Mint, were taken to the Castle. They are thus described: 'Aucht basines and aucht lawers, weyand of Inglish weyght 771 vnceis, and of Scottis weyght 784 vnceis and tua drop weyght; Fourtie candilstickis, weyand of Inglish weyght 1004 vnceis, and of Scottis weyght 1021 vnceis and 12 drop weyght; Twentie beir boullis or coupis, weyand of Inglish weyght 334 vnceis, and of Scottis weyght 340 vnceis; Ten saltis, weyand of Inglish weyght 203 vnceis, and of Scottis weyght 207 vnce; Ten dusane of spoones, weyand of Inglish weyght 200 vnce, and of Scottis weyght 203 vnce 8 drop weyght; Aucht dusane of trunscheour plaittis, weyand of Inglish weyght 966 vnce, and of Scottis weyght 983 vnce 10 drop weyght; Sevintene dusane sevin discheis or plaittis, weyand of Inglish weyght 5528 vnce, and of Scottis weyght 5630 vnce 12 drop weyght; Sax siluer cop feete, with tua ringis of siluer to tua of the covers of the saidis coupis, weyand altogidder of Scottis weyght threescoir elleven vnce and ane quarter of ane vnce: Extending in the haill of Scottis weyght to threttie-fyue stanes threttene pundis lxxiiij vnce fyve drop weyght.'—(*Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1615-1617*, fol. 108 (13. May 1617). MS. Register House.)

Crown plate in Scotland in 1617-1621.

almost everything else,<sup>1</sup> still kept its Wardrobe<sup>2</sup> and its Library.<sup>3</sup> They appear to have outlived the reign of King Charles the First to perish in the fire which consumed all but a corner of the Palace, during its occupancy by the soldiers of the Commonwealth.<sup>4</sup> The tower in which Riccio was murdered withstood the flames; and its chambers are daily crowded by multitudes who, climbing the narrow staircase through which the murderers reached the Queen's Cabinet, yield themselves to the belief that Mary dallied with Darnley and disputed with Knox, under ceilings studded with the cyphers of her son and her grandson. Faith has not everywhere been so unquestioning. It is scarcely remembered now that men once believed that miracles were wrought at the stately sepulchre at Westminster, into which filial piety or worldly wisdom gathered the ashes of the martyr Queen of Scots.<sup>5</sup>

Wardrobe and Library at Holyrood.

Miracles at the Queen's tomb.

Furniture in Holyrood in 1603.

<sup>1</sup> In June 1603, the Chancellor and the Clerk of Register reported to the Privy Council that, on inspecting all the Palace, except the Wardrobe, they 'fand na uthir thingis by the particulers underwritten, except sum buirdes, furmes, and stuillis, nocht worthie to be enrollit: In the first, in the Counsal Hous ane knok: In the Over Chalmer abone the Quenis Cabinet, twa peicis of tapestrie: In the Master of Warkis outwith chalmar, ane fair wrocht pend for a bed, wantand the heid, and bak pend with courtingis for the frontell and the fut; ane chair coverit with purpill velvott; ane coverlet of ane buird of reid velvot upoun quhyt saiting; ane auld covering of ane bed of chainging taffatie: Item, lyand in the transe, be the quhilke thai gang to the wyld bestiall, twa peices of talpestrie.'—(Inventar of the Movables of Halryuidhous, 1603, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 185†, note.)

Wardrobe at Holyrood in 1626.

<sup>2</sup> In April 1626, King Charles I. ordered the Master of the Wardrobe in Scotland to take measures for recovering all 'hingings and tapestrie, plate, or other stufte and plenishing' belonging to the King.—(Secretary Sir William Alexander's Register of Royal Letters, 1626-1631, p. 27. MS. Register House.)

Library at Holyrood in 1628.

<sup>3</sup> In August 1628, King Charles I. ordered the charge of the King's books in the Palace of Holyrood, which were formerly in the custody of Sir Peter Young, the King's Almoner, to be committed to his son, Patrick Young, keeper of the King's library at Southwick, and commanded the Marquis of Hamilton, as Keeper of the Palace, to put him in possession of the room in Holyrood, where the books were kept, and

of such other rooms as had been occupied by Sir Peter Young.—(Secretary Sir William Alexander's Register of Royal Letters, 1626-1631, pp. 319, 320. MS. Register House.)

There are no means of determining whether Queen Mary's books, preserved in the Castle in 1578, were part of the library at Holyrood in 1628. One volume which, although not in either of the known lists of her books, still bears her arms on the cover, is now in the British Museum, to which it passed from the library of King George III.—'The Actis and Constitutionis of the Realme of Scotland maid in Parliamentis haldin be the rycht excellent hie and mychtie princeis Kingis James the First, Secund, Thrid, Fyft, and in tyme of Marie now Quene of Scottis, viseit, correctit, and extractit furth of the Registers be the Lordis depute be hir Maiesteis speciall commissioun thairto. Anno Do. 1566.' The suggestion of this first attempt at an edition of the Scottish statute-book is due to the Queen's ever faithful follower, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.

The Queen's copy of 'The Black Acts.'

<sup>4</sup> John Nicoll's Diary of Public Transactions, p. 35. Bannatyne Club: 1836.

<sup>5</sup> 'Femina coelo dignissima, ut quae omnes Christi martyres captivitatis supplicio longe superavit; neque enim ullus martyr XIX. annorum squalorem ac hostilem custodiam sensit. Audio ossa, ad regum Anglorum sepulturam Westmonasterium translata, miraculis clarrere.'—(T. Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, t. ii. p. 464. Bannatyne Club: 1829.) Mary's remains were brought from Peterborough to Westminster in 1612. Dempster died at Bologna in 1625.



The text.

Glossaries of technical terms.

It remains only to say that nothing has been attempted in the text beyond a faithful representation of originals, in which the hand of a careless or ignorant scribe has but too often darkened the obscurity of the technical or forgotten terms in which they abound. In the interpretation of these terms, a comparison of the two versions, French and English, in which they occasionally offer themselves, may be of some service. But more and better help will be found in such works as the admirable glossary which the Comte de Laborde has published as a companion to his *Notice des Emaux et Bijoux du Musée du Louvre*; the brief but useful vocabulary which M. L. Douët-d'Arcq has added to the *Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*, printed by the French Historical Society; the *Recherches sur le Commerce, la Fabrication et l'Usage des Etoffes de Soie, d'Or et d'Argent*, of M. Francisque-Michel; the *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français*, of M. Viollet-le-Duc; the *Dictionnaire d'Orfèvrerie Chrétienne*, of the Abbé Texier; Mr. Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*; and the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Albert Way. It will be understood that, wherever in the text words or letters are placed within brackets, they have been supplied by the editor to restore an imperfection, or to correct a mistake, where that seemed advisable.

JOSEPH ROBERTSON.

REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH,

*22d June 1863.*

## APPENDIX.

No. I.

Inventory of the Vestments of the Chapel Royal of Stirling,  
delivered by the Sacristan to the Keeper of the Queen's Ward-  
robe, 11 January 1561-2. (Page xxvii. note 3.)

The Inventor of the Quenis Grace Chapell Royale geir and ornamentis  
now heir in the Paleiss of Halyruidhous deliverit be Schir James Paterson  
sacristane at the Quenis command to Serues de Conde Frencheman and  
varloit of Oure Souverein Ladeis chalmer be Maister Archibald Craufurd  
her [Gracis] Maister Almoner to be keipit in the Wardrop of Edinburgh .

Imprimis tua blew damaiss capis stripit with gold .

Item tua reid welvouss [capis] champit with gold .

Item ane fyne caipe of claith of gold on blew welvouss feild .

Item thrie black welvouss caipis for the mort ane of them st[ern]it with gold .

Item tua tunikillis with ane chesabill of blak welvouss for the mort stand with thrie albis  
amittis stolis and fannonis and purse .

Item tua auld alter towallis .

Item ane frontole and ane pendikill of blak welvouss st[ern]it with gold .

Item four tunikillis twa chesabillis of fyne clayth of gold with thrie albis stolis fannonis  
amittis and purse .

Item ane Mess Buik of parchment with ane nottit Antiphonale of parchment .

Item ane coffer with lok and key within the quhilk thair is part of this forsaid garniture .

Item ane pendakill of silk ane frontoll of clayth of gold and purpour velvat .

All this geyr receivit be me Seruais varlot of chalmer to our Souerane at hyr command  
the eleuint daye of Janver anno 1561 befor me David Lamerol .

S DE CONDEZ vallet de chambre de la Royne .

A Lillebour 11<sup>me</sup> de Janvier 1561 .

[A list in English of the Vestments of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, received from the Sacristan by Servais de Conde in 1562, is given in the text, p. 59. The French list, from which it seems to have been translated, is preserved at Preshome among the papers saved from the wreck of the Scots College at Paris ; and is here reprinted from the Illustrations of the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James vi., pp. 11, 12.]

**M**emoyre des Ornement d'Eglise que je resceu du Secretain de la Chapelle  
de Strellin . 1562 .

**P**remierement deux vielle chappe de damas bleu semee de fleur de lis d'or avec les orfres  
fect d'istoyre .

Plus ung parrement d'autel avec le soubassement le tout de toylle d'or frisee de bleu et  
meparty de toylle d'or figurree de rouge frange de soye de mesmes coulleur .

Plus deux vielle chappe de velours rouge figurree de fleurs d'or garny d'orfre d'or de  
masse a savoir faux or .

Plus deux tuniques et une chasuble et une chappe le tout de toylle d'or figurree de velours  
bleu garny d'orfres fect d'or nues .

Plus deux tuniques troy chappe et une chasubles avec ung parrement d'ostel et le soubasse-  
ment le tout de velours noyr semez d'estoilles d'or Et les orfres des dicts ornement sont de  
velours rouges enriche des armes d'Ecosse et histoyrre .

Plus une chasuble et deux tuniques de toylle d'or broche de noyr garnye d'orfres d'or fin .

Plus quatre estolles et six fanons avec sincq sainturre fect de filz blanc .

Plus six aubes et quatre amycts avec deux vielle nappe d'autel .

Usee .

## No. II.

Inventory of the Queen's Books in the Castle of Edinburgh  
delivered by the Earl of Morton to King James VI., 26 March  
1578. (Page cii. note 3.)

In the first the saxt and last volume of the Auld Cronicles of England in Frenche . The  
second volume . The fyft volume . The fourt volume .

Lucan Sueton and Salust in Frenche .

The first volume of the Catologue of Sanctis in Frenche .

Giron Curtas .

The thrid volume of Titus Livius .

The Werkis of Allane Charter .

Ane Oratioun to the King of Franche of the Quenis awin hand write .

The ellevint buik of Sanct Augustine . The first buke of Sanct Augustine .

The first buik of Rolland Amoreuse .

The Gouvernament of Princes writtin in parchement .

The first buik of Amades de Gaule .

Ane parte of Plutarche in Frenche .

Valerius Maximus in Frenche .

The Legend Aurie .

La Mere des Historeis .

The first volume of Vita Christi .

Foure volumes of La Mere des Historeis couerit with quhite parchement .

Cronicle Martinan .

The Play of the Chas .

The Cronicles of Savoy .

The Buik of Hunting .

The Distructioun of Troy .  
The Explanatioun of the Charter of Calice .  
The Lyves of Alexander the Great and vtheris nobles .  
The Decameron of Bocas .  
The Mirrou of Human Redemptioun .  
Boece de Consolation .  
The Gardin of Plesance .  
Tua volumes of Lancilot de Laik .  
Ane greit volume of Cronica Cronicorum .  
Ane Compend of the Cronicles in Spanioll .  
Ane Buk of Devilry .  
Bocas of the Geneologie of the Goddis .  
Cronicle of the Emperiouris and Kingis of Austrice .  
Discours of the Misereis of the Tyme Present .  
The Gardin of Plesance .  
Esaias in Greeik and Hebrew be M[u]nstar .  
Geneologie of the Kingis of France .  
Columell of Historeis [f. l. Treis] .  
The Prothogall of the Chancellarie of France .  
The Regreit of the Duke of Guiss deid .  
Supplement of Devotioun .  
Actis of Parliament of King James the Fyft .  
Historie of the Tyme present be Sanct Fontene .  
The Offices of Cicero .  
The Triumphe of Faith .  
The Triumphe of Pallas .  
The Oratioun [and] the Prayeris of the Auld Cardinall of Lorane .  
The Epistles of Ouid in Frenche Meter .  
The first buik of the [Poemes and the] Novallis of Ronsard .  
Danies Vgieri in Italian .  
The King of Frances Maioritie .  
The nynte buk of the Amades de Gaule .

Off Penitence .

Ane Ansuer to the Obiectioun of the Protestantis be Regier Brontanis .

The Actis of Parliament of Quene Marie of England .

The Morall Triumphis of Petrark in Italiane .

Christiane Institutioun in Franche .

Ane Bischoppis Epistle to the Ministeris .

Frenche Sonattis in writt .

Vulgar Lettres of Diuers Noblemen in Italian .

Salust in Italian .

The Manuell of the Ingrate Man .

Errores Amoreuses .

Elesi vpoun the deid of Joachim de Belly .

The Armes of the Marques dAlbuif .

Dictionar in Frenche and Latine .

Ane vther Dictionar in Frenche and Latine .

Ane Turk buik of Paintrie .

The Sege of Troy in Italiane ryme .

Vigetius de Re Militari .

The begynning of the Scottis Cronicle in Frenche bie Diennye Savage .

The levint buik of the Amades de Gaule .

The Institutionis of Astronomie .

The first buik of Enguerant .

Thre buikis of Musik .

The Margreit of the Quene of Nauarre .

Ane Epistle to the Quene writtin in Frenche be Diodet Sairell .

Lyves of Certane of the Illustres be Emelius Probus .

The Matamorphosis of Ovid in Italion .

The Institutioun of Lentren .

The Oliue Augmentit .

Marcus Aurelius in Italian .

The Complant of the Vniuersitie of Pareis contra the Jesuittes .

Orlando Furioso .

t

Off the Beginning and Progres of the Realme of France .  
Harang of the Frenche People aganis Rebellioun .  
The Expositioun vpoun the Epistles of Aug[u]s[tine] .  
Supplement of Devotioun .  
The Cardinall of Loyranis Oratioun at the Assembly of Poesy .  
Portuus of Rome .  
Ane Ansuer [of] Ronsard .  
The Misereis of the Tyme Present be Ronsard .  
[R]jecuell de Poesie .  
The Spheir of the Warld .  
The Singular Combat of Daud and Golias .  
Ane Treatie of the Premiecie of the Peape .  
The Historie of Jasone .  
Pantagruell in Frenche .  
Concionero de Romances .  
The Sacrifice Evangelick .  
Resolutioun of Certane Christiane Poyntis .  
The Suchingis of Oliuer Magne .  
The Historeis of the Bible in Figures .  
The King of Frances Declaratioun vpon Danvillis Edictis .  
The first buke of Claud Butat in Frenche .  
The Sectis of Hereseis in this tyme .  
The Treateis of Starnislawes bischop of Warne .  
The Manuell of Morall Vertewis .  
Ane Gaddering of Sindry Historeis in Frenche .  
The Buik of Human Policie .  
Clement Marot .  
The Consolationis of Bembo .  
Abrgement of the Art Poetik in Frenche .  
The Defence of the Illustratioun of the Frenche language .  
A Gaddering of Sumpatheis .  
The Epistle[s] of Ignatius .

The Principallis of Astronomie .  
The Remonstrant of the Emperour F[r]eid[rich] maid to the Paip .  
The Ordinare of the Money in France .  
The Praiss of Foly in Frenche .  
Four Homoleis anent the Images in France .  
The Intertenymment of Helth .  
The Treatie of the Sacrament be Petir Martir .  
The Ansuer to Johnne Calvynnis Epistle .  
Off the Fals Propheittis .  
Hippocrites in Frenche .  
A Little Buik of the Chas .  
Gadderingis of Rhymes and Peces .  
Remonstrans be the Estaittis in Burgvnye .  
Sangis of the Bible in Frenche be Lancelote de la Carle .  
Ane Exhortatioun to the Kingis Counsall aganis the Trublis .  
Ane Oratioun Buik in write .  
The Maner to tak away the Contrauersie of Religioun be Renatus Benedictus .  
Remonstrance of the Catholik Nobilitie [to] the King .  
The Kingis Apologie aganis the Staittis of Burgunye .  
The Writ of Nicolas Clamanses .  
Bertram vpoun the Sacrament .  
Epithalamium Regis et Regine .  
Ane Grit Dyett Buik of the Duk .  
Tuentie fyve countis and quarternis of the Quene and Quene Regent .  
Certane pacquettis of Frenche lettres and comptis .  
A canues polk with parchment evidentis concerning the auld Erll of Murray Erll of Craufurd  
and vtheris .  
The Livis of the Paipis be Platine .



## No. III.

Order of the Confederated Lords for coining seventy-four marks of the Queen's plate in the hands of Servais de Conde, 10th July 1567. (Page cxxvii. note 2.)

The Lordis understanding that thar is sum silver wark of the Quenis Majesteis in the handis of her Frensche officiaris quhilkis necessarlie mon be cunyeit alsweill for outredding of sum sowmes of money awand to the saidis Frenschmen als for furthsetting of uther hir Hienes service and in speciall in the handis of Servais de Condé vallet of chambre

Ane nef of silver ourgilt .

Twa coupis wyth thair coveris ourgilt .

Ane assay ourgilt .

Twa flaskettis ourgilt .

Twa gryt coupis ourgilt .

Ane chalice and patine ourgilt .

Ane bell ourgilt .

Twa peces ourgilt .

Ane croce ourgilt in the bordis .

Twa chopinettis ourgilt in the bordis .

Twa greit bassins ourgilt in the bordis .

Sex goblettis and ane covering and twa feit of coppis .

extending to three score fourteine markis . Thairfor ordanis commandis and chargeis the said Servais to deliver the pecis of silver work above specifeit being his handis to Jhone Achesoun hir Majesteis Maister Cunyeour to be cunyeit be him to the effect above mentionat . Subscrivit at Edinburgh the tent day of July the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hvndreth thrie scoir sevin yeiris .

ATHOLL .  
SIR JAS BALFUR .

MORTUN .

CRAIGMILLER .  
JO THESAURARIUS .

## No. IV.

Discharge by the Regent Murray to the Queen's Almoner, of certain pieces of her plate, 13 November 1567. (Pages cxxvii. cxxviii. note 3.)

We James Erl of Murray Lord Abernethy and Regent of Scotland grantis me to haif res-sauit be the handis of Maister Robert Richartson treasurer fra the handis of Maister Archibald Craufurd parson of Eglesham this sylver wark under [writtin] quhilk he had in keiping of the Quenis Majestie .

Imprimis ane sylver chaless with the pate[n] gylt .

Item twa sylver chandelaris gylt .

Item ane watter fat with ane watter stik gylt .

Item ane sylver bell gylt .

Item ane purse with ane boist gylt .

Item ane cowip with ane cower and ane sacyer gylt .

Item ane crowat with ane lyd gylt .

Item ane flakkon with ane charger gylt .

Item twa hall crowattis .

And dischargis the said Maister Archibald hereof be this our acquittance subscrivit with our hand at Edinburgh the thirteenth day of November in the yeir of God 1567 yeris .

JAMES REGENT .

## No. V.

Inventory of the Queen's Jewels in the hands of Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, General of the English forces at the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1573. (Page cxxxiv. note 5.)

Memor of the Kingis Jowellis now being in the Marschell of Barwickes handes .

Certane buttonis of gold with rubyes contenand in wecht twa pund sex unces .

Off garnissingis contenand of wecht twa pund five unces .

Ane garnissing contening ellevin diamantis quhairof thair is a great dyamant tailzeit and certane perles .

Nyne great rubyes and fourty greit perlis .

Thir peces being liand in wed to divers wer brocht to Leith to Grange he then being in the Marschellis handes and be him deliverit to the Marschell .

Mair ane garnissing of dyamantis esmailed with blak contenand sextene dyamantis and sextene roses of gold betwene .

Ane les garnissing contenand xvij dyamantis and xix roses of gold betuene .

Ane carcan contenand xij diamantis and xij roses of gold .

Thir peces wer deliverit to the Marschell of Berwick be Mr Archibald Dowglas .

Ten diamantis or quhit sapphires sett in gold with xj knoppis of gold betuene .

Ane belt of roses of diamantis and perlis ilkane contenand ten or xx cordelires of gold betwene .

Thre great rubyes of a jour and a perll of ilkane of thame .

A hingar of a belt of perll contenand xj knottis with thre perlis in ilkane of thame and xj cordeleris with xiiij perll in ilkane of thame with ane hupe at the end thair of .

Ane hingand sapheir sett in gold and a great perll at the end of it .

Ane uther sapheir a jour .

Thre diamantis with thre rubyes .

Auchtene knottes of perlis sett in gold with twa perlis in ilkane of thame .

Ane chayn of perles with twa rankes of perlis with xxiiij merkes of litle dyamantis and small rubyes in gold ten perlis betwene everilk merk .

Ane garnissing contenand ix roses of rubyes and ten knoppes of perlis with a perll hingand at ilk ruby .

Ane pair of bracetlettis of gold of musk contenand everilk bracelett foure peces and in everilk pece viij dyamantis and vij rubyes and xj perlis in thame baith .

Twa quaiffis ane collair and ane pair of sleves of perll .

Fyve great saphires sett in gold .

Ane carcan of saphers and perlis .

Thir peces being in the handes of umquhile James Mosman laid in wod to him be Grange for certane sowmes of money wer agane deliverit be the said Mosman to Grange the day of the randering of the Castell and being thairefter placit be Grange in a coffer within his chalmer quhair he lay in the Castell the same coffer and peces of jowellis become in the Marschell of Barwickes handes .

## No. VI.

Declaration by Sir William Kyrkcaldy of Grange, knight, as to the Queen's Jewels in his keeping in the Castle of Edinburgh, 13 June 1573. (Page cxxxv. note 1.)

The copy of Grange his Declaracione for certen Jewells of the Scottes Quene. 13 Junij 1573.

As for the Juelles whiche I layed in wed to my Lady Hume I redemed them againe after the commynge home of my Lordis Seyton and Flemynge, as my discharge therupon will declare.

The Juelles layed in wed to the Secretorie I cannot tell what he hathe done with them.

The Juelles layd in wed to James Mosman which he alledges he delyvered to me againe the day I rendred the Castell in the Generall Sir William Drurys handes, it is of truthe the said James gave me certen geere in an evell favored clowte. What was in yt God is my witnes I sawe not ; but whatsoever it was he gave me, I came therwith to the chamber where then I dyd lye, in the which at that tyme there was bothe Englishmen and Scottishmen, and caste it in an open cofer, and commaunded on of my owne that was stondinge bye to locke the said cofer. But what is become of it sinseen I knowe not, for my coffers were all lefte in my chamber, I thinkinge the same to be sure, because it was geven me to undrestonde that the Generall had gotten graunte of all that was within it to my behoofe, otherwise I might have provided for sundrye things that I have loste. And that was because I feared the Generall sholde have inquired me on my honour yf I had either juelles on me or golde ; which truly yf he had I wolde have declared the truthe unto him. And therefore for that respect I brought owt nothing with me, but the clothe[s] was one me, and fower crownes in my purse, as I will answer to my God. For had I beleved he had not gotten all that was in my chamber, nor

yet inquired me on my honour, I sholde have saved a great deale more nor I have done, bothe of juelles and of myne owne proper goodes. For not only hathe my wiffe and my daughters children loste their own clothinge with some small juelles to the value of a thowsand crownes but aswell an good parte of myne owne stuffe and clothinge, for my coffers were opened and searched thrise or thay came owt at the gates, which I coulde have remedyd yf I had not thought my selfe assured that all that was in my said chamber had not bene promised unto the Generall by the Regent. This above wrytten I do by this my hand writt affirm to be true.

Moreover I caused my cossin Pettadro offer to the Regent all that was lefte of the juelles unlayde to wed, with the Crowne, Septure and Swerde, with an accompte of all the juelles I had layde in wed, so that he wolde geve me the sylver that they laye in wed for, provydinge that he sholde not inquire of me to whome they were layde in wed ; and required nothinge therfore but the Lard of Pharnyhurst evydentes and myne owne howss and yardes to my wiffe to remayne in.

Item, where it is spoken that there is found in the Invyntorie of the Juelles which I had in kepinge that I have sent certen of the said juelles to my Lady Thame, yt is of truthe that I entended to have geven hir Ladyship some juelles which I did marke on the margent of the said Inventorie. But bicause she dyd refuse them, yt is blotted awaye in the margent, which here in Godis presence is of truthe. Further it will appere by some wrytes that had paste betuixt Mr Archibald Duglas and me, that I dyd crave hir Ladyship comminge to the Castell when she was at Lesterick on purpose to have made hir Ladyship some present which also was refused to me. As also I do testyfie on my honour that I coulde never, by no meanes that I coulde make, gett either the Marshall or his Lady perswaded to receave eny thinge at my handes or at thandes of eny of the Castell, as God is my witnes, but founde him ever deale so uprightlye in the Quene his soveraigne causes, as nowe thend hathe provin, that I and some with me hathe rather cause to complaine nor to thinke we have bene well handled by him ; for truly his perswasions dyd myckell at our handes but toke not so good effect as we looked for, as sondrye of our wrytinges sent to him will testyfie.

Farther bycause it is bruted that I have refte and taken sondry mens goodes and done them great wronges, yt is of truthe, being compelled therto by my enemyes, I have contynued more nor this two yeres in a common cause with some noblemen where there hathe bene some blodshedd and other enormyties donne. Nottheles I will make this offer nowe when my

u

back is at the wall : Yf eny man can justly accuse me that I have taken eny mans goodes but that which I have paid for, or elles is obliste to paye, I shalbe contente to suffer deathe for the same.

At Leithe, the xiiijth of June 1573.

W KYRKALDY.

I doo afferme this to be a trw copy.

WILL<sup>M</sup> DRURY.

I do witnes that the same William Kirkaldye lard of Grange, late Capten of Edinburgh Castell, dyd not only delyver this his wrytinge in all the effect afforesaid but desiered me to rede the same unto the said Sir William Drury knight, Generall of hir Maiesties forces there, and therupon dyd affirm the same by worde to [be] his dede with further addicion concerninge the same, and therof desiered me to be a witnes. Eodem xiiij Junii, 1573.

per me GEORGE BEVERLEY.

This is the true copye of the Declaracione before.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

## No. VII.

Examination of Sir Robert Melville in so far as it relates to the Queen's jewels and other moveables, 19 October 1573. (Page cxxxvii. note 3.)

At Halyrudhous the nyntene day of October [the yeir of] God j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> thre-  
scoir threttene yeris In presens [of the] Commendatar of Dunfermling  
Secretair Principall [till our] Souerane Lord Mr James M<sup>c</sup>gill of Rankelour  
Nether [Clerk] of Registre and Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoule knyght  
[Justice] Clerk

Robert Mailuile sumtyme of Murdocairny examinat and inquit . . . . .

Item declaris that he ressaut ane tikket from the Quene to Servay willing him to deliuer to this deponar the thre gownis and vther thingis that wer in the Cabinet And according thairto this deponar ressaut the samyne according to ane Inuentar subscriuit baith be this deponar and Servay ~~The maist part of quhilk grayth was deliuerit to the Quene attornys~~ / And efter my Lord of Murrais hamecumming he desirit to see the grayth in this deponaris hous in Edinburgh specialie ane knok and ane pece of gold weyand vj<sup>xx</sup> dowcattis / and first contre-mandit this deponar to deliuer thame Bot thairefter within thre or four dayes be new licence and commandment this deponar send thame to the Quene othir be George Douglas bruther to the Laird of Lochleven or Johne Drysdale and the deponar vnderstandis sensyne that George Douglas gat the knok and the Lady Lochlevin the pece of gold / Item declaris that efter the Quenis cuming furth of Lochlevin quhen sche wes in Hammyltoun she send for this deponar and he deliuerit vnto hir a ring and four or five targattis quhilk ring he hard sensyne that Johnne Betoun conveyit agane fra the Quene to the Quene of England / The targattis he vnderstandis wer not send out of Scotland / bot deliuerit be the Quene to sum in Scotland to be keipit / Thairefter the Quene being in England declaris that be the Regentis licence



this deponar send the thre gownis with his awin bruther Andro to the Quene then being in Carlile / And all other thing that he ressaut his bruther likuis deliuerit to the Quene at Bowtoun according to the Inuentar subscriuit be this deponar and Servay quhilk also he gaif the Quene and ressaut her discharge of the haill / Item declaris that at the Quenis command being in Lochlevin to ressaue also fra James Moss[man] ane chayn of the Quenis quhairin wes sum litle dyamantis and wes in Mosmannis handes to haif maid ane garnissing of / quhilk chayn also this deponaris bruther Andro Mailuile deliuerit to the Quene with the remanent graith that wes in the Cabinett . Item declaris that he ressaut the Quenis horrs to the nowmer of xxxiiij / quhilkis wer all gevin at hir commandment / Twa the Regent<sup>g</sup>att and twa or thre this deponar kepit quhill efter the Quenis cuming out of Lochlevin and deliuerit to hir at Hammyltoun / Ane wes slane on a stob in the park All [the] remanent wer disponit be the Quenis awne commandment and warrand Item as for the graithe of the stabill declaris that Servie had the keys of the same And as he schew to this deponar send the same to the Quene partlie to Hammyltoun quhen she wes thair and the rest to hir being in England . And denyis to haif had further intromission with ony of the same saulffing in ane coffer left quhilk this deponar causit cary to the Castell and belevis the same [to] be thair standand as yet / thair wes ane auld skirt of taffeteis and twa or thre auld harnessingis litle or na gude worth

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Inquirit quha keipit best pairt to thame quhen thai wer in the Castell / quha . . . . .  
 assistit and furnissit thame quhen thay wer in maist strait / Declairis that the cheif furnessing  
 thai gat wes out of the handes of thame that . . . . . jewellis in plege / and that  
 thair credite vthirways nor be that meane . . . . . nor na body wald  
 mak thame furnessing on obligationis

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Inquirit quha wer the principall furnissaris of money to the Castell or of siluer to the cunye-  
 hous thair in the tyme of the abstinence or of befoir / Declairis that the principall furneissaris  
 of money to his knowlege (saulffing it that come out of France Flanderis and England)  
 wes be the personis to quhom the jewellis were laid in wed and vther moyen or credite  
 declaris thay had not And as to the personis havaris of the saidis jewellis / belevis that my  
 Lord Regentis Grace be sic lettres as he hes found knawis thame bettir nor the deponair  
 And as to his awin knowlege he hes alreddy certijft his Grace of the same / Affirmyng that  
 he wes neuir requirit to counsale in the laying out or putting to plege of ony of thame / And

as to the furnessing of siluer to the cunyhous in the Castell / declaris that himself nowthir  
maid furnessing nor ressaute ony commoditie of the cunyhous . . . . .

Inquir[it] . . . . . [jewel]lis put out of the Castell and quhat wer thay . De[claris]  
. . . . . rememberis the kist quhairin the jewellis were contenit s[and] . . . . .  
putt out of the Castell in the tyme of the troublis afor the assege of the toun . . . . .  
[R]obert Kirkcaldy knew of the putting out of it Bot quhair the kist wes placeit or quhen  
it wes brocht thair agane this deponar can not remember nor knawis not quhair it wes  
placeit during the tyme that it wes out of the Castell / nor in particular quhat wes in it

Inquirit quhat jewellis wer they that the Merschaell gat befor the assege of the Castell of  
Edinburgh / ansueris that he gat jowellis fra the Lard at sindrie tymes Bot quhat thay wer the  
deponar knawis not

Inquirit quhilk jowell wes it that the Lard of Grange gaif to the Merschaell in Leyth /  
declaris that he belevis it wes a ring / And as to the jowellis that wer in James Mosmannis  
handes / declaris that the Lard of Grange schew to the deponair efter thair cuming to the  
Abbey quhen thai wer in the chalmer to gidder . . . . . ring quhilk he had ressaute fra  
James Mosman the day of the randerig . . . . . coffer quhilk come in the  
Mercheallis . . . . .

Inquirit quha deliuerit the bracelettis . . . . .  
. . . . .

Inquirit quhat nowmer and quhat kynd of jowellis my Lady Hwme and Alexander . . . . .  
gat and quhairby he knawis the same Declaris that he knawis thay bayth gat . . . . .  
Bot quhat thay wer vnderstandis not nor he saw thame not

Inquirit quhat vther jowellis the Secretar or his wiff gat nor the chayn [Declaris] that he  
vnderstandis of na vther jowellis that thay gatt / And further . . . . . that at thair  
being in Leyth with the Merschaell efter thair cuming out of the Castell the Lard of Grange  
travellit with the Secretaris wyff to haif had the chayn fra hir that wes in hir handes to the  
effect he mycht haif gevin the same to the Merschaell Bot sche altogidder refuset to  
deliuer it /

Inquirit quhat jowellis gat Maister James Kirkcaldy Off quhat jowellis we[r] thay / and quhen  
wer thay deliuerit vnto him And to quhat vse / Declaris that he vnderstandis Maister James  
Kirkcaldy had sum jowellis / Bot quhat thai wer or quhen thai wer deliuerit to him  
knawis nott .

Inquirit quhat jowellis or goldsmyth werk wes it that Helene Achesonis seruand brocht to the Lard of Grange quhen he wes in Leith with the Merschaell / quhat quan[tite] thair of the Merschaell coft quhat thay wer and quhat gaif he for thame [Declaris] that he knawis na thing of this mater saulffing at thair being in Le[ith] Helene Achesone hir self cum to Leyth and speik with the Lard . . . . . vther thing she did thair or quhat the effect of their sp . . . . .

Inquirit quhat jowellis Maister James Balfour gat declaris . . . . . of ony jowellis that the said Maister James hes quhilk he ressaut . . . . . tyme of the lait troublis Bot now duringe the deponaris remai[ni]ng . . . . . Lethingtoun / ane suldert namyt John Hythe ane of his keparis / quha . . . . . wes with the Erll Boithuile quhen he fled away to Orknay shew to this d[e]ponair That the Erll Boithuile said thay had gottin of his within the Castell . . . . . Quene had gevin him better nor xx<sup>m</sup> crownis

Inquirit quhat jowellis the Lard of Grangeis wyff hes / ansueris that [he knawis] not / bot quhateuir the Lard had she had as she pleissit / Denyis alsua that he kna[wis the] jowellis that Margarit Patersoun had .

Inquirit quhat jowellis had Johnne Simpillis wyff / And gif he knawis that ony of thame wer send to the Quene or not / Declaris that he belevis assuritlie that sindry of the Quenis jowellis and vther thingis wer in the handes of Johnne Simpillis wyff and quether thay be deliuerit to the Quene or not he can not affirme / Bot this he rememberis That quhen he gaif againe the Quene sic thingis as he had in his handes quhen she wes in Boltoune / and gat hir discharge at the tyme she declarit hir self that she had not gottin the thingis that wer in Johnne Simpillis wyffis handes and said to the deponar that he his self pruit mair honest [to] hir nor vtheris that she had bene mair beneficiall vnto and that sum folkis wer not thankful that poyndit hir at thair awne handes .

Inquirit gif the Lard of Pharnyhirst[is wyff] gat ony of the juellis and quhat thai wer / Declaris he knawis not Bot gif sche gat ony / belevis that the Lard of Grangeis awne wyff vnderstandis of it best of ony ffor of all vtheris thay twa wer maist greit

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page  
xiii., note 4, *add*: State Papers of the Reign of King Henry VIII., vol. viii. p. 674.
- xvii., note 4, *add*: In the year 1182, Pope Lucius III. sent the golden rose to King William the Lion. —(*Chronica de Mailros*, p. 92. *Bannatyne Club*: 1835. Cf. Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 149.) 'Une rose d'or qui fust done a Edwarde jadiz filz a Roi Henri du donne la Pape' appears in an inventory of the Crown Jewels of England in the year 1356. —(*Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. iii. p. 227.) We have a contemporary description of the golden rose presented by Pope Clement VII. to King Henry VIII. of England in 1524: 'This yere . . . was Doctor Thomas Hanibal . . . received into London . . . as ambassador from Clement bishop of Rome, whiche brought with him a rose of gold, for a token to the Kyng . . . whiche was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaves and flowers, resembling roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had thre fete of antike fashion: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte; in the vpermost rose, was a faire saphier loupe perced, the bignes of an acorne; the tree was of height halfe an English yard, and in bredth it was a foote. Thesaied Ambassador . . . made an oracion, declaring the good mind, loue, and fauor, that the Bishop of Rome bare to the Kyng, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the Kyng thankfully receiued, and deliuered it to him again, and so he bare it open before the Kyng, from the College to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the Master of the Juell house, and so there ended his legacion.' —(*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 684. edit. 1809. Cf. *State Papers of the Reign of King Henry VIII.*, vol. vi. p. 232.) 'En 1856, la Rose d'Or fut envoyée par le pape Pie IX. à l'Impératrice Eugénie; la remise s'en fit solennellement dans la chapelle du palais de Saint-Cloud, le 19 Juin, par le Cardinal Patrizzi.' —(*Didron Aîné, Manuel des Oeuvres de Bronze et d'Orfèvrerie du Moyen Age*, pp. 81-83.)
- xix., note, col. 1, line 19, *for* 'Inventaire *read* Inventaire
- xix., note, col. 2, line 9, *for* Inventaire *read* 'Inventaire
- xxix., xxx., note 3, line 16, *add*: Scottish pearls appear among the crown jewels of England in the years 1324, 1338, 1379, and 1605. —(*Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 308, vol. iii. pp. 137, 139, 141, 183, 185, 286.) 'Scotch pearls,' says Mr. Horace Marryat, 'formed an early article of commerce in Sweden. There is scarcely a family of note in Stockholm which does not possess a necklace gathered from the Highland unio. I have sometimes counted as many as twenty or thirty worn by ladies in the same room — heirlooms inherited by their great-grandmothers. Though of large size, they are inferior in lustre to those of Norrland.' —(*One Year in Sweden*, vol. i. p. 465, note.) In 1621, King Charles I. appointed Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, his Majesty's commissioner for preserving the pearl fisheries in the earldom of Sutherland. The commission sets forth that 'the fischeing and seekeing of pearlis in the watteris of this kingdome (a commoditie whilk being rightlie vsed wald proue honnorable to the cuntrey and beneficiall to his Maiestie) hes bene thir diuers yeiris bigane neglectit or vsed at suche inconuenient and vnseasonable tymes as hes done more harme by the spoill of the broode and qualitie of the pearlis then benefeit by taking thair of; that 'the Kingis Maiestie hes als vndoubtit right to all pearlis breiding in watteris as to the mettallis and pretious stones found in the land within his dominionis; and that, therefore, His Majesty wishes to provide 'that in tyme comeing no pearles be sought or tane in ony watteris of this kingdome bot at suche tymes and seasonis of the yeir quhen thay ar at thair cheif perfection bothe of cullour and quantitie quhilk wilbe in the monethis of July and August yeirle.' —(*Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1621-1625*, fol. 36. 7. Aug. 1621. *ms. Register House*.) The commissioner, writing a year or two after his appointment, says that 'in the laikes and rivers of Southerland, and cheiflie in Shin, ther are excellent good pearle, some whereof have been sent unto the Kingis Maiestie into England, and were accompted of great value.' —(*Sir R. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 6.)
- xxxi., note 1, *add*: We have an account of the Queen's will by her accusers: 'This hir ruitit disdayn [for the King] still continewing, a little before hir deliuerance of hir byrth, in Maij or Junij 1566, in making of hir later will and testament she named and appointed Boithuille amangis vtheris to the tutele of hir birth and yssue and government of the realme incas of hir deceis, and vnnaturally secludit the father from all kind of cure and regiment ower his

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awin childe, avancing Boithuile aboue all vthers tobe lieutenant generall, gif warres suld happin in the Princes les aige. Sche disponit also hir haill movables to vthers beside hir husband. And least reason suld haue owerthrowin this hir later will amangis the nobilitie eftir hir deceis, she caused thame gif thar solempnit aith for observance of the haill contentis thair of without inspectioun of ony thing contenit thairin.—(Articles given in by the Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, at Westminster, on the 6th Dec. 1568. Hopetoun MS.) The text refutes at least one article of this accusation. That the Queen left none of her moveables to the King is disproved by the long list of her bequests to him written by her own hand.

xxxi., note 2, col. 2, lines 14, 15, *for* April 1566 *read* March 1567

xxxvii., note 2, *add*: A letter from the Queen to the Duke of Nemours, written from her prison at Chatsworth in 1570, shows that she still remembered her old favourite at the French court, who the year before had lost her husband, the gallant Viscount of Martigues: 'Je ne finiray que, premier, je ne vous aye remerciay de la faveur et courtoisie qu'avés montrée à une pauvre affligée veuve, qui a cest honneur d'estre vostre asliée, et une que j'ay tousjours aymée aultant qu'amyne peult aymer aultre; non que je ne sasche que le parantage de feu Monsieur de Martigues vous i a induit, mays pour ce que je me resants de son bien, je ne puis moyngns, vous escrivant, que de vous prier de continuer à lui estre favorable et à sa fille, qui est ma filleule.'—(Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. iii. p. 80.)

xxxviii., line 6, *after* marriage, *add*: She was the Queen's goddaughter.

xl., note 2, line 1, *for or* *read of*

xlvi., note 2, *add*: William Fowler, secretary to Queen Anne of Denmark, wife of James vi., inscribed his 'Lamentatioun of the desolat Olympia, furth of the tenth cantt of Ariosto,' 'to the right honourable ladye Marye Betoun, Ladye Boine.'—(*Archaeologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 230.)

lxviii., line 6, *on* tartan, *note*: In the autumn of 1562, during the Queen's progress in the north, there were payments from the Treasury of £24 'for ix plaidis to vj allacais in Inuernes,' and of £18 'to Maister Johne Balfour be the Quenis Grace precept for vj tartane plaidis.'—(*Computum Thesaurarii Reginae Scottorum*, Sept. 1562. MS. Register House.)

lxviii., lix., note 4, *add*: The edition of the book of costumes quoted by M. Francisque-Michel is that of 1567. An edition of 1562 is described by Mr. Pinkerton in his *Scottish Poems Reprinted*, vol. i. pp. xxxix.-xli.; facsimiles of the figures of 'La Sauvage d'Escosse' (clad in

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sheepskins) and 'Le Capitaine Sauvage' (in a fringed mantle), being given in vol. iii. If this writer can be trusted, the long loose robe of the common Highlander, described by Mair and Lesley in the reigns of King James v. and Queen Mary, was not wholly disused in the reign of King George I.: 'Those who came from the remote Highlands to the rebellion of 1715, were all drest in a long loose coat only, which was buttoned above and laced below down to the knees . . . It was of one colour, and home-made, and was . . . the sole covering that the body had.' This was told to Mr. Pinkerton by Mr. Dempster of Dunichen, 'on the information derived from the son of Mr. Ferguson, a clergyman living at the time.'

xcii., note 9, *add*: Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. i. p. 231. Principal Robertson had not seen the evidence which proves that Friar Black shared the fate of Riccio. But the strange feelings which animated one section of the murderers, did not escape his notice: 'In the confederacy between the King and the conspirators, the real intention of which was assassination, the preserving of the Reformed Church is, nevertheless, one of the most considerable articles; and the same men who were preparing to violate one of the first duties of morality, affected the highest regard for religion.'—(*History of Scotland*, book iv.; *Works*, vol. i. p. 292.)

xcvii., note 2, *add*: A roll of religious foundations in Scotland, in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 24, 277. foll. 14, 15), names 'Magister David Vocat,' as the founder of the 'Collegium Ecclesiae Campi in Laudonia' or Kirk of the Field. He was master of the Grammar School of Edinburgh. His foundation of a prebend, in January 1516-7, is printed in the *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, pp. 264, 265.

ciii., note 4, *add*: Servetus obviously borrowed from Erasmus: 'Scoti, nobilitate, et regia affinitatis titulo, neque non dialecticis argutiis sibi blandiuntur.'—(*Moriae Encomium*, p. 102, edit. Basil. 1676.) The first dated edition of this work appeared at Strasburg in 1511, more than twenty years before Servetus' edition of Ptolemy. The Queen had a copy of the French translation of Erasmus' satire.

28, line 3, *for* Ma . . . *read* Ma[ndreis]

30, line 26, *for* [veluot] *read* [viollet]

47, line 21, *for* of the kepair of *read* of the kepair of

62, line 3, *for* Foupertuy *read* Fonpertuy

161, line 6, *for* vnes outanne *read* vne soutanne

161, line 7, *for* pelletier *read* Pelletier

171, line 21, *for* jliures *read* j liures

179, line 6, *for* xv *read* x[x]v

183, line 4, *for* Tragedia *read* Tragedia[c]

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20. *May* 1567.

- XIII. Decharge des meubles que je Seruais de Condez vallet de chambre de la Royné Descosse fect porter au logis du feu Roy au mois de Feburie 1567 lesquelz meubles ont estez perdu sans en rien recouurer Et y auoict vne chanbre salle et garderobe . . . 177-178

25. *Nouembre* 1569.

- XIV. Decharge des Abillemant de Masque et dOrneman dEglise et de quelque Liures avec tous les Painture et quelque Tableau delliure par Seruais de Condez a Maistre Jehan Houd. The Inventareis off the Buikis Ornamentis and Maskyn Cleiss ressaut be Maister Jhone Wod and James Murray frome Serues Franchmane . . . 179-187
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## APPENDIX.

26. *Feurier* 1560-1.

- I. Inventaire et Estimacion des pierres précieuses tant en oeuvre, bro-  
dures, carquans, colliers, chattons que autres joyaulx affectez à la  
Couronne de France, que la Royne Marie a, après le trespas du feu  
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ont esté baillez en garde à la Royne Mere de sa Majesté . . . . . 191-198
  
- II. Autre Inventaire et Estimacion des anneaulx ou bagues trouvez en  
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**INVENTAIRES DES MEUBLES  
DE LA ROYNE DESCOSSE  
DOUAIRIERE DE FRANCE.**



## MEUBLES DE LA ROYNE DESCOSSE.

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[Inuentaie de tous les diamentz rubiz et autres  
pierreries et tapifferyes et daiz receus par la Royne  
Descosse de son coufin le Duc de Chastellerault le iije  
jour de Juing 1556.]

Inuentaie des Bagues .

Bagues a meetre aux doitz .

Vne grande table de dyamant .

Vng gros diemant a jour en fir de lance .

Vng diemant taille en fircueil .

Vng diemant a jour taille en triangle poinctu .

Vng autre dyemant a jour taillant en triangle sans fueill .

Vng plus petit dyemant taille en fir de lance .

Vne petite table de diemant .

Vng diemant taille a face .

Vne autre table de diemant moyene .

Vne autre table de diemant moyene .



Vng diemant taille en triangle a fueille .

Vne poincte de dyemant fans fueille .

Vne autre bien petite poincte .

Et de diemantz xiii .

Vng petit rubis a jour .

Vne poincte de rubis .

Vne table de rubis .

Vng cappochon de rubis a jour .

Vne table de rubis moyene .

Vng cappochon de rubis .

Vng petit rubis plat .

Trois autres petitz rubis .

Vng autre moien rubis .

Et de rubis xi .

Quatre emeraudes .

Trois petitz saffirs .

Nombre total xxxi bagues a meſtre aux doitz .

## Autres Bagues .

Vng ecarquant ou il y a fix rubis vne table de diemant et viii coupletz de perles .

Dix croix de diemant en boutons .

Vng reste en daureure ou il y a vij petitz diamentz et fix perles .

Plus viii coupletz a doubles perles .

Neuf tables de diemant faictes a boutons .

xv boutons rondz a trois perles chacun .

Onze petites rozes de rubis affauoir cinq emailles de blanc et fix de noir .

xvii boutons rauquillarris a trois perlis chacun .

ii xijes degulhettes de perles trois ensemble a chacune ii perles .

xv pieces des gullettes a ij perles chacune esmaillees de noir .

xvj autres pieces desgulhettes emalyees de rouge .

Vng chiffre emaille de noir ou il y a cinq tables de dyemant .

Vne enseigne enlaquelle a vne Sirain et a vne queu Et vng mirour de diemant et vng pigne de rubis .

Vne enseigne ou il y a vng Cupido et vng gros cueur de rubis et vng petit rubie en sa main .

Vne autre enseigne ou il y a vng mirour de diemant .

Vne autre enseigne ou il y a vng rubie et vng oeil de chat .

Vne autre enseigne dagatte taillee au bord delaquelle a quatre rubis .

Vng pognard dor a manche dagatte garny de fix amiraudes de trois gros rubis de trois rubis moiens et de quarant deux petitz rubis de viii petitz diemantz dung gros saphi au brut dune houppe dor et dargent traict ratachee de petitz rubis et quelque brut de perles Ladite houppe garnie dune pointe dargent a vng lazeron dor .

Douze pieces de tapperie de drap dor et drap dargent frize .

Deux detz de mesmes .

Nous Marie par la grace de Dieu Royne Descosse certiffions avoir receu par les mains du Sieur Jaques Hammiltoune gentilhomme de la maison de nostre coufin le Duc de Chastellerault tous les diamentz rubiz et autres pierreries et tapisseryes de drap dor et drap dargent frize avec deux daiz de mesme come le tout est plus aplain en dessus declare Dont nous en deschargeons desmaintenant ledit Sieur Hammiltoune parla presente signee de nostre main que nous auons aussi fait signer par lun de nostrez secretaires le iije jour de Juing 1556 .

*MARIE*

Aubelin .

Inuentaie des bagues de la Royne Descosse Douairiere  
de France .

Premierement .

Vng groz collier dor auquel y a sept groz saffiz et neuf chattons de perle et a chacun chatton quatre perles .

Vne grosse bague a pendre facon de . h . enlaquelle y a vng groz diamant taille a faces et deffoubz vng gros rubiz cabochon .

Vne autre bague a pendre enlaquelle y a vng dyamant taille a faces et vne grande esmeraulde .

Vne autre bague a pendre enlaquelle y a vne grande esmeraulde taille a faces et vne grosse perle au bout .

Vne autre bague auffi a pendre enlaquelle y a vne autre esmeraulde .

Vne autre bague a pendre faicte a rouleaux en laquelle y a vne grande table de rubiz .

Vne autre bague auffi a pendre enlaquelle y a vng grand rubiz taille en table carree .

Vne autre bague a pendre enlaquelle y a vng grand rubbiz ballay longuet .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng autre grand rubiz ballay perce par les deux boutz .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng grand faffiz taille a huit pampes .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne roze de dyamant de xij pieces .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne petite roze de fix diamantz .

Vne grande bordeure en laquelle y a vne grande triangle de dyamantz huit tables que longues que carrees vng dyamant en triangle taille a faces vne autre dyamant taille a faces en facon de pene enrichy de xx perles .

Vne bordeure doreillettes ou il y a vne grosse poincte de dyamans dix tables de dyamans avec xx perles .

Vng carcan ou il y a vne poincte de dyamant taille a faces huit tables de diamant et xvj perles .

Vne cottouere garnye de petitz diamans et de perles .

Vne ceinture garnye de dix croix de diamans et de xl petites perles .

Vng dixain de fraing garny de petites perles .

Vne bordeure de thouret garnye de quatorze tables de diamans et vne triangle de diamant par le meillieu .

Vne bordeure daureillette garnye de xvij moyens diamans .

Vne bordeure de thouret garnye de xvj petitz diamans avec des rozes dor esmaille de noir entre deux .

Vng carcan garny de xiiij diamans de mesmes facon .

Vne chefne faicte en facon de petits anneaux ou il en a quatre vingtz vnze anneaux garniz de chacun deux rubbiz et xij tables datente garnye de chacun

vne table de rubbiz et vne table de diamant et deux cabochons de rubiz en vne piece attachez a ladicte chefne .

Vng thouret garny de sept cabochons de rubiz et quatre tables de rubiz et quarante grosses perles .

Vne aureillette garnye de huiſt cabochons de rubiz et xl perles .

Vng carcan de rubiz garny de vne espinelle et fix cabochons de rubiz et vne table de rubiz avec xxxij perles accompagnez de trois rubiz ballay percez avec vne perle au bout de chacun .

Vne cottouere garnie de petites tables de rubiz et de perles .

Vne ceinture garnye de petitz rubiz et de perles avec xxv pieces dicelle ceinture .

Vng thouret garny de cinq rubiz les deux font tables fix tables de dyamans et xij perles .

Vne aureillette garnye de cinq rubiz et sept diamans avec xiii perles .

Vne carcan garny de quatre rubiz cabouchons trois tables de diamans dont il y en a vng a faces et huiſt grosses perles plattes .

Vne autre ceinture garnye de dix rubiz cabochons x diamans et xviii perles .

Vne dizain de vase de cristall esmaille de rouge .

Deux braceletz garniz de petits diamans et de rubbiz enrichy de vnze petites perles .

Vng thouret garny de xv petitz rubbiz cabochons et xxviiij perles .

Vne aureillette garnye de xvij petitz rubiz et xxxii perles .

Vng carcan garny de xj rubiz cabochons de xx perles et de dix petitz rubiz ballaiz .

Vng thouret garny de petites fleurs de rubbiz et xvj petites perles . La  
bordeure daureillettes de mesmes avec le carcan auffi de mesmes .

Vng carcan garny de xvj tables de rubbiz et xvj petites esmerauldes . La  
ou il y a <sup>xx</sup>iiii petites perles .

Vne petite cottouere de perles esmaillees de verd .

Vne petite aureillette de petitz rubbiz esmerauldes et de perles . ou il y a  
xlix pieces .

Vng carcan garny de sept esmerauldes et vj perles .

Vng collier garny de sept rubbiz cabochons iiii esmerauldes et iiii neufz  
de petits diamans et rubbiz .

Ledit collier donne a Madame de Guise a Calais .

Vng thouret garny de xiii saphiz xii pieces de perles .

Vng carcan garny de ix petites saphiz et vng groz saphiz a jour garny dune  
perle .

Six esmerauldes mises en chatons .

Vng thouret de grosses perles ou il y a xxxiii perles et ix pendantes .

Vne aureillette en laquelle y a lj grosses perles .

Vng autre thouret de grosses perles auquel y en a xlix perles .

Vne aureillette en laquelle y a xlvii grosses perles .

Vng carcan auffi de grosses perles auquel y en a lxxiii perles .

Vne cottouere auffi de grosses perles de cii perles .

Vne cincture de grosses perles ou il y en a ij<sup>e</sup> vj perles .

Vng dizain de perles auquel y a cl perles avec vnze marques a trois perles chacune reste vne marque ou il y a vne perle perduee .

Quatorze moyennes perles auffi de reste et trois autres jaulnes .

Vne fuite de velours noir picquee de deux petites perles de compte .

Vingt trois perles a pendre de plusieurs grosseurs .

..... este donnee vne a Mernan pour pendre . Depuys vne autre donnee a dit Merna .

Vng dizain de perles auquel y a xx coupletz et a chacun couplet xxxii perles et lvij perles entre deux .

Il a este nue a des coueffes pour Mesdames de Lorraine .

Cinq cens trente moyennes perles en corde .

Vng thouret garny de cordelieres de perles ou il y a xii grosses perles .

Vne aureillette de mesmes ou il y a xiii moyennes perles .

Vng carcan de mesmes ou il y a huit moyennes perles .

Vne bordeure garnie de x tables de saphiz blancz .

Vng petit carcan de cordelieres garny de perles auquel y a xxii perles moyennes .

Vne aureillette de mesmes garnie de xvj perles vng peu plus grosses .

Vng petit carcan esmaille de noir ou il y a de petites perles pendentes .

Vne ceinture esmaillee de blanc et rouge a chiffres ou il y a vne peinture du feu Roy Henry .

Vne ceinture de neufz faictz en facon destaufz esmaillee de blanc . carcan et cottouere de mesmes .

Vne ceinture faicte a chiffre esmaillee de blanc et violet .



Vne cottouere de vase de lappiz ou il y a des perles entre deux .

Deux petits braceletz de table damastifte .

Vne cottouere et vne ceinture de griseliftes garniz de canons et petites perles a lentour .

Donnees a Mademoiselle la Contine .

Vne ceinture damastifte garnie de petites meures de perles .

Vne ceinture et cottouere garnie de petites perles et de coural taille a goderons .

Vne autre pareille en laquelle y a dauantaige de turquin .

Le touret laureillette et vne ceinture de patenostres dor a jour rempliz de fenteur ou il y a vj<sup>xx</sup> xv patenostres .

Vne cottouere et vng carcan de mesmes .

Vne petite bordeure de fanteurs garnie de perles laureillette la ceinture la cottouere et le gorgeron de mesmes .

Vne paire de patenostres de fanteurs garnies dor .

Vne teste de martre garnie de deux perles et de plusieurs petitiz rubiiz et saphiz . les quatre pattes de mesmes .

Deux hermines . vne avec vne teste dor esmaille de blanc et la chefne de blanc et noir Et lautre de panne de foye avec vne teste de gez couuerte dor et la chefne esmaillee de noir .

Vng dizain de cornauille garny dor ou il y a des petits neufz entre deux garniz de perles .

Vne ceinture et vne cottouere de cornauille garnye de perles .

Vingt quatre grandes boutonnières dont il y a xii rozes de diamans et xii rubiz baillayz .

Vne paire de braceletz dor garniz de fanteurs .

Vne autre paire de braceletz de rubiz et de perles .

Deux pandans doreille facon de croix de Hierufalen esmaillez de blanc .

Deux autres facon dencolye garnye de fix petites perles esmaillees de bleu .

Deux autres garniz de turquoises et de vermeilles .

Deux petitz saphis percez avec deux perles aussi pour pendre aux oreilles .

Vng petit vase garny de quatre petites perles et trois petits rubiz .

Deux coquilles de verre ou il y a deux petites perles pendantes .

Deux encollier esmaillez de violet .

Deux autres pandans doreille garniz de petits damatistes .

Deux petits pandans doreille dor empliz de fanteurs .

Deux autres garniz de quatre petits diamans et de deux petites perles .

Vng pendant doreille fait en facon de fangs peruiue .

Vng pendant fait en facon d'une tortue .

Deux autres pandans doreille fait en facon de licorne garniz de deux perles .

Deux pandans doreille garniz de deux petites esmerauldes .

Deux petits pandans doreille garniz de deux petites perles en facon de doubles  
ames .

Deux moyennes perles a pendre aux oreilles .

Vng poignart dor du feu Roy Descosse garny de rubiz et de diamans . le  
manche dagatte .

Ledit poignart a estre enuoye a Millor Roven en Engleterre .

Soixante dix neuf boutons ronds et entriende garniz de chacun trois perles .

Soixante douze boutons dont en y a lxxi garniz de rubiz ballez et lautre ou il ny a rien .

Vingt sept autres boutons garniz de saphis dont en y a vng perdu .

Quatorze chattons auffi garniz de saphis .

Douze boutons facon de treffles garniz de chacun trois vermeilles .

Douze autres boutons pareille facon garniz de chacun trois perles dont en y a deux perdues .

Vng bassinet esmaille de noir garny dune vieille perle rouffe .

Quatorze esguillettes et demye de fers de grenaz garniz dor .

Trente neuf esguillettes et demye de fers garniz de chacun quatre perles dont en y a quatre perdues .

Quarente six petis boutons faictz en facon de treffles facon Despaigne .

Huiët vingtz trois autres boutons auffi facon Despaigne .

Soixante esguillettes de grands fers esmaillez de rouge .

Vingt cinq pieces pour seruir a vne cottouere garnies de xxv diamans xxv rubiz et de l perles .

Ce qui est au Cabinet de ladicte Dame .

Vne pomme platte ou il y a vng mirouer et vng cadren enrichy de deux faffiz et xii rubiz et vne perle .

Vng petit vase de cristal de roche garny dor et enrichy de deux petites turquoises et de petis rubiz .

Trois petites noiz de cristal ou il y a trois petites figures dor dedans .

Vne petite cage dor ou il y a vng perroquet dedans .

Vng petit Saint Francois esmaille de griz .

Deux petitz vases de jaspe garniz dor .

Vne pomme platte percee a jour esmaille de blanc et de noir .

Vne paire dheures garnies dargent .

Vng petit liure dor esmaille de rouge .

Vng petit bouquet de patenostres de fanteurs garnies de petites perles et dor .

Vng pigeon dor esmaille de blanc et de noir .

Vne pomme dor percee a jour esmaille de blanc avec deux fonds dargent .

Vne petite pomme faicte dun noyau ou il y a de petites figures taillees .

Vne pomme dor facon Dinde garnye de petits rubiz taincts et de turquoises .

Vne autre pomme de fanteurs garnie dor .

Vne enseigne facon de Serine garnie de diamant et dun rubiz qui fert a peigner .

Vne autre enseigne dun Cupido ou il y a vng petit rubiz au bout dune torche .

Vne autre enseigne dune hystoire de laquelle a este oste vng diamant .

Vne petite enseigne ou il y a vne agatte du camayeux dune femme qui tient vng enfant .

Vng lyon de nacque de perles garny dor .

Vng petit vase dor esmaille de turquin .

Vne enseigne dor ou il y a vne femme qui chaste Cupido .

Vng petit miroir de cristal garny dor .

Vng petit marc dor .

Vng plat de cornaline garny dor .

Vne petite chaufferette dor .

Vng petit pot dor .

Vng petit pot dor fait de fil .

Vng petit mouton dor esmaille de blanc .

Vng petit liure dor fait en facon de fil .

Vne petite noiz dagatte ou il y a vne petite Notre Dame que Joseph mene .

Vng petit liest dor .

Vng petit flacon dor facon de fil .

Vne petite pomme dor ou il y a le feu Roy Descosse .

Vng petit chien dor esmaille de blanc et de noir .

Vng petit cuer dor perce a jour ou il y a vng petit chiffre .

Vng petit peigne dor .

Deux ames dor esmaillees de blanc et de noir .

Deux faueurs dune torche et dune lance .

Vne autre lance tournee dun rouleau garnye de flambes de feu .

Deux langues de serpentz .

Quatre petitz panners dor plains de fruietz .

Vne roze dor qui fut presente de la part du Pappe a laquelle y a huit blanches  
et vng petit saphis au bout .

Inuentaie of the Queene Regentis movables quhilkis wer deliuerit to me Servay de Conde va[llet] of chamber to the Queene in prefence of Madamemoifelle de Raulle . The haill wes reffaut in the moneth of September the yeir of God j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> lxj .

[*Claithis of Estait .*]

- 1 . **A** claith of estait of claith of gold / damaskit / spraingit with reid . [partit] equalie in breadis of claith of gold and crammosin satine / furnissit [with] ruif and taill / thre pandis all frenyeit with threidis of gold and reid filk .
- 2 . A claith of estait of claith of gold / part[it] equalie in breadis / the ane figurit] with violett filk the vther with grein filk / furnissit with ruif and tai[ll] with thre pandis / all frenyeit with threidis of gold / grein violett and reid filk .
- 3 . Item ane claith of stait of blak veluos furnist with ruif and taill [with] thre pandis / quhairof thair is ane without frenyeis and the taill is [to] the length of an elne .  
This wes furnissit with ane vther taill sensyne and frenyeis put to the pand .
- 4 . Item ane claith of estait of broun crammosin veluos / barrit with siluer pafmentis furnissit with ruif / and the taill with thre pandis / all frenyeit with threid of siluer and crammosin silk .

- 5 . Item ane claith of stait of blak fatine / maid of bandis of broderie / furnifit with ruif taill and pandis . The quhilk claith of estait is not yet garnifit .  
 Senfyne stuffit and garnifit in the Castell .

*All Beddis alfeweill ane as other .*

- 6 . Item ane bed of broderie on blak fatine / diuidit in bandes / furnifit with ruif and heade pece / with sevin pandes and thre vnder pandes / and four coveringis for the stowppis . The hail is not stuffit nor garnifit .  
 Senfyne stuffit and garnifit in the Castell .

- 7 . Item ane bed of violett broun veluot / pafmentit with a pafment maid of gold and filuer / furnifit with ruif head pece and pandis / and thre vnder pandis . Off the quhilkis vnder pandis thair is ane bot half pafment[entit] / and thre courtingis of violett dames without frenyeis or pafment vp[on] the same courtingis .

In August 1566 . the Queene gaif this bed to the King furnifit with all thingis / and in Februar 1567 . the said bed wes tint in his ludging .

- 8 . Item ane bed of blak dames garnifit with ruif / heid pece / and pandis and twa vnderpandis / and blak courtenis all freinyeit with blak filk .  
 [In Str]iueling .

- 9 . Item ane bed of blak veluois furnifit with ruif heidpece thre pandis thre subpandis and thre curtenis of blak dames freinyeit with blak filk .  
 . . . this heidpece and the curtenis wes stowin .

- 10 . Item ane bed of blak veluois garnifit with ruif heidpece and pandis / with twa vnderpandis / and thre curtenis of blak dames / all freinyeit with blak filk .

[This] bed wes brokin to [furn]eis ane vther bed be . . . . . feit and vther thingis . . . . . ber 1566 .

- 11 . Item ane bed of grene veluot maid of the imperiall like a chapell / garnifit



with ruif heidpece and thre fingle pandis / and thre vnder pandis / foure courtenis all freinyeit with grene filk .

[15]66 . The tymmer . . . . bed is worne auld . . . . the curtenis wes . . . .  
Lochlevin .

- 12 . Item ane bed of incarnet veluot garnifit with heidpece and thre fingle pandis / and thre curtenis of reid taffety / all freinyeit with reid filk / It is to be vnderstand that the ruif of this bed is bot of quhite taffetie .

*The Coveringis .*

- 13 . Item ane covering of grene taffetie fstickit and lynit with grene ferge .

In Lochlevin / and feruis to a bed of grene veluot maid like a chapel .

- 14 . Item ane fstickit covering of blak taffetie .

[Wo]rn away . in 1565 .

- 15 . Item ane auld fstickit covering of reid taffetie .

- 16 . Item ane covering of blak plaidis furrit with martick skynnys .

- 17 . Item ane auld fstickit covering of grene taffetie .

*Tapestrie .*

- 18 . Item ane tapestrie maid of worfett mixt with threid of gold . of the historie of the Jugement of Salamon the deid barne and the twa wiffis .

- 19 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Creatioun contening nyne peces .

- 20 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of Roboam contening foure peces .

In Striueling .

- 21 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of Salamon contening foure peces .

- 22 . Item ane vther tapestrie of litle Salamon contening thre peces .

- 23 . Item ane tapestrie of the histories of hunting and halking contening ten peces .

A part in Lochlevin and the rest heir .

- 24 . Item ane tapestrie of great leavis and flouris contening seven peces .

In the Castel .

- 25 . Item ane tapestrie maid of plantis and flouris contening sex peces .

In the Castel .

- 26 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the hunting of the great vnicorne contening foure peces .

In Striueling .

- 27 . Item a tapestrie of ane vther hunting of the litle vnicorne contening seven peces .

- 28 . Item a tapestrie of the historie of Mathiolus contening foure peces . (Of the quhilkis I haue reffaut bot thrie . )

- 29 . Item a tapestrie of the historie of aippis contening sex peces .

. . . . foure peces to . . . . in 1563 . The rest . . . . and worne .

- 30 . Item a great tapeis of Turkie / and ane litle /

The litle ane worne in 1565 . The great remanis .

*Stickes of Silk / great and small peces all mesfourit with a Scottis elnwand .*

- 31 . Item twa peces of blak fatine contening xlv ellis .

Deliuert fra 1561 . to the 1566 .

- 32 . Item a rest of blak fatine contening xxvij ellis and a half .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

- 33 . Item a pece of tannie fatine contening xx ellis and a half and half a quarter .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

- 34 . Item a rest of quhite dames contening xij ellis and a quarter .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

- 35 . Item twa restis of gray dames contening xvij ellis and thre quarters .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

- 36 . Item a rest of tannie dames contening sevin elnis and thre quarters .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 37 . Item a rest of quhite figurit veluois contening twa ellis and half a quarter .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 38 . Item a pece of blak fustiane contening twenty ellis .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 39 . Item a rest of blak fatine contening twenty ellis and thre quarters .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 40 . Item a litle pece of quhite fatine contening ane ell and half quarter .

Deliuert in 1564 .

- 41 . Item ane litle pece of blak veluois contening thre quarteris and a half .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

- 42 . Item ane litle pece of blak fatine contening ane ell and half quarter .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 43 . Item ane litle pece of blak bowting claith .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 44 . Item ane litle pece of blak reinyeit taffetie contening twa ellis .

Deliuert at the faid tyme .

- 45 . Item ane pece of blak plane chalmillet of filk contening ten ellis and a half .

Deliuert at the foirfaid tyme .

*The Furrenis .*

- 46 . Item ane pair of wyd flevis of arming flypand bakward with the bordour of the fame .

Deliuert in Januar 1562 .

- 47 . Item ane pair of the like flevis of martrikis with the bord of the fame .

The bordour deliuert .

- 48 . Item ane pair of the like flevis of jennettis with the bord of the fame .

- 49 . Item ane pair of the like flevis / of the skynnis of neces / with the bord of the fame .

- 50 . Item the furring of the foirbreiftis of a fyde cloik of martrickes with the bord of the fame /

Deliuert in Nouember 1563 .

- 51 . Item half a foirbreift of martrickes / quhilk is fumquhat hoillit and vfit .

Deliuert at findrie tymes in 1563 . 64 . 65 .

- 52 . Item fum litle peces of martrickes of the rest of ane foirbreift .

[Deliuert] at the said tyme .

- 53 . Item ane pair of flevis of lufervie flypand bakwart / with the bord of the fame .

Deliuert in December 1563 . and in September 1564 .

- 54 . Item ane litle pece of martrickes .

Deliuert in October 1565 .

- 55 . Item foure wylie coittis of quhite lambskynnis .

Thre of thame deliuert in 1564 . The vther in 1565 .

- 56 . Item ane pair of flevis of blak pan veluot flypand bakwart / with the bord of the fame / The ane of thame vncompleit .

Ane part deliuerit in 1563 . The rest in 65 . 66 .

*Of Lying Claithis .*

- 57 . Item foure bordclaithis of Scottis lying .

Deliuerit in the pantrie .

- 58 . Item fyve burdclaithis of plane lying .

Deliuerit in the pantrie .

- 60 . Item aucht ferviottis of vnhemmit great lying .

Deliuerit to Madam mosel de Ralle to rub the Quenis heid .

- 61 . Item twa samplar peces of cammes pennit to be sewit .

- 62 . Item the rest of dornick claith to cover the burd contening twenty ellis and a half .

Deliuerit in the pantrie .

- 63 . Item ane pece of holland claith contening ane ell and a half .

Deliuerit in 1562 to Madam mosel de Rale for the Queene .

- 64 . Item twa restis of holand claith ressauid be Madam mosel de Ralle to mak nicht quaiffis for the Queene . And swa I am chargit with nathing of that .

Madam mosel de Ralle tuke the fame for the Queene .

- 65 . Item ane rest of great lying contening ten ellis thre quarteris .

Deliuerit in 1562 .

- 66 . Item ten peces of lying great and small the haill contening j<sup>c</sup> and foure ellis .

Deliuerit in 1562 .

67 . Item fyve peces of quhite lynng contening lxxj ellis .

Deliverit in 1562 .

*Off rownd Gloibbis / and Paintrie .*

68 . Item twa gloibbis / the ane of the heavin / and the vther of the earth .

69 . Item sex cartis of findrie cuntreis .

70 . Item twa paintit broddis / the ane of the Muses / and the vther of cro-  
tescque or conceptis .

71 . Item aucht paintit broddis of the Doctouris of Almaine .

*Off Gownis .*

72 . Item ane gowne of blak dames with lang flevis borderit with veluot .

Deliverit in Maij 1563 .

73 . Item ane gowne of blak dames with great flevis borderit with veluot .

Deliverit in the said moneth .

74 . Item ane gowne of blak dames without flevis .

Deliverit in Julij 1565 .

75 . Item ane gowne of blak fatine with lang flevis borderit with veluot .

Deliverit in Maij 1563 .

76 . Item ane gowne of blak taffeteis / with great flevis borderit with veluot .

Deliverit in Maij 1563 .

77 . Item ane dule gowne of furring / and the body of stemming .

The body takin away .

78 . Item ane hude of arming .

Deliverit in December 1561 .

D

*Off Cloickes mekle and litle .*

- 79 . Item ane cloik of blak veluot richt on baith the fydes .

[Deliu]erit in Junij 1563 .

- 80 . Item ane cloik of blak fatine lynit with pan veluot .

Deliuerit in Julij 1565 .

- 81 . Item ane cloik of blak stemming garnifit on the foirbreift with jennettis /  
and the bord of the fame / and nathing in the rest .

The stemming deliuerit in September 1563 . and the furring in Maij 1567 .

- 82 . Item ane cloik of stemming / the foirbreiftis lynit with arming / and borderit  
with the fame .

The stemming deliuerit in Januar 1562 .

- 83 . Item ane cloik of ferge droppit fingle /

Deliuerit in Merche 1562 .

- 84 . Item ane auld cloik of blak taffetie furrit with quhite lambskynnis / and  
the foirbreiftis of arming / and the bord of the same .

Deliuerit in Januar 1562 .

- 85 . Item ane cloik of blak fatine borderit with veluot / and furrit with gray  
furring .

The fatine deliuerit in Februar 1562 .

- 86 . Item ane auld litle blak cloik of fatene furrit with martrickes .

Deliuerit in August 1565 .

- 87 . Item ane royall cloik of violett veluot without furring or vther thing .

Deliuerit in September 1563 .

- 88 . Item ane stomach of armenis .

Deliuerit in Januar 1562 .

89 . Item ane cloik of blak dames borderit with veluot .

Deliuerit in Julij 1565 .

*Off Doublettis Vaskenis and Skirtis .*

90 . Item ane doublett of blak veluot / and the vaskene of the fame .

Deliuerit in December 1563 .

91 . Item ane vther doublett of veluot and the skirt of the fame .

Deliuerit in December 1564 .

92 . Item ane doublet of fatine with the vaskene of the fame .

Deliuerit in Februar 1562 .

93 . Item ane vther doublett of fatine / with the skirt of the fame .

Deliuerit the said tyme .

94 . Item ane doublett of chammillot of filk with the vaskene of the fame .

Deliuerit in October 1561 .

95 . Mair twa tymmer beddis .

Ane worne in 1566 .

96 . Mair twa schrynis and ane coffer .

Ane deliuerit in October 1564 . the vther in December the fame yeir .

M<sup>r</sup> Johnne Wod .



Inuentair of the Quenis movables quhilkis ar in the handes of Seruais de Condý vallett of chalmer to hir Grace / All reffauit fra Jacques de Ma . . . clerk of the offices of hir Maieftes houe in the moneth of Nouember 1561 . at the Palace of Halyrudehous the xxv of the faid moneth and yeir .

*In the first the Claithis of Estate .*

- 1 . Item ane claith of eftate of frefit claith of gold and filuir / partit equalie / a breid of claith of gold and ane vther of filuir . And vpoun the filuir / cordeleris knottis of gold quhairof thair wantis fum faffis / furnifit with thre pandis and the taill / and all freinyeit with threid of gold .

In Julij 1566 . it wes brokin to put crammosie veluot in place of the claith of filuir . It is in Striueling .

- 2 . Item ane claith of eftate of grene veluot in the quhilk thair is ane great trie / and perfonageis / and fcheildis / all maid embroderie / furnifit with thre pandis and the taill / all freinyeit with grene filk and threid of gold .
- 3 . Item ane claith of eftate of frefit claith of gold / and traitis of violet filk / partit equalie / with violet veluot / furnifit with thre pandis and the taill / the nukis only freinyeit .
- 4 . Item ane claith of eftate of claith of gold / and drauchtis of violett

filk / partit equalie / with violett veluot / quhair thair is the armes of Scotland and Lorayn with crownit cyphers / all in broderie furnesit with thre pandis and the taill / all freinyeit with threid of gold and violet filk .

5 . Item ane claith of estait of veluot / yallow incarnet and blew furnisfit with thre pandis and the taill / all freinyeit with filk of that same cullouris .

6 . Item ane claith of estate of blak veluot / furnisfit with thre pandis / and the taill / all freinyeit with blak filk .

In Februar 1567 . it wes tint in the Kingis ludging .

7 . Item ane claith of estate of crammosie veluot of heich cullour / furnisfit with thre pandis and the taill / all freinyeit with threid of gold and crammosie filk / and pasmentit with pasmentis of gold .

In Striueling .

*Off Claithis of Estate / without taillis .*

8 . Item ane fals ruif without tale of grene veluot maid in broderie with great treis perfonages and scheildis and branches of holine / furnisfit with thre double pandis and ane fingle / all freinyeit with grene filk and threid of gold except the fingle pand .

9 . Item ane clayth of estate without the tale of clayth of gold / with drauchtis of blak / diuidit equalie / with gray veluot / and furnisfit / with foure fingle pandis without ony freinyeis or lyming .


Efterwart it wes furnisfit at the baptyfme of the Prince .

10 . Item ane claith of estate without the taill of crammosie dames furnisfit with foure fingle pandis and freinyeit with reid filk .

*Of Beddis maid in Broderie .*

11 . Item ane bed of crammosie broun veluot / maid in broderie work and leiffis

of claith of gold / with sum histories maid in the figure ovaill / furnifit with ruif heidpece and fex pandis and thre vnderpandis / all freneyeit with threid of gold and crammofie filk . with thre curtenis of crammofie dames / pafmentit with gold / and freneyeit with the fame / and alfo foure coveringis for the bed ftohppis .


- 12 . Item ane bed of broderie work of foure cullouris of fatine / reid blew yallow and quhite / pourfeilliet with fals gold and filuir / furnifit with ruif and heidpece / and thre fingle pandis / and twa vnderpandis / all freneyeit with counterfait gold and filuir / with thre courtenis of taffetie of the fame cullouris / without ony thing vpoun thame .
- 13 . Item ane bed of frefit claith of gold / with draughtes of reid filk / in figure of jennettis and perfonageis and brancheis of holine / furnifit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis / twa vnderpandis / and all freneyeit with threid of gold and crammofy filk .
- 14 . Item ane bed maid of crammofie veluot / enriched with phenixes of gold and teares with a litle cantaille of gold / furnifit with ruif heidpece thre fingle pandis and thre vnderpandis / all freneyeit with gold and crammofie filk .
- 15 . Item ane bed of blak veluot enrichit with armes and fpheris / with bordis of brodere work of claith of gold furnifit with thre fingle pandis / with ruif and heidpece / without ony vther garnifing .
- 16 . Item ane bed diuidit equalie in claith of gold and filuir with draughtes of violet and gray filk / maid in chiffers of .  . and enrichit with leiffis and branches of holine / furnifit with ruif heidpece and thre fingle pandis twa vnderpandis freneyeit with gold and violett filk with thre plane courtenis .
- 17 . Item ane bed of scarlett [veluot] bordit with broderie of blak veluot / furnifit with ruif heidpece thre pandis twa vnderpandis thre curtenis of

taffetie of the same cullour without freinyeis / The bed is furnifit with freinyeis of the same cullour .

Deliverit in Merche 1564 . to Johnne Semples wiff .

- 18 . Item ane bed all maid in broderie work of gold / of the historie of the Workis of Hercules furnifit with fix pandis / ruif / heidpece / and thrie vnderpandis / quhilk is nother stuffit nor garnifit .

Efterwart furnifit in the 1566 .

- 19 . Item ane bed of crammosie veluot enrichit with knottis of luif and .  . furnifit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis and thrie vnderpandis / all haill togiddir without ony enrichment / and thre fingle curtenis of crammosie dames .

In Linlythgow in the handis of Ferriar .

- 20 . Item ane bed of violet broun veluot / enrichit with claith of gold and filuir / with chiffres and flouris sewit with gold and filk / furnifit with ruif heidpece / fevin pandis and thrie vnderpandis . It is not yit furnifit nor stuffit .

Wes efterward furnifit in 1566 . yeir .

- 21 . Item thre pandis of quhite and blew fatine / maid with broderie work of claith of gold droppit with reid filk interlakit / All pourfeillit with counterfait gold .

In Merche 1567 . the Quene gaif the said pandis to Schir James Balfour .

- 22 . Item ane bed equallie diuidit in claith of gold and filuir maid in figure of pottis full of flouris with broderie work of lang roundis callit ovaill / quhairin the histories ar contenit / furnifit with ruif heidpece / sex pandis / thrie vnderpandis ~~It is not yit stuffit nor garnifit .~~

In Striueling . Efterward furnifit in ~~anno~~ 1566 .

*Off pasmentit Beddis .*

- 23 . Item ane bed of incarnet dames maid like a chapel furnisit with ruif heidpece and pandis / and vnderpandis / with ane freinyeit heid abone / of reid veluot / and curtenis of dames / all freinyeit with filuir and crammofie filk and pasmentit with filuir .

This bed wes brokin in 1566 . and the pasment put vpoun curtenis and coveringis of grene chalmillet reinyeit with gold . The curtenis to serue to the litle bed of crammofie veluot pasmentit and freinyeit with gold / with singe pandis / And the covering feruis to the bed of phenix / And the rest to mak burd claithis and coveris to stuillis of eases / And the freinyeis of filuir feruis to the bed of grene veluot in broderie .

- 24 . Item ane vther bed of quhite veluot pasmentit with ane pasment of gold and violett filk / furnisit with ruif heidpece / thre singe pandis / and thre singe curtenis of quhite taffete / and twa plane vnderpandis .
- 25 . Item ane bed of crammofie veluot of heich cullour pasmentit with gold furnisit with ruif heidpece and pandis / thre vnderpandis / and thre curtenis of crammofie dames / all pasmentit and freinyeit with gold and crammofie filk .

In Striueling .

*Off plane Beddis not enrichit with ony thing .*

- 26 . Item ane bed of quhite dames furnisit with heidpece of taffeteis / and the ruif / The thre pandis and twa vnderpandis of dames / and thre courtenis of taffetie not freinyeit .
- 27 . Item ane vther bed of quhite dames furnisit with ruif / heidpece / thre pandis / twa curtenis of quhite taffetie not freinyeit .

- 28 . Item ane bed of grene dames / furnifit with ruif / heidpece / and thre fingle pandis and thre curtenis of the fame stuff vnfreinyeit .

The Quene gaif this bed to the Lord Huntlie in 1565 .

- 29 . Item ane bed of veluot reid yallow and blew furnifit with ruif heidpece and thre fingle pandis and thrie vnderpandis haill togidder / all freinyeit with filk of the fame cullour / with thre curtenis of dames of the fame cullouris vnfreinyeit .
- 30 . Item ane bed of violett dames furnifit with ruif / without a heidpece / only foure pandis / and thre curtenis of violett dames vnfreinyeit / all the reft freinyeit .

*Off Cannabeis .*

- 31 . Item ane cannabie of grene taffetie freinyeit with grene / quhilk may ferue for any dry ftuill or a bed /
- 32 . Item ane cannabbie of orange taffeteis crispit with gold and violet filk with the vnderpand haill togidder . all freinyeit with gold and violett filk / with the knop of trie .
- 33 . Item ane litle cannabie of crammosie fatine of thre quarter lang furnifit with freinyeis and fassis maid of gold and crammosie filk / mony litle paintit buttonis all feruing to bear to mak schaddow afoir the Quene .
- 34 . Item ane auld cannabie of grene ferge worne away and brokin .
- Worn away .
- 35 . Item ane cannabie of yallow varian taffetie freinyeit with reid and yallow filk quhilk may ferue for ane ftuill of ease .

Loiffit in the Kingis ludging quhen he deit in Februar 1567 .

*Of Chyris Falding Stuillis and Laich Stuillis .*

- 36 . Item ane heich cheir of crammofie veluot enrichit with branches of claith of gold in broderie / freinyeit with gold and crammofie filk .
- 37 . Item twa auld faulding stuillis of crammofie veluot .  
Worne away .
- 38 . Item thre auld laich stuillis of crammofie veluot .  
Worne away .
- 39 . Item ane ftuill of eafe coverit with crammofie broun veluot .
- 40 . Item ane vther ftuill of eafe coverit with leddir / and bandit about with irne .

*Of Coveringis / and Claithis ganging about the Bed / for warmnes .*

- 41 . Item ane covering of incarnet taffeteis ftickit and ftrypit with filuir pafmentis and freinyeit with filuir and incarnet filk .  
At the baptisme of the Prince the pafment wes tane away and feruis to the bed of phenix .
- 42 . Item ane claith of reid fcarlett gaing about the bed freinyeit beneth with crammofie filk .
- 43 . Item twa coveringis of holane claith fteickit .  
The ane worn away .
- 44 . Item ane covering of quhite mantill .
- 45 . Item ane covering of blew taffetie ftickit .  
In 1567 . wes tynt in the Kingis ludging .

- 46 · Item ane covering of reid taffetie sticket ·

In August 1566 · this covering gevin to the King ·

- 47 · Item ane covering of varian taffetie sticket borderit with a cordoun of gold vpoun the sticking / maid in broderie ·

Presentlie it seruis the bed of cyphers of · *æ* · callit the Bed of Amitie ·

- 48 · Item ane great covering of estate of crammosie veluot heich culloure / pamentit with gold / and buttonit with gold buttonis on the nukis / freinyeit round about with gold and crammosie filk ·

In Striueling / and seruis to the bed of crammosie veluot with double pandis ·

- 49 Item ane covering of crammosie fatine / lynit with taffeties only / ~~quhilk is imperfite~~ ·

Efterwart wes perfytit to furnis the bed of crammosie broun veluot maid in broderie ·

- 50 · Item ten fingle blankettis / quhilkis seruit the beddis of the brodinfters / quha wrocht vpoun the great pece of broderie ·

Deliuierit sen the yeirs of 1561 · to 1566 ·

*Off Burd Claithis ·*

- 51 · Item ane burd claith of violett broun veluot droppit with flouris de lice maid in broderie work of threid of gold / to the nowmer of fifty / wanting freinyeis and lyning ·

In September 1563 · The violet veluot wes exploit for to mak stuellis of ease and heich chearis and falding stuellis ·

- 52 · Item ane burdclaith of grene veluot lynit with grene taffetie without freinyeis ·

In Lochlevin ·

- 53 · Item ane burdclaith of crammosie veluot of heich cullour / lynit with taffetie and freinyeit with gold and crammosie filk ·

It wes worne away in the Quenis chalmer 1566 ·



54 . Item ane evill litle burdclaith of grene .

Worne away .

*Off Cusscheonis of all sortis .*

55 . Item foure cusscheonis of crammofie veluot stuffit with fethirs /

Twa of thame deliuerit in Julij 1565 . to serue in the Chapel .

56 . Item foure cusscheonis of reid veluot .

Worne away in the Quenis chalmer . and part tynt in the Kingis ludging .

57 . Item thre cusscheonis of grene veluot .

58 . Item thre cusscheonis of claith of gold figurit with reid .

Employit in October 1566 .

59 . Item twa cusscheonis of claith of gold figurit with reid / quhairof the vnder fyde is of crammofie veluot .

Employit in October 1566 .

60 . Item ane cusscheoun of grene fatine maid in broderie work in figure of litle scheildis and branches of holine

61 . Item sex cusscheonis of work of filk fewit / lynit with reid leddir .

62 . Item thre fewit worfet cusscheonis lynit with reid leddir .

*Of auld Beddis of all sortis .*

63 . Item ane bed maid of ane auld pece of tapestrie of the figure of branches of holine / garnifit with ruif and pandis / thre vnderpandis / The ruif is different fra the stuff of the rest .

64 . Item ane bed maid of the historie of the Huntar of Coninghis / garnifit with ruif and foure pandis .

- 65 . Item ane bed maid of ane vther pece of auld tapestrie of the Huntar of Coninghis . The ruif is of bukrem / and the rest of the furnifing lyke this last bed .
- 66 . Item ane vther bed maid of ane auld pece of tapestrie of the historie of SOUVIENNE VOUS EN / furnifit with ruif and foure pandis / and freinyeit with threid reid quhite and blew .
- 67 . Item ane vther bed maid of ane auld pece of tapestrie in the figure of branches of holine mixt a litle with threid of gold . furnifit with ruif and thre pandis only / Of the quhilk thair is bot twa freinyeit with red quhite and blew filk .
- 68 . Item ane bed maid of fewit worfett with the figure of Satires and levis of treis / furnifit with ruif and heidpece and thre pandis / all freinyeit with reid and grene worfett / with thre auld curtenis of blew ferge of diuers cullouris .
- 69 . Item ane bed maid of fewit filk / quhairin thair is perfonages . furnifit with heid pece and thre pandis / freinyeit with euill filk counterfait / reid blew and yallow / with the ruif of tapestrie / and thre auld courtenis of reid taffetie without freinyeis .
- 70 . Item thre beddis of reid ferge furnifit with ruif and pandis / all freinyeit with worfett / with nyne curtenis of ferge .
- Ane deliuerit in December 1565 . Ane vther to Pochonmer 1568 .
- 71 . Item ane bed of reid chalmillett furnifit with ruif and heid pece and thre pandis / all freinyeit with reid worfett / with thre curtenis of reid ferge .
- 72 . Item ane bed of auld reid ferge / garnifit with ruif and pandis / all freinyeit with reid worfett .

- 73 . Item ane vther auld bed of reid serge diuidit equalie with grene serge furnisit with ruif and pandis / all freinyeit with reid worfett .

*Off Tapestreis of all sortis .*

- 74 . Item ane tapestrie of heich cullourit crammofie veluot . maid in broderie / quhilk is not yit compleit .

Brokin to mak a claith of estait in *anno* 1566 .

- 75 . Item ane tapestrie maid of fresit claith of gold equalie diuidit in breidis of claith of filuir contenand xij peces small and great / and the haill alfweill gold as filuir contenand lxj breidis / In quhilk vpoun the claith of filuir thair is cordeleir knottis of claith of gold maid in broderie / quhilkis knottis hes fassis of threid of gold quhair of thair is sum loiffit /

This tapestrie wes brokin and crammofie veluot equallie diuidit with the claith of gold puttin in place of the claith of filuir .

- 76 . Item aucht peces of tapestrie of grene veluot / quhairin is the figures of great treis / and the rest droppit with scheildis / and brancheis of holine / all maid in broderie .

- 77 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Triumphe of Veritie contening aucht peces .

Ane part in Striueling .

- 78 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Battell of Ravene contening fevin peces .

- 79 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Jugement of Paris contening aucht peces .

- 80 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Huntis of the Sangleir contening fex peces .

- 81 . Item ane tapestrie of the triumphe of ane affault of ane toun contening fyve peces .
- 82 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of scheiphirdis contening fevin peces .
- 83 . Item ane tapestrie maid be litle branches wrocht with sum gold / the ground of this tapestrie is of the cullouris reid quhite and blew / and contenis thre peces .
- 84 . Item ane tapestrie maid with the figure of perfonages / quha cuttis the holine / continand fouretene peces .  
Part in Linlythgow .
- 85 . Item ane tapestrie of the brancheis of holine wrocht a litle with threid of gold contening sex peccs .
- 86 . Item ane tapestrie of the Armes of the hous [of Longovail] of aucht peces .  
In Striueling .
- 87 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Saling of Eneas contenand aucht peces .
- 88 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of the Workes of Hercules contening aucht peces .
- 89 . Item ane tapestrie of litle grene flouris vpoun yallow ground / contening fevin peces .
- 90 . Item ane litle pece of tapestrie like a burdclaith cuttit in twa .
- 91 . Item ane tapestrie of the Huntar of Coninghis contening fevin peces .  
In Februar 1567 . sex of thir peces wes tint in the Kingis gardrop at his death .
- 92 . Item ane tapestrie maid of reid quhite and blew / in the quhilk thair is ane

trie with ane reafoun SOUVIENNE VOUS EN / and the rest droppit with  
litle branches / contening twelf peces .

- 93 . Item ane tapestrie of litle grene flouris contening twa peces .
- 94 . Item ane tapestrie in the quhilk thair is ane tre / and the rest droppit with  
litle branches of small flouris contening sex peces .
- 95 . Item ane tapestrie of the historie of Calueris and Moris contening four  
peces .
- 96 . Item ane auld tapestrie in the quhilk thair is ane trie / and the rest drop-  
pit with small grene flouris .

*Off Turquie Tapeis for the flure .*

- 97 . Item twa auld tapeis of Turquie worne away .  
Thair remanis a part .
- 98 . Item xxiiij Turkie tapeis sum great sum litle .  
Part worne and part tint in 1565 and 66 .

*Off Messe Claithis .*

- 99 . Item ane chaffable of crammofie veluot furnifit with a stole and a fan-  
noun only .  
Deliuerit for the Chapel in Julij 1565 .
- 100 . Item ane claith of crammofie veluot to hing abone the alter / and ane  
vther to hing beneth . quhairin thair is a crucifix and the Quenis armes /  
and the rest droppit with sternis of gold / all maid in broderie .  
Deliuerit at the said tyme .

101 . Item ane tapeis vnder fute of the said veluois lynit with bukrem .

Deliuert at the said tyme .

102 . Item ane corporall cais of crammofie veluot maid in broderie .

Deliuert at the said tyme .

*Sum Harnessingis .*

103 . Item half a littar of crammofie veluot freinyeit with gold and filk .

104 . Item twa litle fut mantillis of the same veluot / freinyeit with gold and crammofie filk .

*Of Tymmer Beddis .*

105 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the incarnet dames / pafmentit with filuir .

106 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the bed of crammofie veluot of heich cullour pafmentit with gold .

107 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the bed of reid ferge .

Takin for the King in 1566 .

108 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the bed of veluois incarnet yellow and blew .

109 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the quhite veluois bed pafmentit with gold and violett filk .

110 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the broun crammofie veluot bed / enrichit with the phenix in broderie .

111 . Item ane tymmer bed that feruit for the bed of claith of gold and claith of filuir and chiffers .

- 112 . Item ane tymmer bed that seruit for the bed of reid ferge .
- 113 . Item twa vther tymmer beddis .
- 114 . Item ane tymmer bed that seruit for the bed of crammosie veluot embroidered with claith of gold and historie .
- 115 . Item ane tymmer table paintit and gilt with the tressis of the same .

*Of sum restis and peces of Claith of Gold and Silk and vther small geir .*

- 116 . Item aucht restis and litle peces of crammosie veluot contening xviiij ellis and thre quarters in the haill .  
Deliuerit at findrie tymes in 1565 . and 66 .
- 117 . Item foure quarters of a coitt of claith of gold frefit with cantailieis of gold and filuir .  
Deliuerit in Julij 1565 .
- 118 . Item the rest of blak veluot brochit with gold contening ten ellis and a quarter .  
Deliuerit at the said tyme .
- 119 . Item twa litle peces of claith of gold maid in broderie of bordis and leiffis / ilk pece contening an ell .  
Emploit to work in Merche anno 1564 .
- 120 . Item ane litle pece of claith of gold traiffit with yallow contening ane ell and thre quarters .  
[Deliuerit in September] 1563 .
- 121 . Item ellevin peces of frefit claith of gold and filuir sum great sum small / quhilk seruit for a caparison to a hors .  
Deliuerit in September anno 1566 .

122 . Item ane collet of aurance hew / quharin is bandis of claith of claith of gold twa fingar braid .

Employit in Aprile 1566 .

123 . Item half a scheild and the half of the Order of France all maid in broderie .

124 . Item fevin quaiffis of claith of filuir cordonit with blak filk / and the railyettis of the fame .

125 . Item ane man of armes coitt without flevis of claith of gold frefit with filuir .

Deliuerit in Julij 1565 .

126 . Item fyftene cuffcheonis of auld claith of filuir .

Employit in Aprile 1566 .

127 . Item ane rest of auld claith of filuir contening twa ellis and thre quarteris .

Employit at the said tyme .

128 . Item threttene litle cuffcheonis of plane claith of gold / fewit togidder .

Deliuerit and employit in *annis* . 1565 . and 66 .

129 . Item the hude of a cannabie of claith of gold brochit with blak / without freinyeis / maid of ellevin peces .

130 . Item fourty litle scheildis in a litle pacquet .

131 . Item ane litle pacquet of lyvelie leiffis of holine .

132 . Item ane hatt of blak veluois enrichit with the bord and cordoun of threid of filuir .



- 133 . Item ane pacquet of blew freinyeis and threid of gold contening sex [ellis] .

The freinyeis wes put to the claith of estate that it wes takin fra in Nouember .  
1567 .

- 134 . Item ane band of claith of gold brocheit with blak / contening a quarter in breid /

- 135 . Item ane rest of auld plane claith of gold / contening twa ellis thre quarters / in thre litle peces .

The haill deliuerit and employit in *anno* 1564 . to the 66 .

- 136 . Item ane vther litle pece of plane claith of gold contening a fute alfweill in lenth as in breid .

Employit in *anno* 1565 .

- 137 . Item ane pacquet of freinyeis of violet filk and threid of gold / quhilk freinyeis hes seruit to the pandis of ane claith of estate of violett veluois and fatine brocheit with gold .

The freinyeis hes bene put to the claith of estate quhairfra they wer takin . Reffaut  
1 eln thre quarters 1 half .

- 138 . Item ane band of quhite veluois quhilk is of twa fingair braid cordonit with a cordoun of filuir in broderie / and it is in xxij peces .

- 139 . Item twa egles maid in broderie of threid of gold .

- 140 . Item ane quarter of freinyeis of crammofie filk .

It wes put to the bed of broun crammofie veluot in broderie in August 1566 .

- 142 . Item thre breidis of claith of gold frefit with gold reinyeit with quhite / everie breid contening twa ellis and a half and half quarter /

Employit in Aprile 1566 .

- 143 . Item fyvetene cusscheonis of frefit claith of gold and reinyeit with quhite / ilk cusscheoun contenand ane quarter and a half or thairby .

Employit in the said tyme .

- 144 . Item ane vther pece of the said claith / contenand a quarter .

Deliuerit in October 1564 .

- 145 . Item thre quarters of frefit claith of gold reinyeit with violett / with ane vther litle pece contening half ane ell and half a quarter .

Employit in Januar 1566 .

- 146 . Item fyve ellis and thre quarters of frefit claith of gold reinyeit with blak / contening in the haill to fyve litle peces / a half of the laich of a coit thairin contenit / figurit with scaillis .

The claith of gold wes employit in Februar 1566 . and the laich of the coit deliuerit in Januar 1566 .

- 147 . Item ane mekle auld curtene of quhite taffetie without freinyeis .

- 148 . Item thre curtenis of grene dames without freinyeis .

Thay wer brokin to be maid a pavillon to a bed in *anno* 1566 .

- 149 . Item twelf lang taillit buttonis of threid of gold to be fett vpoun the cover of honoure of crammofie fatine .

Employit vpoun the cover in *anno* 1566 .

- 150 . Item ane feck of leddir quhairin thair is findrie litle peces of grene veluot .

- 151 . Item twelf litle cusscheonis of blak fatine brochit with gold / quhilkis feruit the claith of effate of violet veluois and of blak fatine brocheit with gold .

*Of Scheittis and Lying Claithis great and small .*

152 . Item fourty round scheittis quhilkis feruit to the browdinstaris that wrocht vpoun the tapestrie of the crammofie veluois .

A part deliuerit in *anno* 1561 . to 67 . Ane rest .

153 . Item thre feruiettis of dornick .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

154 . Item sex great feruiettis of dornik quhilkis wer not cuttit .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

155 . Item twa feruiettis of dornik flicand togidder .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

156 . Item fevin feruiettis damaskit .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

157 . Item twa burdclaithis and ane claith for the copburd damaskit .

158 . Item ane great claith of lying without feme .

159 . Item sex feruiettis for banquetis .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

160 . Item ane bed of layn fewit with filk of diuers cullouris / garnifit with thre curtenis and with thre vther litle peces / and the heidpece of the fame .

161 . Item ane tyke of a bed reinyeit with blew .

162 . Item twa great mekle bordclaithis of dornik contenand fouretene ellis the twa .

Deliuerit to the pantrie .

163 . Item twa litle peces of claith of caddes / with twa vther litle peces / the haill contening foure ellis .

164 . Item thre litle peces of freinyeis of counterfait gray filk quhite and violet / with sum vther litle peces / the haill weand a pund .

165 . Item ane pece of round lyning contening liiij ellis thre quarters .

Deliuert in Februar 1562 .

166 . Item ane vther pece of round lyning contening liiij ellis .

Deliuert in Aprile 1562 .

167 . Item aughtene scheittis of hollane and lyning alfweill great as small auld and new .

Part vfit and deliuert in Februar 1567 . Twa tint in the Kingis ludging .

168 . Item ane scheit of lyning maid of thre bredis .

169 . Item twa dusand of codwaris of holane claith .

Part worne and partt tynt .

170 . Item xxviij curcheis of holane claith .

171 . Item aughtene burdclaithis of dornik great and small .

Deliuert in the pantrie .

172 . Item thretty aucht commoun scheittis great and litle auld and new . (A part of thame ressauid .)

Quhairof thair wes put in the chalmer coffer at hir departing furth of France as it appearis be the memoir of the kepair of the hous of Fecan / quhilkis I haue not ressauid .

173 . Item ten vther scheittis of round lyning .

Foure of thame deliuert in Julij 1565 .

174 . Item twa auld burdclaithis half worne .

- 175 . Item ane pece of dornik to mak burdclaithis / contening xxxv ellis of lenth and twa ellis of breid .
- 176 . Item twelf scheittis of lyning / quhair of thair is twa of thre breidis / and the rest twa breidis and a half .

*Of Schrynis and Cofferis .*

- 177 . Item ane schrene garnifit with quhite irne .
- 178 . Item ane vther schryne quharin wes the tapestrie of claith of gold and claith of filuir .
- 179 . Item ane vther schryne quhairin wes the tapestrie of grene veluot .
- 180 . Item ane auld worne coffer .  
    Brokin .
- 181 . Item ane ward of a mat of round lyning for the mekle bed of estate .
- 182 . Item ane coffer of filk vpoun cammes maid of nedill work / quhairin is the bed of layn wrocht with filk .
- 183 . Item ane vther coffer maid in broderie vpoun reid satine / quhilk is without ony garnifing .

*Of Mattis / Palleissis / and Bousters .*

- 184 . Item ten pallies ane and vther .
- 185 . Item ten mattis mekle and little .
- 186 . Item ten bowsters / the hail to serue to the faidis beddis .

M<sup>r</sup> John Wod .

The Inuentar of the movables of vmquhile the Erll of Huntlie quhilkis wes deliuerit to me [Servay de Conde vallet of chamber to the Quene] be James Stewart gentleman to the Erll of Murray / all reffaut in December . 1562 .

- 1 . In the first a bed of violett veluois garnifit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis and twa vnderpandis freinyeit with violett filk / thre curtenis of violett dames and a covering of gray taffeteis stickit .
- 2 . Item ane bed of grene dames garnifit with ruif heidpece thre fingle pandis twa vnderpandis and thre curtenis / all pasmentit with filuir pas[m]entis / and freinyeit with filuir and grene filk . Togiddir with a covering of grene taffeteis stickit and ane litle burdclaith of grene veluot .  
Changeit senfyne in a foure nukit bed / The burdclaith loiffit in the Kingis ludging in Februar 1567 .
- 3 . Item ane bed of blak figurit veluot garnifit with the ruif heidpece and thre fingle pandis / thre vnderpandis / and thre courtenis of taffeties . all enrichit with pasmentis of gold and filuir / and freinyeit with gold and filuir / and a burdclaith of blak veluot garnifit in like maner / and lynit with bukrem .  
Deliuerit quhen the Quene wes at Hammyltoun .
- 4 . Item ane bed of tannie dames garnifit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis

and twa vnderpandis / all freinyeit with tannie filk / with thre fingle courtenis / and twa coveringis of tannie taffeteis stickit .

Ane of thir coveringis deliuerit in Februar 1564 .

- 5 . Item ane bed of crammosie veluot of heich cullour / garnisfit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis and twa vnderpandis / and thre curtenis of crammosie dames / all freinyeit with threid of gold and crammosie filk / and enrichet vpoun the feames with a litle bisset of gold / Ane burdclaith of that same freinyeit with gold and crammosie filk . and ane covering of reid taffetie stickit .

In August 1566 this covering gevin to the King and changeit the courtenis .

- 6 . Item ane claith of estate of crammosie satine figurit pirnit with gold / furnisfit with ruif and taill / thre fingle pandis / the haill freinyeit with gold and crammosie filk .

In Lochleavin .

- 7 . Item ane auld bed of yallow and blew taffetie furnisfit with ruif heidpece and thre fingle pandis all freinyeit with filk of that same cullour with thre curtenis of taffeteis of that same cullour .

- 8 . Item ane bed of yallow dames maid like a chapel / furnisfit with ruif and heidpece and thre pandis / twa vnderpandis / thre curtenis and foure coueringis for the stowppis / all freinyeit with yallow filk .

This bed wes maid foure nukit in December . 1566 . The curtenis wes brokin / and vtheris putt in thair place . In Linlythgow .

- 9 . Item ane bed of frefit claith of gold / diuidit equalie in breidis of claith of filuir champit / furnisfit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle pandis / and thre vnderpandis / and foure coveringis to the stowppis / thre curtenis of yallow damas / ane covering of stickit taffeteis / and ane burdclaith of veluot / the haill freinyeit and pafmentit with filuir and yallow filk .

. . . . . this bed wes brokin to mak the claith of gold serue to a claith of estate / and

alsua to mak coveringis to the stouppis of beddis of the claith of filuir to another bed .  
The rest employit in that same yeir .

10 . Item ane covering of quhite fustian to put on a bed .

Worne away . Condempnit .

11 . Item ellevin tapestrie of gilt leddir .

12 . Item twa cusscheonis of figurit crammofie veluot droppit with gold .

13 . Item foure cusscheonis of blak veluot .

A part employit in work . Reffaut j .

14 . Item twa cusscheonis of yallow veluot .

15 . Item twa cannabeis of blak dames .

In Julij . 1565 . ane deliuerit . Reffaut j .

16 . Item fyve pece of auld tapestrie maid in the figure of burdis and great  
leiffis of treis .

17 . Item mair ane bed of blak veluot furnisit with ruif heidpece / thre fingle  
pandis and twa vnderpandis / the haill freinyeit with blak filk / thre cur-  
tenis of dames and ane covering of blak stekit taffeties .

Vther mouables quhilkis I reffaut fra Maister Johnne Balfoure .  
vallet of the Quenis chalmer . in December . 1562 .

18 . In the first fourty peces of tapestrie of all fortis mekle and litle auld and  
new .

In Februar 1567 . sex peces wes tynt in the Kingis chalmer and fyve peces in the hall /  
and ane tynt in the great hall of Striucling / Reffaut xxxij peces .



- 00 . Item twa burdclaithis of blak tryp veluot figurit with twa cusscheonis of the fame .

Ane brokin in *anno* 1566 . Refsaut j .

- 19 . Item foure litle burdclaithis of grene claith part gude part euill .

Part of thir worne away in 1565 . Refsaut twa .

- 20 . Item ane litle cusscheoun of blak veluot quhilk feruis to put vnder a buke .

- 21 . Item ane pece of quhite plaidis fingle / contening ten ellis .

Deliuerit at findrie tymes . in *anno* 1563 . and 64 .

- 22 . Item ten dufand of playne seruiettis .

Deliuerit in the pantrie .

- 23 . Item foure dufand of dornik seruiettis .

Deliuerit in the pantrie .

- 24 . Item xxij copburd claithis part mekle part litle .

- 25 . Item fourty drying claithis of all fortes .

Deliuerit xij in the chalmer on Skir Furisday at the wesching of the pure folkis fete .

- 26 . Item nyne burd claithis mekle and litle .

Deliuerit in pantrie .

- 27 . Item ten dufand of damaskit seruiettis .

Deliuerit in pantrie .

- 28 . Item foure dornik burdclaithis .

Deliuerit in pantrie /

- 29 . Item sextene burdclaithis damaskit of findre fortis .

Deliuerit in pantrie .

30 . Item twelf pair of scheittis mekle and litle .

Part worne away .

31 . Item twelf burdclaitthis mekle and litle .

Deliverit in pantrie .

32 . Item ten pece of caippis / chafubles / and tvnicles / all of claith of gold /  
and thre of thame figurit with reid / and the rest with quhite and yallow /  
The thre quhite is auld .

In Merche 1567 . I deliverit thre of the fareft / quhilk the Quene gaif to the Lord Boithuil /  
And mair tuke for hir self ane caip / a chafable / four tynicles to mak a bed for the  
King / all brokin and cuttit in hir awin prefence . Refsaut ane .

33 . Item nyne peces of caippis / chafubles and tvnicles / all of claith of gold .  
thre figurit with reid .

Part brokin employit . Refsaut part .

34 . Item ane claith of estate to be borne on four stouppis of violett cram-  
mosie veluot / quhilk hes na thing bot four pandis / enrichit with broderie  
and freinyeis without ony vther thing .

35 . Item ane covering of the alter maid of claith of gold figurit with grene /  
without ane vnderpand .

36 . Item ane auld caip of claith of gold figurit with quhite .

37 . Item ane caip of claith of gold figurit with blew .

38 . Item twa caippis / ane chafuble / and twa tvnicles / all of reid veluot .

Deliverit .

39 . Item four caippis / ane chafuble and twa tvnicles / all of blew veluot .

40 . Item ane chafuble / twa tvnicles / four caippis / all of grene veluot /  
quhairof thair is twa figurit .

In the end of the yeir 1564 . all this wes employit be the Quenis command .

41 . Item ane pece of grene veluot of ane quarter breid and ane ell lang / quhairupoun thair is sum broderie .

Employit at the same tyme .

42 . Item ane auld caip ane chafuble and twa twnicles / all begareit with diuers cullouris .

42 . Item ane auld caip of quhite dames .

43 . Item thre vther auld caippis of quhite dames .

44 . Item ane chafuble and twa twnicles of blak dames .

45 . Item twa auld foirbreiftis of caippis .

46 . Item ane vther auld caip begareit .

47 . Item ane chafuble and twa twnicles of reid fkarlet .

Gevin be the Quene .

48 . Item ane auld claith afoir the alter / and ane vther auld caip .

49 . Item diuers stoyllis and fannonis of findrie fortis .

50 . Item mair Maister Johnne Balfoure deliuerit ane mytir to Madam mosel de Ralle / quhilk mytir wes inrychit with findrie stanes not verie fyne / all the rest coverit with small perlis .

**A**ne vther Inuentar of the Vefshellis of Glasse / quhilk I reffauit fra Alexander Bog porter . in December . 1562 .

51 . In the first ane gilt bafine with the cais .

Reffauit the bafin / wantis the cais .

52 . Item twa blew flaccownis garnifit with tin .

Reffaut .

53 . Item ane vther blew flaccoune .

Reffaut .

54 . Item ane figure of a manis heid maid of maber .

55 . Item foure gilt chandillers .

Reffaut .

56 . Item the figure of ane doig maid in quhite laym .

[To the] King .

57 . Item ane litle ymage of Saint George maid of tyn .

[To the] King .

58 . Item ane munk and a nun / in twa litle buiftis .

To the King .

59 . Item ane Samaritan woman and hir well / maid of trie .

Reffaut .

60 . Item ellevin plaittis of findrie fortis maid of quhite anameling .

Reffaut v . mair viij quheit / j of wandfaffon / iij of diuers collouris / vther thre colourit plane / ij of quheit and gold / [t]ua quheit sawfars ane lefs and a mair . Reffaut viij blew gilt / j brokin / j quheit bafing gilt / i bafing and lair with aipis wormes and serpentis / tua litle blew glaffis / ane litle blew difch / twa brokin coveris in form of laweris / five platis / ane lawer gilt / ane lawer with a cowp and a cover of copper enamellit .

61 . Item twa gilt facers .

62 . Item twa litle barrellis and a litle thre futit pott .

Reffaut .

63 . Item twa pottis with thair coveris / and vther twa to drink beir without coveris .

64 . Item ane pilgreimmes dische .

Reffault .

65 . Item ane aip .

66 . Item twa blew laveris with ane gilt coup .

Reffault / wantis j .

67 . Item ane litle laver blew gilt .

Reffault .

68 . Item ane quhite vais .

Reffault .

69 . Item ane cowp of jasp with the cover .

Reffault .

70 . Item twa gilt spvnis .

71 . Item thre heich goblettis / twa coverit and ane without a cover .

Reffault . ij in the Registry .

72 . Item twa cowppis coverit / and sex vther cowppis .

Reffault viij .

73 . Item ane glas and sex litle culing fannis of litle wandis .

Wantis glas .

M<sup>r</sup> Johnne Wod .

Memorandum of sum graith / within a cais ressauid fra Lething-  
toun / the tyme that he brocht the pictour of the Quene Regent  
out of France . 1563 .

- 1 . Firft . The brod of the pictour of the Quene Regent .
- 2 . Thre vaskenis of reid fatine pirnit with gold .  
Deliuerit .
- 3 . Thre vther vaskenis of quhite fatine pirnit with filuir .  
Deliuerit .
- 4 . Nyne ellis of claith of gold figurit with blew .  
Deliuerit .
- 5 . Thre ellis and a quarter of gray fatine pirnit with gold .  
Deliuerit .
- 6 . Ane rest of columbe taffeties contening nyne ellis .  
Deliuerit .
- 7 . Mair sevintene cusscheonis fewit with filk and gold .
- 8 . Mair ten mekle round peces of fewit work of filk and threid of gold .
- 9 . Mair ane litle pece of gais of filuir and quhite filk .
- 10 . Mair twa coittis of grene veluot bandit with claith of gold .  
Deliuerit .
- 11 . Mair twa coittis of violet veluois bandit with claith of filuir .  
Deliuerit .
- 12 . Mair ane vther coitt of blew veluot weill auld and worne .  
Presentlie wes deliuerit to Merna .

**M**emorandum of that quhilk I haue ressaute of ane present quhilk my Lady Ruthven maid to the Quene in the Justice Clerkis ludging . 1564 . in June .

- 1 . Firft ane litle claith of estate of claith of gold reinyeit with reid / quhilk hes bot thre bredis in braidnes / furnifit with thre fingle pandis / the haille freinyeit with gold and reid filk .

This wes brokin to cover the flure about the Quenis bed . Ressaute . Ressaute the freinyeis wantand findry partes of the gold contenand iij eln iij quarteris double freinyeit .

- 2 . Mair ane vther claith of estate of the same stuff / quhilk hes bot twa bredis in braidnes / furnifit with ruif taill and thre fingle pandis / all freinyeit with gold and reid filk .
- 3 . Mair ane vther litle claith of estate of claith of gold reinyeit and figurit with tanne / furnifit with thre fingle pandis / ruif and taill / all freinyeit with reid filk and tanny .
- 4 . Ane burdclaith of claith of gold reingyeit with reid without freinyeis or linying .

**M**emorandum of the ornamentis of the Kirk quhilk I reffaut fra  
the Kepar of the Chapel of Striueling . 1562 .

Firft twa auld caippis of blew dames droppit with floure delice of gold /  
with the foirbreftis maid in hiftories .

Alfua ane cover of the alter with the vnderpand / all of frefit claith of  
gold with blew / and diuidit equalie in bredis of claith of gold figurit with  
reid / freinyeit with filk of the fame cullour .

Mair twa auld caippis of reid veluot figurit with flouris of gold / furnifit  
the foirbreiftis with counterfait gold .

Mair twa tvnicles ane chafuble and a caip / all of claith of gold figurit with  
blew veluot / the foirbreiftis of broderie work of gold and filk .

Mair twa tvnicles / thre caippis / ane chafuble with the cover of ane alter  
and the vnderpand / all of blak veluot droppit with ftarnis of gold . The  
foirbreiftis of thame of reid veluot enrichit with the armes of Scotland and  
hiftories .

Mair ane chafuable and twa tvnicles of claith of gold / pyrnit with blak /  
furnifit with the foirbreiftis of fyne gold .

Mair foure ftouillis and fix fannonis with fyve beltis maid of quhite threid .

Mair fix abbis and foure amyntis with twa auld alter claithis .

Worne .



Inuentaie de tous les ahabillemens de la Royne tant vngs que aultres faict a Lislebourg . et premier jour de Feburier mil cinq cens soixante vng . Lesquelz meubles sont de presant avecq les aultres meubles de la Royne dans Labbaye de Lislebourg .

*Et premierement .*

Vne robbe de toille dor damassée bandee de troys bisets dargent faict entre deux de petitz cordons dargent faict en plume .

Vne robbe de toille dargent frisee dor et dargent et traſsee de vert bordee de passément dor . Ladite robbe faicte a bourletz .

Vne robbe de toille dargent frisee dor et dargent et traſsee de ſoye cramoyſye et bordee dung passément dor faict a bourletz .

Vne robbe faicte a bourletz de toille dor toute couuerte de broderye de cordon dargent faict en feullaiges le font rambly de ſoye viollete et bordee dung passément .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faict a grand manches toutes couuertes de broderye bandee et chamaree de cannetille dor et cordon . Le reste de la dicte robbe est faict par ondes dudiſt cordon .

Vne robbe de veloux vert faicte en bourletz toute couuerte de broderye gimpure et cordon dor et dargent et bordee dung passément de mesmes .

Item vne robbe de damas cramoyfy violet faicte a bourletz toute couuerte de broderye la bande de cannetille dor et brodee dune tresse dor .

Donne a Madame dArgille en ce moys de Decembre 1566 .

Vne [robbe] de fatin gris faict en bourletz toute couuerte de broderye de gumpure dor cordon dor et bordee de passément dor .

Vne robbe de fatin bleu faicte a borletz toute couuerte de broderye en faison de palmes faicte dargent . le reste cordonne dor et bordee dung passément dor et dargent .

Vne robbe de fatin cramoyfy feict a bourelles toute couuerte de broderye en faison de roffe et feullages faictz dargent . et le reste cordonne dor et bordee dung passément dor .

Vne robbe de fatin incarnat faicte a bourletz et bandee dune bande de brodere de gumpure dargent . Ladicte robbe est semee de petitz fleuron dargent et bordee dune tresse dargent .

Vne robbe de fatin blanc faicte a manches longues toutes chamarees de bandes de broderye faicte de gumpure dor cordonne dor et bordee dune tresse dor .

Vne robbe de fatin geaulne faicte a manches longues toute couuerte de broderye gumpure cordon dargent et bordee de passément dargent frise .

*Les Robbes de Toille Dor et Dargent pleine ou brochee dor et dargent .*

Vne robbe de toille dargent faicte a bourles toute goffree et bordee dune tresse dargent .

Vne robbe de camellot cramoyfy brochee dor faicte a bourletz et bordee dune tresse dor .

Au moys Daoust la Royne a donne ladicte robbe a Foupertuy .

Vne robbe de camellot blanc brochee dargent faicte a manches longues bandee de deux passément dor faicte a jour et a troys nattes dor et bordee dune tresse dor .

Vne robbe de fatin cramoyfy brochee dargent faicte a borletz et bordee dune frange dargent .

Vne robbe de taffetas cramoyfy violet broche dor faicte a bourletz et bordee dune tresse dor .

Item vne robbe de toylle blew a grande manche rayee dor et dargent et passément dor et dargent alentour .

Item vne robbe de fattyn orangee rayee dargent et passément dargent alentour .

Item vne robbe de weloux noyr figuree lowttye semee de geyn pewyrs dor et bordee de martriques .

Item vne manteau royale de veloux violett .

*Les Robbes de Couleur lesquelles sont Enrechies tant dune sorte que aultre .*

Vne robbe de refeu blanc faicte a borletz toute semee de roses et boullon dargent et bordee dune franges dargent .

Vne robbe de fatin cramoyfy faicte a manches longues toute chamaree de bifette dargent . la bande semee de perles par petitiz fleuron de troy perles .

La Royne en a faict prendre les perles et a donnez ladite robbe a Madamoiselle de Leuiston laynee ce jourdhuy xj<sup>e</sup> jour de Januier mil v<sup>e</sup> lxiiij .

Vne robbe de fatin jeaulne dore toute goffree faicte a manches longues toute chamaree de bifette dargent bordee dung passément geaulne goffre dargent .

Donne a Madamoiselle de Beton ce mois de Decembre 1566 .

Vne robbe de fatin bleu faicte a manches longues toute chamaree dung bifette dor et dargent toute faicte par bandes bandee de deux passément dargent faicte a jour a troys bifette de mesme assauoir le tout dor et dargent .

Vne robbe de fatin blanc faicte a borlette toute chamaree dung petit passément dor faicte a jour et bande de petite natte dor faicte a fleuron .

Vne robbe de camellot de foye blanche faicte a manches longues bandee dung passément dor et dargent faictz a double escaille .

Vne robbe de veloux cramoyfy par petis carreaux figure faicte a bourletz bande de troys passément dargent faict a jour et bordee dung passément dargent .

Donne a Madame de Marre ce mois de Decembre 1566 .

Vne robbe de damas cramoyfy de hault coulleur faicte a manches longues bandee dung passément dor et dargent bien larges faictz a jour et bordee dung passément dor et dargent .

Vne robbe de damas orange faicte a borletz bande dung grand passément dargent faictz a jour et bordee dung passément de foye orange goffre de filles dargent .

Vne robbe de damas bleux faicte a borletz bandee dung grand passément dargent faicte a jour .

Vne robbe de damas collombez faicte a borletz bande dung grand passément dor et dargent faictz a jour .

Vne robbe de veloux cramoyfy faicte a grandz manches les poignes de loup feruier et gie de mesme .

Au mois de Januier 1564 la Royne a faict prendre les poignetz de lous ceruiers et le bord pour mettre en vng manteau de velours noir . La Royne a donnez ladite robbe a Margueritte Habron a moy de May v<sup>e</sup> lxvij .

Vne robbe de taffetas jeaulne changeant bien paille faicte a borletz bordee de troys petitz bors de mesme avecq troys petites nattes dor .

La Royne a donnez ladite robbe a la petite fille Madame Datel au moy de Novembre .

Vne robbe de taffetas changeant rayee de rouge et jeaulne faicte a manches longues bordee de veloux cramoyfy cordonnee dargent .

Vne robbe de crespé blanc raye de foye blanche faicte a bourletz bordee de frange dargent .

Vne robbe de reseu blanc faict a borletz dont le corps de ladite robbe est double de toille dor cramoyfy bordee dune bizette blanche .

Vne robbe de stamine blanche faicte a bourlettes bordee de fatin blanc decoupee .

Ladite robbe au moys de May la Royne a donnee a Nicolle la Folle .

Vne robbe de stamine blanche faicte a manches longues bordee dung passément de foye noire et blanche et les manches chamaree de mesme passément .

Vne robbe ronde de toille blanche raye de foye cramoyfy faicte a manches longues bordee dung passément de foye cramoyfy et foye blanche .

*Les Robbes de Soye Noire tant vnes que aultres . Et premierement .*

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faicte a bourletz tout le bor coupe par escaille bordee dune frange dargent et le tout de ladite robbe est de reseu dargent faict a mode de passément et rose par dessus ladite robbe dont elle est toute couuerte .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faicte a borletz bande de deux bors de broderye faicte de perles cordonnees dargent et cannetille .

Vne robbe de fatin noyer faicte a borletz toute chamaree dung passément dargent faicte a jour et dung bifet dargent faict par ondes .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faicte a manches longues bandee dung grand passément dor et dargent faicte av jour et bordee dune tresse dargent cordonnee dor .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faicte a manches longues / lefdites manches descoupees par petites losenges enrechies de tresse et jazerant dargent avecq la bande de mesme et coupee alentour par escaille bordee dune tresse dargent .

*Nota .* Nocht found .

Vng bas de robbe de veloux noyer figure par petis carre / la bande descoupee a jour doublee de fatin incarnat enrechye dung bifet dargent et bordee dung passément dargent .

Madame de Martigues a prins le corps de ladite robbe .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer faicte a manches longues descoupee garnye de boutonniere et chenetz dor et sur le deuant de ladite robbe cent mil aultres choses .

Vne robbe de veloux noyer ronde faicte alEspagnolle le corps descoupee et double de fatin incarnat bordee et bandee de bifette dor en fasson de cheuron .

Le xvij jour de Januier mil v<sup>e</sup> lxiiij la Royne a donnez ladicte robbe a Madamoiselle de Leuiston laynee .

Vne robbe de taffetas noyer faicte a manches longues / lefdites manches chamarees et le reste bandee dune bande faicte par cheureon dune petite natte et frange dor .

La Royne a donnez ladite robbe a Madamoiselle de Leuiston laynee le xvij jour de Januier mil v<sup>e</sup> lxiiij .

Item vne robbe de weloux noyr faicte alAspaignolle toute semee de grayns de geis en faishon de buttymens .

Vne robbe de camellot de foye noyer faicte alEspagnolle / le corps et les manches chamarees dung bifette de foye noire semee de petite murez noire avecq la bande de mesme .

La Roynie a donnee ladite robbe a Margueritte Carotte .

Vne robbe ronde de camellot de foye noire faicte a manches longues garnye de boutonier fur lefdites manches et fur le deuant de ladicte robbe faicte de fil dor et foye noire bordee dune tresse dor et foye noire .

Le x<sup>me</sup> de Defembre 1562 la Roynie a donnee ladite robbe a Madamoyfel de Seton .

Vne robbe de cresp de foye noire raye dor faicte a borletz bordee dune petite frange dor .

Vne robbe de cresp faicte a bourletz . la bande descoupee par losenges et cordon dargent semee de rose et petis fers de getz noyer .

Vne robbe de cresp noyer brodee de mesme faicte a longues manches .

La Roynie la prinse pour luy seruir . Depuys a este donnee a Monsieur de Ledinton .

Vne robbe ronde de farge de Fleurance faicte a longues manches bordee dung petit passément noyer avecq deux tortis de veloux noyer .

La Roynie la faict prendre pour luy seruir .

Vne robbe de cresp noyer ronde faicte a longues manches bordee de satin noyer par pistaunc garnye sur les manches et deuant de ladite robbe de petit fertz de getz noyer .

La Roynie la prinse pour luy seruir . Depuys a este donnee a Monsieur Ledinton .

Vne robbe de flammen noyer faicte a longues manches bordee de frange de foye noyre et les manches descoupees et garnye de petis fers de getz .

La Roynie la faict prendre pour luy seruir .

Vne robbe ronde de farge dasquot faicte alEspagnolle et a longues manches charmarree et bandees de fatin bordee de frange noyre garnye de petitiz ferts de getz noyer .

*Tous les Manteux . tant vng que aultres .*

Vng manteau a coulet carre faict de toille dargent damasse et borde dung passément dargent garny de parement de lourt feruier .

La Royne a commende donner ledit mantheau a Seruais de Condez pour faire vng lietz pour son seruice et ledits paremens onst estez pris pour mettre en vng mantheau de fatin raye dargent .

Vng manteau ront de taffetas gris faict alEspagnolle tout couuert de broderye de petitiz jazerant dargent et tout double de panne de foye blanche et borde dung grand passément dargent .

Vng manteau de fatin blanc gomfre faict a coulet carre tout charmarre de troys petitiz cordons dor et garny de boutonnières dor .

Vng manteau de camellot de foye blanche faict alEspagnolle bande de deux passément dor faict a jour et borde dune tresse dor .

Vng manteau a cuer de taffetas cramoyfy faict a coulet carre bande de deux passément faictz a jour et troys bisettes de fil dargent faict a double parement .

Vng manteau de taffetas blanc raye et mouchettes de mesme faict alEspagnolle bande de deux tresses dor et garny sur le deuant et sur les manches de grandes boutonnières de fil dor .

Donne a Flamin .

Vng manteau de taffetas noyer raye et mouchettes de mesme faict a coulet



carre bande dung petit passément et deux franges dargent et borde dune treffe dargent .

Au moy de May mil v<sup>e</sup> lxvij la Royne a donnez ledit mantheau a Maistresse Catenay .

Vng manteau de taffetas noyer raye et mouchettes faict a couillet carre le parement de panne de foye noire et borde de veloux noyer .

La Royne la donnez a Madamoiselle de Flamy lan v<sup>e</sup> lxxv .

Vng manteau de taffetas noyer faict a couillet carre borde dung passément dor les manches chamarres .

Vng mantheau de taffetas noyer faict alEspagnolle borde dune treffe dargent garny de boutonnières seulement sur le deuant .

Le xvij jour de Janvier mil v<sup>e</sup> lxxij la Royne a donnez ledict mantheau a Madamoiselle de Leuiston laynee garny de lij placque dargent et de dixhuiet bouton dargent a longue queux .

Vng manteau de taffetas noyer faict alEspagnolle et borde de veloux noyer .

Vng petit manteau de chambre faict de veloux noyer enrechie dune bande de petite natte dargent faict en faison de treffles .

*Les Vasquines de Toille Dor et Toille Dargent .*

Vne vasquine de toille dargent frisee bordee de passément dargent .

Deliurez ladite vasquine a Ceruays de Condez pour paracheuer vng list au moy de Mars mil v<sup>e</sup> soixante fix .

Vne vasquine de toille dargent frisee avecq le corps et bourletz figuree et frisee de rouge .

Vne vasquine de toille dargent figure et toute cordonnee alentour de la figure de cordon dor fectz en broderie .

Vne vafquaine de toille dor traſſe de foye vyollette damaffe de meſme bordee dune paſſement dor .

Vne vafquaine de toille dor cramoyſye bordee dune petite frange dor .

La Royne la donne a Madamoifelle de Leuiſton la ieufne le landemain de ces nopces et les manchon de meſmes qui fut le viij<sup>e</sup> jour de Januier .

Vne vafquyne de toille dor crammoysé bordee dune petite frange dor .

Vne vafquyne de toille dor frifee et bordee dung paſſement dor .

Vne vafquyne de toille dor plaine avecq le corps de meſme faiçt a bourletz bordees dung paſſement dor .

Donne a Monſieur de Ledinton en ce mois de Decembre 1566 .

Vne vafquyne de toille dargent pleyne avecq le corps faiçt a bourletz borde dung paſſement dargent .

La Royne la donnee a Madamoifelle de Leuiſton laynee le Samedy iij<sup>e</sup> jour de moy de Mars mil v<sup>e</sup> lrv auant Paſques .

Vne vafquyne de toille dor frifee dor et dargent et traſſée de vert bordee dune traſſe dor dont le derriere de ladite vafquyne eſt de taffetas geaulne .

Vne vafquyne de ſatin violet chamarree par bandes de broderye faiçte par cheuron de cannetille dargent bordee dung paſſement dargent .

Vne vafquyne de camellot blanc broche dargent et bordee dune traſſe dargent .

La Royne la donne a Madamoifelle de Beton en ce mois de Decembre 1566 .

Vne vafquyne de reſeul dargent avecq de petites hoppes de foye noire doublee de tocques dargent et le derriere de ladite vafquyne eſt de taffetas blanc .

*Les Vaſquines de Broderye et Paſſementees .*

Vne vafquyne de ſatin bleux . avecq la piece faiçte alEſpagnolle enrechy de bandes de broderye faiçte dor et dargent ~~laquelle neſt encore parſaiçte~~ .

Vne vafquyne de fatin noyer enrechye dune bande de broderye dargent bordee dune treffe dargent .

Vne vafquyne de fatin incarnat enrechye dung large paffement dargent feullement fur le deuant et lentour de petites nattes dargent faicte par entrelatz et bordee dune treffe dargent .

Vne vafquyne de fatin collombe enrechye dung grand paffement dor faict a jour feullement sur le deuant et alentour eft bordee dune treffe dor .

Vne vafquyne de fatin orange enrechye dune bande faicte dune bifette dargent .

Vne vafquyne de fatin incarnat bandee dung paffement dor et dargent faict a jour bordee dung paffement dor .

Vne vafquinne de fatin geaulne daure enrechye dune bande de broderye faicte de ginpeure dargent bordee de treffe dargent .

Vne vafquyne de fatin cramoyfy enrechye dune bande dung paffement dargent faict a jour et borde dung paffement dargent .

Au moy de Feuurier la Royne donne laditz vafquine a Mademoyfel de Beton .

Vne vafquyne de fatin incarnat bandee dung paffement dor faict a jour .

Le Samedy iij<sup>e</sup> jour de moys de Mars la Royne la donnee a ladite Leuifton laynee .

Vne vafquyne de fatin gris bordee de paffement dor .

La Royne la donnee a Mademoifelle de Leuifton laynee le xvij<sup>e</sup> jour de Januier 15[6]4 .

Vne vafquyne de fatin blanc bandee dung paffement dor faict a jour .

Vne vafquyne de fatin blanc enrechye dune bande de paffement faict dor et dargent .

Vne vafquyne de fatin noyer enrechye dune bande faicte de troys bifettes dor avecq la piece et manches longues .

Vne vasquyne de toille raye de foye violette et fil dargent bordee dung petit passement fait de foye violette et dargent .

Vne vasquyne de fatin cramoisy avec le cors faicte a hault collet avecq des petites escailles et vng bor de veloux cramoisy cordonnez dargent .

La Royne la donnee a Maistresse Cadenay au moy de May <sup>ve</sup> lxxvij .

*Les Vasquynes ausquelles ou il n y a nul Enrechissement .*

Vne vasquyne de fatin blanc descoupee par losenge .

Vne vasquyne de fatin blanc descoupee et mouchetee .

Vne vasquyne de fatin blanc avecq le corps .

Au moys de May 1562 . la Royne la prin pour luy seruir . La Royne a vsee .

Vne vasquyne de fatin noyer avecq le corps et les bourletz .

La Royne la vsee .

Vne vasquyne de fatin noyer descoupee et charmarree de tortis de veloux noyer .

La Royne la prinse pour luy seruir / La Royne la [vsee] .

Vne vasquyne de taffetas noyer mouchete .

La Royne la prinse pour luy seruir . La Royne la [vsee] .

Plus vne verdugall ~~souerte~~ de taffetas noyer .

*Tous les Deuant de Cottes tant vngs que aultres .*

Vng deuant de cotte de toille dor frisee et trasee de rouge .

Au moys de May 1562 . la Royne a donne leditz deuan a Madame de Flamy .

Vne deuant de cotte de toille dor damassée et trañée de noyer .

La Royne la donnez a Madame dArguille le xiiij<sup>e</sup> jour de Januier 15[6]4 . et les manchons  
et la pieffe de mesme .

Vng deuant de cotte de toille dor incarnat frise dor .

Vng deuant de cotte de toille dargent frisee dargent .

La Royne la donnee a Mademoiselle de Leuifton laynee le Dimenche iiij<sup>e</sup> jour de Mars  
v<sup>e</sup> lxx auant Pasques .

Vng deuant de cotte de fatin cramoyfy tout couuert de broderye de petis  
cordons dor faict par feuillages .

Vng deuant de fatin blanc charmerre en trauert de bande de broderye faict  
de cordon dor .

Vng deuant de cotte de veloux bleux tout couuert de broderye descoupee a jour  
et double de tocque dargent .

Vng deuant de cotte de fatin incarnat tout couuert de broderye faict par grand  
feuillages avecq du veloux bleux et petit cordon dor et dargent .

Vng deuant de cotte de toille dargent goffree tout couuert de broderye de  
ginpeure de plusieurs couleurs en fañon de quannetille et cordon dor .

Vng deuant de cotte de toille dor tout goffre .

Vng deuant de toille raye de veloux violet et dargent .

Vng deuant de cotte de fatin blanc mouchette .

La Royne la donnez a la petite fille la Lauendiere .

Vng deuant de cotte de fatin cramoyfy descoupee et mouchette .

Vng deuant de cotte de reseul dargent et foye incarnat double de fatin cra-  
moyfy .

Vng deuant de cotte de cresppe cresppeu blanc raye dor .

Vng deuant de toille de foye blanche raye dor .

*Les Abillemens de Deul assauoir ceulx qui sont avecq les meubles .*

Vng grand manteau royal garny de parement darmyne lentour de mesmes et le reste double de taffetas blanc .

Vne robbe destamer noyer faicte a grande peliffon de menu vert .

La Royne la donnee a Madame de Cotiquant au mois de Nouembre 1563 .

Plus vne aultre robbe de mesmes .

*Les Masques assauoir ceulx qui sont sur les tables avecq les meubles .*

Vne robbe de camellot rouge onde faicte a la Picarde avecq vng deuantreau de fatin geaulne .

Vne robbe ronde faicte alEspagnolle faicte par petitz boullons dargent faulx .

Vne robbe de fatin blanc faicte alEspagnolle par boullon et semee de peties boutons de verre .

Vne robbe de fatin incarnat blanc et bleux boullonnee de tocque dargent et frange dargent .

Plus troys tappis vertz qui couurent lefdits habillemens contenant chacun deux aulnes et demye ou enuiron .

Condamnee .

**J**e confesse avoir veu moy Seruez de Condee vallet de chambre de la Royne tous les abillemens de la Royne cy deffuz comprins en se present Inuentoyre lesquelz font de present avecques les aultrez meublez de ladite Dame dont je fine la presente .

S De Condez .

### Inuentaie des bagues de la Royne .

#### *Premierement . Bagues a pendre .*

Vng gros collier auquel y a sept gros saffis et neuf pieces garnies de quatre perles chacune qui sont lentredeux dun collier .

Vne grosse bague a pendre facon de .*h*. en laquelle y a vng gros diamant en lorenge taille en face et deffoubz vng gros rubiz chabochon garniz dune petite chefne .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng diamant a lorenge taille a faces et au deffoubz vne grande esmeraude et vne perle platte .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne grande esmeraude a faces mises hors doeuvre .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne autre esmeraude .

Vne autre bague a pendre faicte en rouleaux en laquelle y a vne grande table de rubiz .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng grand rubiz ballay taille en table carre garny dune grosse perle .



Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng grand rubiz ballay longue .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng grand rubiz ballay perce par les deux boutz .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vng grand s'affiz taille a huit pampes esmaillee de blanc et rouge garny dune gros perle .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne rose de diamant de dix pieces esmaillee de rouge .

Vne autre bague a pendre en laquelle y a vne petite rose de diamans garnie de six pieces .

Vne croix garnie de sept diamans dont y a deux tables deux triangles deux diamans taillez a face et vne poynte de diamans et deux rubiz cabochons .

Vne croix garnie de cinq tables de diamens et troys moiennes perles pendantes laquelle a este baillee a la Royne a Saint Jeanston .

*Acoustrement de Groz Diamens .*

Vne grande brodure en laquelle y a vne grande triangle de diamens / huit tables de diamens que longues que carrees / vng diamant taille a faces / vng autre diamant taille a faces de pene garnye de dix entredeux / et a chacun entredeux y a deux perles .

Vne brodure doreillettes ou il y a vne grosse poynte de diamens / dix tables de diamens garnye de dix entredeux / et a chacun entredeux y a deux perles .

Vng carcan ou il y a vne grosse poincte de diamant taille a faces / huit grandes

tables de diamens garnies de huit entredeux / et a chacun entredeux y a deux grosses perles .

Vng cottouere garnie de dixhuit pieces / et a chacune piece y a deux diamens reste vne piece qu'il y a faulte dun diamant et dixhuit entredeux garniz de fix perles chacun entredeux et xxxvj . s . esmaillees de rouge et vng entredeux qui est de reste .

Vne faincture faicte de fil garnye de dix croix de diamens taillez a faces enchassée en bafinetz esmaillez de rouge et de dix entredeux / et a chacun entredeux y a quatre perles et dixneuf cordelieres esmaillees de rouge .

Vng dizain de frin garny de quinze pieces / et a chacune piece y a six pointes de frin et quatorze entredeux garny chacun entredeux de quatre perles .

Vng dizain de cristal ou il y a xiiii vases de cristal garniz dor en facon de vase / et au bout du dizain y a vng gros vase garny dor et quatorze patenostres dor esmaillees de blanc .

*Autre Acoustrement de Diamens esmaille de blanc .*

Vne brodure de thouret garnie de xiiii tables de diamant et vne triangle de diamant au milieu faicte a jour facon de fiaux esmaillee de blanc et seize petitiz entredeux faictz en maniere de feuille esmaillez de blanc .

Vne brodure doreillettes pareille facon garnie de xvii moiene diamens et xviii entredeux .

*Autre Acoustrement [de] Diamens esmaille de noir .*

Vne brodure de thouret garnie de seize diamens et dixsept roses dor entredeux esmaille de noir .

Vne brodure doreillettes pareille facon garnye de dixhuiet diamens et xix roses entredeux pareille facon .

Vng carcan garny de treize diamens et treize entredeux de pareille facon .

*Aultre Acoustrement de Rubis et Diamens .*

Vne chesne faicte en facon de petis anneaux ou il y a iiii<sup>xx</sup> xi anneaux garniz de chacun deux rubiz et douze tables datente / chacune table garnie dune table de diamens et dun rubiz / et deux cab[o]chons de rubiz en vne piece attachez a ladite chesne .

*Groz Rubis garniz de Perles enfillees .*

Vng tour[e] garny de sept gros rubiz cabochons et quatre tables de rubiz et quarante grosses perles qui font les entredeux .

Vne aureillette garnie de vnze rubiz cabochons et quarante perles qui font lentredeux .

Vng carcan de rubiz garny de vne espinelle et six rubiz cabochons vne table de rubiz avec xxxij perles accompaignees de troys rubiz ballays percez / avec vne perle au bout de chacun .

Vne cottouere garnie de feize pieces / et a chacune piece y a deux rubiz tant cabochons que tablit / feize entredeux de perles / et a chacun entredeux y a deux perles et trentedeux . § . esmaillees de rouge et blanc .

Vne faincture garnie d'vnze pillers / et a chacun piller y a neuf petis rubiz / xxi pillers / et a chacun piller y a neuf perles / et xxij entredeux garniz de deux perles

chacun et au bout de ladite faincture y a vng vase dor garny de trente perles alentour dudit vase et vne perle au bout dudit vase .

*Aultre Acoustrement [de] Rubis Diamens et Perles .*

Vne brodure de toure garnie de cinq rubiz les deux font tables fix tables de diamant et douze entredeux garniz de chacun vne perle .

Vne aoreillette de fix rubiz et fix diamens et treize entredeux et a chacun entredeux y a vne perle .

Vng carcan garny de troys diamens / lun taille a faces et deux en tables / et quatre rubiz cabochons / huit entredeux garniz de chacun vne grosse perle platte / et xiiii autres petites pieces qui seruent dentredeux esmaillees de blanc et rouge .

Vne faincture garnie de neuf diamens dont y a fix tables et troys taillez a faces / huit rubiz cabochons / et xvij entredeux garniz de chacun vne [perle] .

Reste de lacoustrement cy dessus de sept pieces dont y a troys tables de diamens / desquelles deux font grandes et vne petite / troys rubiz deux en table et vng cabochon / et vne piece garnye dune perle .

Deux brasseletz garniz de chacun quatre pieces / et a chacune piece y a huit diamens / et sept tables de rubiz / et a chacun brasselet y a quatre entredeux garniz dune perle les huit entredeux .

*Aultre Acoustremens [de] Rubis esmaille de blanc .*

Vng toure esmaille de blanc garny de quinze rubiz cabochons et quatorze entredeux garniz de chacun deux perles .

Vne aureillette de mesme facon garnie de xvij petis rubiz cabochons et xvj entredeux garniz de chacun deux perles .

Vng carcan de mesme facon garny d'unze rubiz cabochons dix entredeux garniz de chacun deux perles et dix rubiz balays qui font pendant au dit carcan .

*Aultre Acoustrement [de] Rubis en roses .*

Vne brodure de toure garnie de dix roses de rubiz / dix entredeux garnis de chacun quatre perles / xix pieces faictes a fleurs esmaille de blanc et de verd .

Vne brodure d'oreillette garnie de neuf roses de rubiz / dix pieces garnies de quatre perles chacune / et dixhuiet entredeux esmaillez de blanc et verd .

Demeure de reste de loreillette vne piece garnie de quatre perles et deux entredeux esmaillez de blanc et verd .

Vng carcan garny de sept roses de rubiz huiet pieces garnies de chacun quatre perles quinze petitz entredeux et vingthuiet perles pendantes .

Vng carcan garny de neuf pieces et a chacune piece y a deux tables de rubiz et deux petites esmerauldes et quatre vingtz neuf perles .

Vne cotouere garnie de xxvij pillers garnies de petites perles et xxvij entredeux garniz de deux perles chacun esmaille de verd .

*[Rubis Esmerauldes et Saffiz .]*

Vne petite aureillette garnye de douze rubiz cabochons douze esmerauldes et xxv entredeux garniz de chacun vne perle .

Vng carcan esmaille de noir garny de sept esmeraudes fix pieces garnies de chacun vne grosse perle et quatorze entredeux .

Vng toure esmaille de blanc et rouge garny de treize saffiz et treize entredeux garnis de chacun quatre perles .

Vng carcan de mesme facon garny de neuf petitz saffiz vng gros saffiz a jour ou pend vne grosse perle et dix entredeux garnis de chacun quatre perles .

Six esmerauldes en chattons garnies de leurs bassinetz .

Vng petit saffiz a jour pendant pour frotter les yeux .

Vne bordure garnie de dix tables de saffiz blancs et vnze entredeux facon deftaux .

Vingt cinq pieces qui seruent a faire vne chesne garnie chacune piece dun diamant dun rubiz et deux perles .

Les vingt cinq pieces cy dessus escriptes ont este prinſes pour faire vne cottouere avec des perles .

*Acoustrement de Perles enfillees .*

Vng tour[e] de grosses perles ou il y en a xxxiij et neuf pendantes en poire et trentetroys petites perles qui font lentredeux .

Vne oreillette en laquelle y a li grosses perles .

Vng toure auquel y a xlix grosses perles .

Vne aureillette en laquelle y a xlvij grosses perles .

Vng carcan auquel y a lxiiij grosses perles .

L

Vne cottouere en laquelle y a cij grosses perles . et y a dauantaige a la cotoucre pour lalonger xlviii perles qui est en tout cl perles .

Vne sainture de grosses perles ou il y a deux cens six perles .

Vng dizain de grosses perles ou il y a cliiiij perles et vnze marques garnies de troys grosses perles chacune reste dune marque qu'il y a vne perle perdue . vne houppe au bout dudite disain ou il y a xxij grosses perles .

Quatorze moyennes perles de reste et troys perles jaulnes .

Vne fauicte de velours noir ou il y a dessus cij perles .

Ladite fauicte balle a Seruais pour mettre a vng collet .

Vingt troys perles a pendre de plusieurs grosseurs .

La Royne en a deux pour pendre a ses oreilles . Vne pendue a vng rubiz balay / vne a vng saffiz taille a viij pampes / et deux donnees a Marnac .

Il a este prins des perles cy dessus a pandre pour mettre a vne croix de diamens et rubiz vne grosse perle .

Cinq cens trente moyennes perles en corde .

Il y a este prins desdites cinq cens trente perles a vne coueffe qui a este faicte pour la Royne ou il y a des rubiz cinq cens dix / et vingt qui estoient ont este mises a allonger la cottouere de rubiz et diamens .

#### *Autre Acoustrement de Perles .*

Vng toure garny de treize grosse perles en chattons et douze cordelieres qui seruent dentredeux garnies de perles esmaille de noir .

Vne aoreillette garnie de treize chattons a perles et douze cordelieres qui seruent dentredeux garnis de perles .

Vng carcan garny de huit perles en chattons et neuf cordelieres de perles qui seruent dentredeux .

Vne bordure de toure garnie de xvij baffinetz / et a chacun y a vne grosse perle et de petites perles alentour / et feize entredeux garniz de petites perles esmaillez de noir .

Vne aurette garnie de xxij baffinetz et a chacun y a vne moyenne perle et xxj entredeux garniz de petites perles .

Vng petit carcan esmaille tout de noir ou il y a de petites perles pendantes et de petit grains noirs entredeux .

Contenant dixhuiſt pieces .

Vng autre petit carcan esmaille de noir garny de douze pieces garnies de chacune vne perle et vnze entredeux facon de bastons rompuz entrelacez garniz de chacun vne perle pendante .

Hotman a baille cedit carcan . lequel n'est au vieil Inuentaie .

Vne cottouere garnie de trente quatre lappis en vase et xxvj perles qui font lentredeux aussi en maniere de vase .

Vne ſaincture garnie de xxxij pieces damatifte / sept pillers dor xxxix meures de perles entredeux / et au bout vne pomme damatifte de deux pieces .

Vne ſaincture et cotouere garnie de petites perles et de coural taille a godrons .

Vne ſaincture de grifolicques garnies en maniere de vases et de petites oliues entredeux esmaillees de rouge .

Vne ſaincture et cotouere garnie de perles de coural taille a godrons et de turquin .

Vne petite brodure de ſaincture de toure ou il y a xxxvj grains a jour pleins de parfum garniz de petit grains dor a jour .

Vne aurette de meſme ou il y a xxx grains de meſme et troys qui ſont de reſte .



Vne saincture de mesme ou il y a liij grains de mesme facon .

Vng petit carcan de grains a jour pleins de parfum et de petitz grains dor entredeux .

Vng gorgerin garny de petitz grains dor a jour pleins de parfum et de petites perles entredeux .

Vne saincture ou il y a dixsept pillers et a chacun piller y a xxviiij petitz grains dor a jour emplis de senteurs et xviiij entredeux / a chacun entredeux y a fix desdits grains et de petites perles vne pomme au bout de ladite saincture ou il y a sept pendant garniz de fix petitz grains chacun et vng au bout .

Vne cottouere ou il y a xvij pillers de pareilz grains / et a chacun piller y en a xviiij . reste deux qui ny en a que quinze et seize entredeux garniz de cinq grains chacun et de petites perles .

Vne paire de patenostres de senteurs contenant lj pastenostres et fix pilliers garniz de petis grenatz .

Vne bordure dor de senteurs ou il y a xxiiij pieces et xlviiij perles qui sont entredeux .

Vne bordure doreillette de mesme ou il y a xxix pieces et lvi perles .

Vne paire de braceletz garniz de quatre tables de rubiz et huit perles chacun bracelet .

La Royne les a donnez .

Deux petitz braceletz de tables dematiste .

Deux braceletz dor percez a jour pleins de parfum .

Vne teste de marte garnie de rubiz diamens et saffiz avec deux perles / les quatre pattes de mesme . Il y a faute dun rubiz a la teste .

Vne teste de marte de cristal garnie de turquoyse alentour les quattres pattes de mesme .

Vng bracelet fait a facon de serpent .

Vne saincture dor garnie de cornalins avec les entredeux de perles .

Vng dizain garny de cornalins de mesme .

Vne cotouere garnie de cornalins de mesme .

Vne cotouere de grains de grifolicques ronds de mesme .

Vne saincture et vne cotouere dor esmaille tout de noir faicte en facon de pillers et vne houppe dor au bout en facon de cloche contenant cent treize pieces attachees avec des petitz chefnons .

Vne chefne dor faicte a chiffres esmaillee de blanc et rouge faicte a jour ou il y a xliiij pieces avec vne paincture du feu Roy Henry .

Vne chefne dor esmaillee de blanc et violet faicte a chiffres contenant lix pieces .

Vne chefne a saindre faicte en facon destaux esmaille de blanc contenant xlv pieces .

Vne cotouere de mesme facon contenant lxxv pieces .

Vng carcan de mesme facon contenant douze pieces avec de petis pendans .

Vingtquatre grandes boutonnières dont y a douze grandes roses de diamens et douze autres grans rubiz ballays tant en tables qu'en cabochons .

Soixante dixneuf boutons ronds et en triangle garniz de chacun troys perles .

Vingtsept autres boutons garniz de chacun vng s'affiz reste vne pierre perdue .

Quatorze autres petis chattons garniz de petitz s'affiz .

Douze boutons garniz de chacun troys vermeilles .

Douze boutons de mesme facon garniz de chacun troys perles / dont y en a deux perdues .

Vng bassinet esmaille de noir garnie dune vieille perle rousse .

Quinze esguillettes et demye [de] fers de grenatz garnies dor .

Trenteneuf esguillettes et demye de fers garnies de chacun quatre perles / dont en y a quatre perdues .

Soixante vnze boutons garniz de chacun vng rubiz balays .

Quarante fix boutons faictz en facon de treffles facon dHyspaigne .

Huiet vingtz troys autres boutons aussi facon dHyspaigne .

Soixante esguillettes de grande fers esmaillez de rouge garnies de petites perles alentour .

Cinquante boutons dor a jour esmaillez de noir .

Quatre vingtz treize boutons et demye de fenteurs ou pend vne petite perle chacun .

Vingt troys boutons faictz a roses garniz de chacun troys perles .

Quatre vingtz vng boutons de meures de perles .

Vne paire de braceletz dor garniz de cristall blanc rouge et verd .

Vng carcan esmaille tout de verd avec des perles entredeux et de petis grains esmaillez de rouge .

Vne sainture de gros grains de cristall / ou il y a li gros grain treize oliues

esmaillées de rouge et verd garnies de petites perles et xl gros grains dor entredeux esmaillez de rouge et verd .

Vne cotouere garnie de petis grains de cristal et de grains de verre verd et entredeux de petites oliues esmaillées de rouge .

Vne autre faincture garnie de porceline de verre verd accoustree dor .

Vne cotouere de mesme garnie de xlvij grains dor esmaillez de blanc .

*Brodeures dor .*

Vng corps de faincture dor garnie de xix pieces taillees de basse taille esmaillées de blanc avec vng entredeux faitz de fil sans esmail .

Vne brodure de thoure garnie de xvj pieces et xvii entredeux .

Vne aureillette de pareille facon garnie de        pieces et de xv entredeux esmaillez de rouge .

Vne brodeure de toure faicte en coeurs esmaillez de blanc et verd garnie de xxxix pieces .

Vne aureille de semblable facon garnie de xlv pieces .

Vne brodeure de toure de semblable facon esmaille de blanc et verd et rouge garnie de xlviij pieces avec de petis pendans de fleurs .

Vng collet de perles et grenatz .

*Pendans doreille .*

Deux pendans doreille faitz en facon de croix de Hierusalem esmaillez de blanc .

La Royne les a donnez .

Deux autres pendans doreille facon dencolie garniz de fix petites perles .

Deux autres pendans doreilles garniz de turkuoyfes et de vermeilles .

La Royne les a donnees par efraines a Madame de Leuifton .

Deux petis faffiz garniz dune perle chacun .

Vne petite bague garnie de quatre petites perles et troys rubiz .

Deux autres pendans doreille de deux coquilles de verre vert et vne perle chacun .

Deux emolies esmaillez de violet .

Deux autres pendans doreille garniz de petites amatiftes .

Deux autres garniz de quatre petis diamens et deux petites perles .

Deux petis pendans doreille dor emplis de fenteure .

Deux pendans .

Vng autre pendant faict en facon de tortue .

Deux autres pendans doreille faictz en facon de licorne garniz de deux perles .

Deux perles garnies de quatre petites esmerauldes .

Deux petis pendans doreille garniz de deux petites perles en facon de doubles ames .

Deux autres semblables .

Deux moiennes perles a pendre aux oreilles .

Deux autres perles faictes en poire a pendre a loreille lesquelles sont cotees en marge cy deuant .

Vne hermine avec vne teste dor esmaillee de blanc et la chefne de blanc et noir garnie de rubiz diamens et perles avec les pattes de mesme .

Vne autre hermine avec vne teste de gez noir couuerte dor et la chefne esmaillees de noir .

Vne autre hermine la teste dor esmaillee de blanc .

Vne marte garnie dune teste dor avec rubiz diamens et perles .

Vne autre hermine fans garniture .

Treize vingtz quatre grosses perles achaptees de Jean Guilbert orfevre d'Edinbourg comprins quatre que l'orfevre de la Royne a rendu qui estoient dessus vne paire d'heures dor .

Il a este oste xxvij perles pour enuoyer a Paris pour faire boutons / Et le reste a este prins pour faire vne cottouere qui est de diamens et de rubiz en chattons .

Vne chefne a vne marte blanche garnie de quarente sept patenostres dor et quarente sept entredeux a jour .

**M**emoire de ce qui est sus la Couronne .

**P**remierement du grant touret de diamans xi diamans et vng du carcan Sont xii en tout .

Item du gros touret de rubis huiſt rubis .

Item du carcan de rubis diamans et perles trois diamans vng rubi et huiſt perles .

Item au hault trois rubis a iour et trois perles en poire .

Item de la cotoire de perles enfillee cent et quatre .

Item le Henri et les deus emeraudes et la table de rubi .

Item quatre chatons de braceles des rubis et diamans et au quatre chatons y a vi perles .

*Fin .*

**M**emoire de ce qui est sus le Surcot .

Premierement a ce qui est autour de la carrure yll i a vi diamans finq rubis et x chatons de perles .

Item a ce qui borde tout lentour du surcot ill y a xix diamans xvii rubis et xxxvii perles et . . . . chatons .

Item les trois grandes pieces que la Roine a achetes et a chaicune vn perle au bout .

La crois de rubis et diamans et vne perle au bout .

Le grous rubi ballet et vne perle au bout .

Les deus autre grans rubis a pandre .

Item deus pieces du collier .

Item quatre diamans et deus rubis femes par le corset .

*Fin .*



**M**emoire de ce qui est sus la Coife .

**P**remierement vne brodure ou ill y a finq diamans quatre rubis et dis chatons de perles .

Item vne aultre brodure ou ill y a quatre diamans finq rubis et quarante perles enfilles .

Item toute la cotoire de rubis diamans et perles .

Item ill y a feme fus la coiffe vi rubis finq diamans et vii chatons de perles que petis que grans .

## Inventaire de la Royne .

*Premierement . Bagues a pandre .*

*Je veulx quelle soyt  
iointe a la Couronne  
de ce pays par un acte  
pour memoire de moy et  
du lieu dou ie layue .*

Vne grosse bague a pandre facon de / h / en laquelle  
y a vng groz diamant taille a faces et au dessus vng  
groz rubiz cabochin garny dune petite chefne .

*Je laysse cestissi aus-  
si de mesme .*

Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vng ~~grise~~  
gros diamant taille a faces et au dessus vne grande esmer-  
aulde et vne perle platte au bout .

*Je la laysse a Ma-  
dame de Martigues .*

Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vne grande  
esmiraulde myse hors ~~dehors~~ deuure .

Elle nest pas renue de France .

*Je la laysse a ma tante  
Madame de Guise .*

Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vne grande  
esmiraulde où pend vne grosse perle au bout .

*Je la laysse a ma  
cousine Daumalle les-  
nee .*

Vne aultre bague a pandre faicte en roulleaux garnye  
dune grande table de rubiz ou pend vne grosse perle .

*Je le laysse a ma fille-  
ule fille du Marquis .*

Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vng grand  
rubiz baillaiz en table esmaille de blanc .

- Je le layse a mon cousin de Guise .* Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vng grand rubiz ballez long .
- Je le layse a ma cousine de Guise .* Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vng grand rubiz ballez perce par les deux boutz .
- A la fille du Marquis ma filleule .* Vne aultre bague a pandre en laquelle y a vng grand saffize taille a huit pampes esmaille de blanc et rouge .
- A la Couronne comme les deus autres en memoyre de l'aliance de Lorrayne .* Vne grande croix garnye de sept diamans deux en table deux en triangle deux taille en face et vne pointe et deux rubiz cabochons ou pend vne grosse perle au bout .
- A ma filleule .* Vng groz collier garny de sept groz saffiz et neuf entredeux garnis de iiij perles chacun .

*Groz Diamens .*

- Pour ornemant de toutes les Roynes qui ne les pourront iamays changer d'auure ni donner seulement les resevoir par la mayn de celui qui guardera les subdites bagues auuesques la Couronne et mourant les remettra la pour demeurer a la Couronne de toutes les Roynes .* Vne brodeure de tours en laquelle y a vne grande triangle de diamant huit tables de diamens que longues que carrues vng aultre en triangle taille a faces / vng aultre diamant en table taille a faces garnye de dix entredeux chacun entredeux garny de deux perles .
- Vne brodeure ~~illette~~ doreillettes ou il y a vne grosse poincte de diamant et dix tables de diamens garniz de dix entredeux / chacun entredeux de deux perles .
- Vng carcan ou il y a vne grosse poincte de diamant taille a faces huit tables de diamens et huit entredeux garny chacun entredeux de deux perles .

Vne cottouere garny de dixhuiet pieces [et a] chacune piece y a deux diamens reste [vne] piece qui a faulte dun diamant et dixhuiet entredeux garniz de six perles chacun entredeux / et xxxvj / s / esmaille de rouge et vng entredeux qui est de reste .

Vne faincture de fil garnye de dix crois de diamens taillez a faces enchassez en bassinetz esmaillez de rouge dix entredeux / et a chacun entredeux y a quatre perles xx cordelieres esmaillees de rouge .

Vng dozain ~~destain~~ destrin garny de quinze pieces et a chacune piece y a vi pointes destain et quatorze entredeux chacun entredeux garny de quatre perles .

Vng dizain de cristal ou il y a quatorze ~~bases~~ vases de cristal garniz dor et autour du dizain y a vng ~~grise~~ ~~baze~~ grosse vase ausly garny dor et xiiij patenostres dor esmaillez de blanc .

*Aultre acoustrement de Diamens esmaillez de blanc .*

*A ma cousine de Guise .*

Vne brodeure de ~~thouir~~ thouret garny de xiiij tables de diamens et vne triangle de diamens au meilleur faicte a jour facon destaux esmaillez de blanc et seize petis entredeux faictz en maniere de feuilles esmaillez de blanc .

*A celle A ma cousine de Guise aussi .*

Vne brodeure doreillettes pareille facon garnye de xvij moyens diamans en table et xvij entredeux .

*Aultre acoustrement de Diamans esmailles de noir .**A ma cousine Dau-  
malle .*Vne brodeure de ~~tenoir~~ touret garnye de feize diamens dixsept rofes dix entredeux esmaillez de noir .Vne brodeure ~~doreilleir~~ doreillettes pareille fachen garny de dixhuiet diamens et dixneuf rofes dor qui font vn entredeux pareille facon .

Vng carcan garny de treize diamens et treize entredeux de pareille facon .

*Acoustrement de groz Rubiz et grosses Perles .**A la mayson de Guise  
pour demeurer tous-  
iours a lesne .*

Vng tours garny de vi groz rubiz cabochons et cinq tables de rubiz garny de quarante perles grosses qui font vng entredeux et trois rubiz baillaiz pendant percez ou pend vne perle au bout .

Vne aureillette garnye de onze rubiz cabochons quarante perles qui font lentredeux .

Vng carcan garny de vne es[pine]lle et six rubiz cabochons et xxxij perles qui font lentredeux .

Vne cottouere garnye de xvij pieces garnye chacune piece de deux rubiz tant cabochons que tables et xvj entredeux de perles et a chacun entredeux y a deux perles et xxxij . s . esmaillez de blanc et rouge .

Vne faincture garnye de vnze pilliers et a chacun pillier

y a neuf petiz rubiz xxj pillier et a chacun pillier y a neuf perles / et xxij entredeux garny de deux perles chacun / et au bout de ladite saincture y a vng vase dor garny de xxx perles alentour .

Le perle perdue que pandoyt au bout .

*A la Couronne de ce pays .*

Vne chefne faicte en facon de petis anneaulx ou il y a iiij<sup>xx</sup> xi anneaux garniz de chacun deux rubiz douze tables datente chacune table garnye d'une table de diamant d'un rubiz et deux cabochons de rubiz et vne piece attache a ladite chefne . Il y a faulte de deux rubiz au petis anneaux .

*Acoustrement de Rubiz esmaillez de blanc .*

*~~Au fils aysne du~~  
Marquis .*

Vng brodeure de toure garny de xv rubiz cabochons et xiiij entredeux garny de chacun deux perles .

*A ma cousine la fille  
du Marquis ma fille-  
ule .*

Vne aureillette garnye de xvii petis rubiz cabochons et xvj entredeux garny de chacun deux perles .

Vng carcan de mesme facon garny de vnze rubiz cabochons dix entredeux garny de chacun deux perles et dix rubiz baillaiz qui sont pendant au dit carcan .

Vne saincture de coural contenant xl merques de coural acoustre dor et quarante pilliers de perles .

32 seulement receus . tant dun que de lautre .

Vne cottouere de mesme contenant xlvij marques de coural ausi acoustre dor et xlvij pilliers de perles .

44 seulement . Receus iij de coural et 3 de perles .

N

*Acoustrement de Rubiz Diamans et Perles .*

*Le reste de cest acoustrement aux esnez Daumalle .*

Vne brodeure de thou[r]et garniz de cinq rubiz trois font tables fix tables de diamans douze entredeux garniz de chacun vne perle .

Vne oreillette garnye de vj rubiz et sept diamens do[nt] y a vne grande table au milieu douze entredeux chacun entredeux y a vne perle .

*Le carquant a la Couronne de ce pays .*

Vng carcan garny de trois diamens lun taille a faces et deux en ta[b]le[s] quatre rubiz cabachons huit entredeux garniz de chacun vne perle platte / et quatorze petites pieces qui seruent entredeux / esmaillez de blanc et rouge .

*A luy mesmes .*

Vne cottouere garnye de xxv pieces chacune piece garnye dun rubiz d'un diamant / et ij<sup>e</sup> lvij perles qui font lentredeux .

Vne sainture garnye de neuf diamens do[nt] y a cinq tables quatre ta[il]les a faces huit rubiz cabochons et xvij entredeux garniz de chacune vne perle .

Reste dudit acoustrement sept pieces do[nt] y a deux tables de diamens deux rubiz cabochons vne table de rubiz et deux chattons garnye chacun vne perle .

Receus vij diamant et vne perle . Faut vne table diamant .

*Acoustrement de Rubiz et Turquoyes .*

*A Madame de Martigues .*

Vng brodeure de touret facon de soleil garnye de douze

rubiz cabochons garniz de perles alentour / et treize turquoyfes qui font lentredeux .

Vne aureillette garnye de douze rubiz cabochons auffy garny de perles alentour et xiiij turquoyfes qui font lentredeux .

Vne faincture de coural garnye de xxiiij grains de turque et lvne xxij grains de coural taille a godrons et xlvij pilliers de perles et vne houppe autour le tout acouftre dor .

Sen fault vne houppe .

Vng carcan de meſme facon garniz de neuf rubiz cabochons garniz de perles a lentour et de neuf turquoyfes qui font les entredeux .

Vne cottouere garnie de xxvj grains de turquin xxvj grains du coural taille a [g]odrons et lj pilliers de perles .

*Acoustrement de Rubiz en rose .*

*A Madame Darguilles .*

Vne brodeure de touoir garnie de dix roſes de rubiz dix entredeux garny de chacun iiij perles et dixneuf pieces faiçtes a fleurs eſmaillez de blanc et vert .

Vne brodeure [dore]ille[tte] garnye de neuf roſes de rubiz dix pieces garnies de iiij perles chacune et xviiij entredeux eſmaille de blanc et vert .

Vng carcan garny de ſept roſes de rubiz huit pieces

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garnyes de chacun quatre perles quinze petiz entredeux et xxviij perles pendantes .

Demeure de reste de laurille vne piece garnye de quatre perles et deux entredeux esmaillez de blanc et vert .

*A la fille de Monsieur de Martigues .*

Vng carcan garny de neuf pieces et a chacune piece y a deux tables de rubiz et deux petites esmerauldes et iiij<sup>xx</sup> ix perles .

*A elle la cotoire aussi .*

Vne cottouere garnye de xxvij pilliers de petites perles et xxvij entredeux garny de deux perles chacun .

Sen fault .

#### *Rubiz et Esmerauldes .*

*A la fille de mon frere de Mora .*

Vne aureillette garnye de douze rubiz cabochons douze esmerauldes et xxv entredeux garny de chacun vne perle .

Sen fault .

Vng carcan esmaille de noir garny de sept esmerauldes vj pieces garnyes de chacun vne grosse perle et xiiij entredeux .

Six esmerauldes en chattons garnyes de leur baffinetz .

#### *Acoustrement de Saffiz .*

*A laisne fils de la mayson du Marquis .*

Vne brodure de tours esmaille de blanc et rouge garnye

de xiiij saffiz et xiiij entredeux garniz de chacun iiij perles .

Vng carcan de mesme facon garny de neuf petiz saffiz et vng gros saffiz a jour ou pand vne grosse perle et dix entredeux garniz de chacun iiij perles .

Vne brodeure doreillette garnye de dix tables de saffize blancs et vnze entredeux facon destaux .

Vne cottouere garnye de xxxiiij ~~lappins~~ lapis en vase et xxxvj pieces qui font lentredeux garniz en vase .

Vng saffiz perce a pandre garny de deux feuille dor ~~faint~~ sans esmail qui sert a frotter au yeux .

Reste de brodeure quelle a eu aultre fois deux cabochons garny chacune pieche dun rubiz cabochon vng entredeux garny dune perle vne aultre piece sans rubiz / vne petite pieche garnye trois petis diamans en triangle et trois qui ont este .

*Acoustrement de Perles enfillees .*

*A la mayson de Guise .*

Vng toure garny de xxxiiij grosses perles neuf perles pendantes en poire et xxxiiij perles qui font lentredeux .

Vne aureillette garnye de xlvj grosses perles .

Vng carcan garny de lxiiij grosses perles .

Vne cottouere garnye de cent soixante quatre grosses perles .

Vne faincture garnye de deux cens fix perles .

Vng dizain garny de vnze marques dor garnye chacune  
marque de trois perles et vnze pilliers chacun pillier  
y a xiiij perles et vne houppe au bout garny de perles .

*A celle Daumalle .*

Vng autre touret garny de cinquante grosses perles

~~Sen fault vne perle .~~

Vne aoreillette garnye de cinquante vne grosses perles /  
Demeure de reste cinq perles du moyen ~~touoir~~ touret  
et de laoreillette quatre grosses perles aussy de reste  
du . . . rez touoir .

Sen fault vne [perle] .

Vng cordon de bonnet garny de douze chattons dor a  
chacune chatton garny dune perle et vij<sup>xx</sup> viij perles  
enfillee qui font de entredeux .

Sen fault .

Seize perles garnyes en pendant doreille tant rondes  
que en poire .

~~Sen fault vne perle .~~

*Acoustrement dor garnyes de Perles .*

*A celle du Marquis .*

Vne brodure de thoure garnye de treize chattons garniz  
de chacun vne perle xij entredeux faictes a cordelieres  
garnyes de xvij perles chacune cordeliere .

Vne brodeure doreillette garnye de treize piece chacun

piece garnye d'une perle et douze entredeux a cordeliere garnies de xv perles chacune piece .

Vng carcan de mesme facon garny de huit chattons chacune chatton garny d'une perle et neuf entredeux garny de quinze perles chacun en facon de cordelieres .

*A la fille de Madame de Martigues .*

Vng aultre ~~thouir~~ touret fait en bassinetz garny de xv bassinetz chacun bassinet garny d'une perle dor et alentour desdits bassinetz de petites perles et xvj entredeux garniz de petites perles .

Vne oreille de mesme facon garnye de xx bassinetz garny de chacun vne perle et xix entredeux garniz de petites perles .

Reste du toure deux pieces garniz de chacune vne perle .

Reste de la oreille quatre pieces deux a perles et deux entredeux .

Vng carcan fait en facon de battons rompuz garny de douze pieces a perles et vnze entredeux ou pend chacun vne petite perle .

*A ma sœur .*

Vng aultre petit carcan fait a canons esmaille tout de noir garny de xvij pieces ou pend de petites perles et petites grains noires .

*Acoustrement de Senteurs .*

*A ma sœur Darguilles .*

Vng touoir garny de xxv pieces faites a jour plains de

parfum tant longues que pouroint et xlvj perles qui font les entredeux .

Vne aureille de mesme facon garnye de xxix pieces tant longues que rondes et cent huit perles qui font les entredeux .

Vng gorgerin garniz de petis grains dor a jour plains de parfum et de petites perles entredeux .

Vne cottouere garnye de petis grains dor faictz a jour plains de parfum / et y a xvij pilliers garnies de xv grains de petites perles / et xvj aultres petis pilliers cinq grains garniz de perles / et de petis grains de parfum qui font lentredeux .

Vne faincture de mesme facon garnie [de] xvij pilliers chacun pillier garny de xxiiij grains / et xviiij aultres petis pilliers garniz de perles et vj grains / et vne pomme au bout ou pend vj pendant de mesme grains .

*Aultre acoustrement de Senteurs .*

*A Madame de Mora .* Vng tours garny de xxxvj patenostre dor a jour plaines de parfum garnies de petis grains dor a jour entredeux .

Vne oreillette de mesmes garnye de xxxiiij patenostres de mesme .

Vne cottouere de mesme facon contenant iiiij<sup>xx</sup> ix patenostres dore plaines de parfum et de petis grains a jour et de grains dor qui font lentredeux .

Vng petit carcan de petit grains a jour plains de parfum  
et de petis grains dor qui font entredeux .

Vne saincture garnie de liij patenostres en a jour plaines  
de parfum .

Vne paire de patenostres de senteurs garnye de lj pate-  
nostres et vj pilliers garniz de petit grenatz a jour entre-  
deux .

Sen fault 32 .

*Sainctures Damastiste Jaspe et Cornaline .*

*A Madame de Mar .* Vne saincture garnye de xxxij pieces damastifte vij  
pilliers dor xxxix meures de perle entredeux / et au bout  
vne pomme damastifte de deux pieces .

~~Sen fault~~ .

*A sa fille .* Vne saincture de ~~grozelieues~~ chrysolithes contenant  
lvij pieces grains rondes garniz en vase et de petites  
olliues entredeux esmaille de rouge et vng vase au bout .

~~Sen fault~~ .

Vne cottouere de mesme contenant xlix pieces garnye de  
chacun deux grains et de petites olliue[s] entredeux  
esmaille de rouge .

~~Sen fault~~ .

*A Iene Stuart .* Vng dizain de cornaline garnye de xiiij cornalines en  
vaze et xiiij entredeux garniz de chacun iiij perles / et au  
font pend vng grand [v]aze garmy de vj cornalines .

Sen fault .

Vne cottouere garnye de xl pieces garnye de chacun vne coraline et xxxix entredeux garnies dune perle chacun .

*Sen fault .*

Vne faincture garnie de xxviij pieces chacun piece garnye dune coraline et xxvij entredeux garniz de chacun deux perles .

*Brasseletz .*

*A Madame de Mar .* Vne paire de brasseletz garniz de chacun iiij pieces et a chacune piece y a huit diamans et vij tables de rubiz / et huit entredeux garniz dune perle [chacun] .

*A Madame de Bri-  
ante .* Vne aultre paire de brasseletz damatiste .

*A Madame de Cric .* Vne aultre paire de brasseletz garniz de coraline lapines et agate et lentredeux de doubles .

*A Madame de  
Leuinston .* Vne aultre paire de brasseletz dor a jour empliz de parfum .

*Pandans doreille .*

*Aus dames d'Ar-  
guilles de Mar et de  
Leuinston .* Deux perles en poires .  
*Sen fault .*

Deux aultres perles garnies de trois esmeraulde chacune .

Deux aultres perles rondes .

*Sen fault .*

*Aus dames d'Ar-  
guilles de Mar et de  
Leuinston .*

Deux saffiz garny dune perle chacune .

Deux aultres pendans doreille damastrifte .

Deux aultres petis pendans faict en peu creu garniz de  
petis rubiz .

Sen fault vne .

Deux aultres perles en poire petites acoustre dor .

Sen fault vne .

Deux aultres pandans garny de diamans .

~~Sen fault~~ Vne avecques deux grosses perles .

Vne pierre que Gendrot a achaiete .

Vne perle platte qui nest point percee .

Deux pendans doreille facon dencolye esmaillez dazur .

Deux aultres pandans de mesme facon esmaillez de bleu  
garniz ~~et inperle~~ de iij perles chacun .

Deux pendans en fempirviue .

Deux pendans esmaillez tout rouge .

Deux pendans vers en coquille .

Deux pannier dor .

Vng pendant en tortue .

Deux pandans de fenteurs .



Huiſt pendans de chiffres de plusieus ſortes .

Deux pandans en [v]aze .

*Martes .*

*A Madame de Martigues .*

Vng loup ſeruiſſier garny d'une teſte de marte de criſtal acouſtree dor eſmaillee de rouge garnye de xxj tourquoifes quatre ~~patte~~ pattes auſſy de criſtal garnyes chacune patte de trois turquoyſes / et vne cheſne contenant quatre vingtz xiiij paſtenoſtres .

La cheſne eſt donne au Roy .

*A Madame d'Arguilles .*

Vne marte garnye dune teſte dor et au col cinq chattons garniz de iij rubiz et deux diamans et deux rubiz au deux yeux deux perles pendantes aux aureilles et quatre pattes dor .

*A Madame de Mar .*

Vne marte blanche garnye dune teſte dor garnye de ſeize rubiz cinq diamans et deux ſaffis / deux perles pendantes aux aureilles / quatre patte chacune garnye cinq rubiz et vng diamant .

*A Madame de Mora .*

Vne marte jaulne garnie dune teſte dor garnie de huiſt rubiz cinq diamans deux pendans doreille eſmaillee de rouge vne cheſne dor garnye de viij pieces a chiffres et huiſt eſſeu entredeux / et quatre pattes dor eſmaillee de blanc .

*A Madame d'Hatel .*

Vne hermine garnie [dune] teſte [de getz] garnie de trois rubiz et deux diamans deux rubiz aux yeulx deux perles aux oreilles / les quatre pattes dor eſmaillee de blanc .

*A Madame de Leuiston .*

Vne aultre hermyne garnie d'une teste esmaillee de blanc et mouchetee de noir / vne chefne esmaillee de blancq et noir / et les quatre pastes de mefmes .

Vne hermine fans ~~grant~~ garniture .

*A Ien Stuart .*

Vne penne de foye garnye dune teste de getz garnye dor avec fa chefne esmaille dor et de noir / le quatre pattes de mefmes .

*Boutons Boutons de Perriees .*

*Au Roy .*

Douze grans boutonmens garnis de douze rofes de diamens .

Douze aultres pieres grans de rubiz ballaiz .

*Au Roy .*

Quatre cens quatre bottons en facon de panache esmaille de blancq garniz de chacun vng rubiz .

Sen fault 14 .

*Au Roy .*

Lxxj boutons tant grans moyens que petis garnis de chacun vng rubiz ballay .

Vingt sept bottons garniz de chacun vng faffiz / reste vng qui na point de pierre a vng .

Treize petis chattons garniz de chacun vng faffiz .

Sen fault vne .

Douze bottons garniz de trois vermeilles chacun .

Donne au Roy .

*Boudons Boutons de Perles .**Au Roy .*

Quatre vingtz boutons dor esmaillez de blanc et noir  
garniz de chacune vne perle .

Douze boutons garniz de chacun trois perles / Il y a  
fault de deux perles .

Vingt trois bottons a [r]ofe garniz de chacun trois perles .

Trente sept esguillettes garnye de chacun iiij perles .

Quinze esguillettes et demye de grenatz garnye dor .

Quatre vingtz boutons de ~~meures~~ meurs de perles .

Soixante vne esguillettes dor et de perles esmaillez de  
rouge .

*A Madame de  
Boduel .*

Vne couiffe garnye de rubiz perles et grenatz .

Vng collit aussy garny de rubiz perles et grenatz .

Vne paire de manches garnies de rubiz perles et grenatz .

*A Francoys mon  
nepueu .*

Quatre vingtz treize boutons de fenteurs garniz de cha-  
cune vne petite perle .

Vne piece de licorne garnye dune ~~chaine~~ chayne dargent .  
Sen fault .

Cinquante huiet en triangle garniz de chacun trois perles  
esmaillez de rouge blancq et vert .

Cent cinq ~~poitiers~~ petis bottons dor ron[d]es esmaillez  
de rouge garny de chacune vne perle .

Sen fault de vne pour vne bonnett .

Cinquante boutons dor percez a jour esmaillez de noir  
xxxij fait en treffle facon d'Espaigne .

Sen fault xxxij . Mergrett hes the xxxij .

Huiet vingt trois aultres boutons facon d'Espaigne  
esmaille de griz blanc et noir .

Sen fault vij .

Cent quatorze esguillettes a pompons dor fans esmail a  
font bruny .

Cinquante quatre et demy de fers desguillete faitz en  
facon de trianger esmaillez de blancq .

Sen fault 31 et vij .

*A Lesuiston lesnee .*

Quatre vingtz deux esguillettes xliij petites de mesme  
facon esmaillez de blancq .

*A la ieusne .*

Soixante cinq esguillettes dor facon de cheuilles fans  
esmail .

Sen fault vne .

*A mon nepueu .*

Quatre vingtz trois petites boutons esmaillez de blanc et  
noir en croissant .

Quatre vingtz dix neuf boutons a jour qui vallent deux  
~~a fouze~~ escus et demy .

Soixante vnze boutons esmaillez de blanc griz et noir  
garniz de perles a lentour .

Ces botons ont este enuoye en Engleterre .

Quatre vingtz dixhuiſt eſguillette dor eſmaillez de blanc et noir .

Sen fault . On dict a Loychtlewin .

*A ma tante de S<sup>t</sup>  
Pierre .*

Vng grand mirouer eſmaille de blanc et de noir au dedens chiffres ou eſt la figure de la Royne d'Angleterre avec vne eſguillette ferree dor / et la pareille eſt a vne montre .

Sen fault .

*Souuenances pour me  
ramanteuoir a mes  
bons amys .*

*Bagues a mettre au doigt . Premiere[m]ent .*

*A la Courone .*

Vne grand table de diamant eſmaille de rouge .

*Cest celui de quoy ie  
fus espousee . Au Roy  
qui la me donne .*

Vne autre bague de diamant eſmaille de rouge .

*A mon beau pere .*

Vne pointe de diamant en groſſe heuure eſmaille de noir .

Sen fault .

*A ma belle mere .*

Vng diamant taille en face .

Vng autre diamant en pointe eſmaille de noir .

*A la Contine pour  
souuenance .*

Vng diamant en pointe taille en face eſmaille de blanc et rouge .

*A mon frere de  
Mora .*

Vng diamant en pointe fans feuille .

*Au Conte de Mar .*

Vne table de moyſe avec deux diamans .

- Au Conte Boduel.* Vne table de diamant emaille de noir .
- Aux quatre Maries.* Quatre autres petis diamant de diuerse façon .
- Au Conte d'Arguilles.* Vng ruby fans feuille esmaille de blanc .
- Au Conte Hontelay.* Vng ruby cabochon esmaille de blanc .
- Au Conte d'Atel.* Vne table de ruby esmaille de blanc et noir .
- A ma sœur* Vng ruby caboche esmaille de bleu et rouge .
- Aus dames de Cric de Ceston et de Leuinston* Troys bagues garnye de petis rubys .
- A Iemes Balfour.* Vne grande emeraude emaille de blanc et rouge .
- ~~*A Madame Dammille*~~ Vne emeraude emaille de blanc .  
*A Iosef pour porter a celui que ie luy ay dit .*
- A l'Esuesque de Lendors.* Vng grand safi esmaille de blanc .
- Aus filles.* Vne doufaine de petites bague dor fans pierre .

*Il sen fault vne chesne que vous naues pas ecrite esmaylle de blanc et rousge que ie laysse a Madamoyselle de la Souschee.*

*Marie*

Inuentoyre dernier des pierreries que la Rayne  
a achepte dernièrement .

*Au filleul du feu Roy .* Vne grande bage a pendre ou il y a vne emeraude vng  
ruby vng safi et sept petis diamans .

Sen fault .

*Les deus autres a Charles et a Loys .* Deux autres bages a pendre ou il y a chascune vne  
emeraude et vng ruby et vne perle au bout .

Sen fault vne . Receau lautre ycy .

*Au Roy .* Vne chefne de diamant et de perle dont il y a 24 pieces  
garnye chascune de deux diamans et 24 cordeliere de  
perles .

*Au Roy .* Vng reste de pareille facon ou il y a 8 pieces garnye  
chascune de deux perles et 9 cordeliere de perles .

Sen fault 3 pieces de deux diamants et 4 cordeliers de perles .

*A mon oncle le Cardinal .* Vne bage a mettre au doigt garnye de vne emeraude .

Sen fault .

*Lune au Roy et lautre a mon neveu .* Deux chefnes de ruby et de diamans et de perle ayant  
12 pieces chascune garnye dun ruby et dun diamant et  
24 perles chascune .

Sen fault . Le Roy a perdu vng diamant .

*Au Roy .*

Vne cheſne dor eſmalle de blanc contenant deux centz  
pieces et chaſcune piece deux diamans ou il y a dix  
diamans de perdu .

Sen fault .

MARIE

MARIE SEMISTON

Jentends que ceſt uissi ſoyt exécuté  
au cas que l'enfant ne meſuraine  
mais ſ'il vit le ſoyſ henter  
de fort MARIE



## Inventaire des Brodures .

*A Flamy .*

Vne brodure dor esmaille de blancq et rouge contenant  
xxxvij pieces .

~~Sen fault~~

Vne brodure dorellette de mesme facon garnye de lj  
piece esmaille de blancq et rouge .

Vne cottouere de mesme facon contenant soixante piece  
esmaille de blanc et rouge .

Vng quarquan esmaille auffy de blancq et rouge garny  
de vingt vne piece .

Vne chefne a faindre en semblable facon contenant lij  
pieces esmaillez de blanc et rouge et vng vase pendant  
au bout .

Tout sen fault .

*Aultre acoustrement .**A Leuinston laysnee .*

Vne brodure du toure contenant xxv pieces esmaille de  
blanc et noir facon de godrons .

Vne brodeure doreillette de pareille facon contenant  
xxvij pieces esmaillees de blanc et noir .

Vne cottouere de semblable facon contenant lx pieces de  
pareille facon esmaillee de blanc et noir .

Vng carcan esmaille de blanc et noir contenant dixsept pieces et a chacune piece y a vng petit pendant .

Vne chefne a faindre de semblable facon contenante liiij pieces esmaillees de blanc et noir et vng vase au bout .

*Aultre acoustrement dor .*

*A Leuiston la ieusne* . Vne brodure de thouret a fons bruny garny de vingt neuf pieces .

Vne brodeure doreillettes de mesme facon contenante xxxiiij pieces .

Vne cottouere contenante lxxvj pieces de mesme facon .  
Sen fault .

Vng carcan contenant xxvij pieces .  
Sen fault .

Vne chaifne a faindre contenante lxxvj pieces et vng vase au bout .  
Sen fault .

*A Marguerite* . Vne aultre paires de brodeures dor et cordelieres contenante xxix pieces .

Vne brodeure doreillettes contenante xxxvij pieces de semblable facon .

*A Beton* . Vne aultre paires de brodeures a fons brung deffoubz esmaillez de blanc contenante xxxvj pieces .

*A Beton .*

Vne brodeure doreillette garny de xlix pieces de mesme facon .

*Aultre acoustrement dor et de blanc .**A Ceston .*

Vne brodeure de toure contenant xxxiiij pieces esmaillez dor et de blanc partye en cordelieres .

Vne brodeure doreillette de mesme facon contenant xxxj pieces .

Vne sainture de mesme facon contenant xl pieces .

*Aultre acoustrement .**A Marie Ersquin .*

Vne brodeure garnye de quarante sept pieces esmaillez de blanc vert et rouge et xx sèmper viuant pendant .

Vne aultre toure esmaille de blanc et vert contenant xl pieces .

*A Maystre Ien Stuart .*

Vne aureillette de mesme facon contenant xlv pieces .

*Sainctures .**A Tore .*

Vne chesne dor a ~~saincture~~ cendre esmaille de noir contenant lvj pieces tant vases pillieres que entredeux et vng vase pendant au bout .

Vne cottouere de mesme facon contenant lvj pieces tant vases pilliers que entredeux .

[A] *Madame* [de] *Mar* . Vne aultre faincture esmaille de blanc et rouge contenant xlvj pieces faicte en facon de roses et chiffres ou pend au bout vne grande ro[f]e ou est le pourtretz du feu Roy Henry .

*A Lucretse* . Vne aultre chaifne a faindre faicte en facon de chiffres esmaillee de blanc et dazur contenant lvij pieces ou pend au bout vng grand chiffre .

*A Beton* . Vne aultre chesne a faindre esmaille de blanc facon defaultx contenant xlv pieces .

Vne cottouere de mesme facon contenant lxxv pieces .

Vng carcan de mesme facon contenant douze pieces avec de petites pandans .

*A Madame de Montelay* . Vne paire de patenostres dagatte faicte en vase contenant xxiiij garniz dor avec de petis grenatz entredeux garniz dolliues vng pillier dagatte garny dune perle avec vng petit dieu et deux merques toutes dor garniz de cinq rubiz chacun et vne hourre au bout .

Vng dizain garny de sept pillieres dagatte acoustrez de cinq aultres pilliers dor garniz de vermeilles et du turquin et vnze entredeux a jour sans esmail .

Sen fault dvnce . Donne a Marguerite pour bouter au Cabinet .

*A la ieusne Contesse de Montelay* . Vng dizain de cristal garny de dix vases et vng pillier de cristal au bout et dix grans esmaillez dazour percez a jour .

*A Madame de Leuinston .* Vne paire de patenostres contenant lxx grains rondes de grenaz et sept pilliers de verre garny dor / et vng pillier de grenat et dor esmaille dazur .

*A Flamy .* Soixante dix de groz grains dor a jour plains de parfum faictz de deux pieces .

Sen fault .

*A Marie Arsquin .* Vne saincture de cristal contenant lj groz grain de cristal rond xiiij olliues en ~~faicte~~ ~~de~~ ~~facon~~ facon destaux de poix esmaillez de vert et rouge garnies de perles / Et xl petis befains esmaillez de rouge et vert et vng groz vase de cristal qui pend au bout .

Vne cottouere garnye de foixante quatorze grains tant verre que cristal garniz doliues et petis grains entredeux .

Vne paire de brasseletz de mesmes .

Vng carcan du mesme .

*A Iame Stuart .* Vne saincture de verre vert garnie dor et grains de porceline .

Vne cottouere de mesme garnye de bezand dor esmaillez de blancq .

*A Lesuiston lesnee .* Vne corde de coural contenant lxiiij pieces faictes en vase .

Il a este faict vne cottouere et vne saincture garnye de gerbes dor et de perles .

Vne aultre corde de coural contenant treize grosses pieces aussy en vase .

*A Lesuiston lesnee .* Vng aultre corde de coural contenant xxxviij pieches plus petites aussy en vase .

Receu ycy xxxviij .

Vne reste de patenostres ou il a neuf meures de perles et des grains d'argent entredeux .

Vne sainture ~~nottouere~~ et cottouere de perles garnie bleu et grains noir faict a roisteau .

Item haill acoustrement of gold of couter carcan and chesne of 66 pyccis .

Marie

Marie Lesuiston

Inventaire des Pierreries qui sont en Cabinet  
de la Royne .

*Premierement .*

- Au Roy .* Vne / b / dor garnye dun rubiz cabochon et vne perle  
pendante au bout .
- Au Roy .* Vng Sainct Mychel fait de quatorze diamens .
- A mon frere .* Vne rose garnye de quatorze diamens vng rubiz et vne  
perle pendante au bout .
- Au Roy .* Vne aultre rose garnye de xvij diamens et cinq perles  
pendantes .
- ~~*A mon frere de S<sup>r</sup>*~~  
*Croix Au Roy .* Vne aultre rose garnye de dix diamens esmaillee de rouge  
et vert .
- Vne aultre petite rose garnye de vj diamens .
- A mon frere de S<sup>r</sup>*  
*Croix .* Vne croix garnie de cinq tables de diamens et trois perles  
pendantes .
- A Josef pour bailler*  
*a que ie lui ay dit dont*  
*il ranuoir aquitance .* Vne bague garnye de vingt vng diamens tant grands  
que petis .
- Au Conte Boduel .* Vne enseigne ou il y a vne ceruine garnye de vnze dia-  
mens et vng rubiz .

- A mon nepuieu .* Vng tableau garny de cinq rubiz . / vne esmeraulde .
- A Monssieur de Hontelay .* Vne fleur de lis guarnye de cinq diamens et vne perle pendante et vne chesne esmaillee de rouge blanc et noir et neuf pilliers de perles qui font les entredeux .
- A Marguerite .* Vne paincture de la Royne garnye dune croix de ~~diam~~ cinq diamens .
- Au Roy .* Vne montre garnye de dix diamens deux rubiz et vne corde d'or .
- Au Roy .* Vng petit cadren garny de huit diamens deux rubiz vne perle pendante vne petite chesne dor ou il y a atache au bout vne poire dor pleine de parfum garnye de petites turquoyses et grenatz .
- A la ieusne Leuiston .* Vne aultre montre garny de douze rubiz et deux grands saffiz avec vne ~~qu~~ perle pendante au bout .
- A Alexandre Ersquin .* Vng cueur dor garny de trois diamens vng rubiz et vne perle pendante .
- A Arius Asquin .* Vne enseigne garnye dun ~~rubi~~ saffize et vne perle pendante au bout .
- A Iosef que son frere mauoyt done .* Vne aultre enseigne garnye de dix rubiz en tortue avec vne perle pendante au bout .

MARIE

MARGARET RENE



*Il y a vne petite boyte d'argent entre ses mayns que ie lui donne et il y a deus cueurs dor de mes entrees auuesques vne comme vne rose et vn hault goubellet couuert et vn bouclier et quelque Notre Dames que ie veus estre enuoyees a ma tante de St Pierre et toutes les petites besoignes de cabinoit    Je laysse mes liures qui y sont ceulx en Grec ou Latin a luniuersite de Sintandre pour y commencer vne bible    Les aultres ie les laysse a Beton    Je laysse mon linge entre mes troys fammes et ma chambre et la vayselle de mes cofres entre les vallets de fourieres tapis-siers et huissiers pour estre vandu a leur profit et des troys filles qui la guardent    Tous mes ouurasges maches et collets aus quatre Maries a Iene Stuart a Marie Arsquin Sonderland et a toutes les filles .*

*mar*

*Tantands que cestuissi sorte aeffect .*

*mar*

**M**emoire de tout ce qui a este distribue des draps de foye et aultres chozes depuis le larriuee de la Royne en Ecoſſe commençant au premier jour de Septembre 1561 juſque au premier jour de Januier 1564 auant Paſques Le tout deliure par moy Seruais de Condez vallet de chambre de ladiète Dame et le tout deliure a laune de France .

*Premierement au mois de Septembre 1561 .*

**J**ay deliure au cordonnier de la Royne deux tiers de velours noir pour faire des ſouliers pour ladiète dame et demie aulne de taffetas pour doubler leſdictz ſouliers .

Plus jay deliure aux femmes de chambre trois quartiers de toille pour allonger vng vieil drap .

Plus jay deliure au tapiffier xxvij aulnes de gros caneuas pour faire deux paillasses et vne enueloppe aſcaoir lune pour Courſelles et laultre pour la Folle avec lenueloppe .

Plus deliure ſept aulnes de toille pour faire vne paire de draps pour ladiète Courſelles .

Plus deliure au cordonnier demie aulne de velours noir pour faire vne paire de ſouliers et vne paire de pantoufles pour la Royne .

Plus deliure a Francoyse femme de chambre de la Royne deux aulnes d'Escosse destamet violet pour faire des chauffes pour la Royne avec vne aulne de taffetas violet et vne once de foye violet .

Plus il a este defrobbe dedans la falle de la Royne vng doffier de liët de velours noir lequel estoit tendu dedans ladicte falle .

Plus deliure a ladicte Francoyse deux aulnes d'Escosse destamet blanc pour faire des chauffes pour la Royne avec vne aune de taffetas blanc vne once de foye blanche et vne once de foye noire le tout pour lesdictes chauffes .

Plus jay deliure a Daud tapissier xxxvij aulnes et demie tant destamet verd que carise pour faire vne tapisserie pour le cabinet de la Royne .

Plus jay deliure a Francoyse vng quartier de taffetas bleu et vne once de foye bleue .

Plus je deliure deux petitz tappis de drap verd lun pour mettre en la garde-robbe de la Royne et laultre en fa librarie .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Octobre audicte an 1561 .*

Premierement jay deliure a la gouuernante de la Jardiniere cinq aulnes de toille blanche pour faire trois paires de callefons pour ladicte Jardiniere avec quelques mouchoirs .

Plus deliure a Francoise vne aulne de taffetas noir pour faire vng taffetas pour la Royne .

Plus jay deliure cent douze aulnes de toille pour garnir quatre litz des filles et

a chascun liēt quatre draps et estoict pour Flami Fonpertuis Beton Ceton et Leuifton .

Plus je deliure xxiiij aulnes de toille pour garnir deux litz pour leurs femmes .

Plus je deliure a Madamoifelle de Raalle xiiij aulnes de toille pour lui faire deux draps pour son liēt .

Plus jay deliure vne vafquine de camelot noir de la feu Royne pour seruir a la Royne . (94 .)

Plus jay deliure xxx aulnes de toille aux femmes de chambre pour leur faire quatre draps pour leurs litz .

Plus je deliure a Courfelles vij aulnes de toille pour lui faire vne aultre paire de linceuz .

Plus pour la femme de Madamoifelle de la Souche xij aulnes de toille pour lui faire des linceux .

Plus jay deliure a la gouuernante de la Jardiniere x aulnes de toille pour lui faire vne paire de linceux .

Plus je deliure a Mernard dix aulnes de toille pour lui faire quatre linceux et neuf aulnes et demie de toille pour lui faire des chemises .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux tiers de camelot noir pour relargir vne vielle vafquine de la feu Royne .

Plus je deliure a Michelet et a Mernard vj aulnes de toille pour doubler leur habillement de masque .

Plus je deliure a Michelet et Estiene xx aulnes de toille pour leur faire deux paire de draps .

Plus je deliure a Madamoifelle de Raalle vng reste de toille de Hollande qui a este employe pour faire des chausses pour la Royne contenant xvij aulnes .

Plus je deliure a Madamoyfelle de Raalle vne aultre demie piece de toille de Hollande qui a este employee a faire des coeuurechefz pour la Royne et aussi a racotrer le liêt de la Royne lequel estoict en partie brusle .

Ces deux articles font vng piece entier .

Plus je deliure au tailleur de Monsieur Danuille xvj aulnes de toille pour doubler des habillementz de masque .

Plus je deliure vng reste de toille blanche en prefence de Madamoifelle de Raalle pour faire vne souille pour le matelatz qui fert au liêt de la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Madamoifelle de la Souche demie aulne de toille pour passer de lhuile pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur vne reste de camelot noir fans ondes contenant xj aulnes et demie pour ayder a faire vne robbe pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur vng quartier de fatin noir pour faire vng manchon pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure au dict tailleur vng tiers de fatin noir pour faire vng aultre manchon a cause que le premier estoict trop petit .

Plus je deliure de la fourrure de martre pour doubler lesdictz manchons .

Plus je deliure a Henry clerc de chapelle xij aulnes de toille pour faire des linseulx pour Hannibal .

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois de Novembre audicte an 1561 .*

Premierement je deliure demie aulne de velours noir pour faire vng bonnet pour Hannibal et vne ceinture .

Plus je deliure a Pierre Martin tapissier lx aulnes de mechante toille de quoy estoient emballes les meubles de la Royne dont il en a este faict cinq paillasses pour ceux qui font la garde .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur xx aulnes de fatin noir pour les deliurer aux filles de la Royne quand ilz ont prins le second deuil .

Plus je deliure au dict tailleur vne aultre aulne de fatin noir pour vne fille qui vient a la Royne nommee Ros .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Decembre audicte an 1561 :*

Premierement je deliure au Pelletier le chapperon de deuil de la feue Royne avec deux aultres petitiz morceaux dhermine dont le tout a este employe pour border des robbes aux filles quand elles prindrent le second deuil . (78 .)

Plus je deliure a Henry clerc de chapelle demi quartier de velours noir pour mettre au cierge de la Royne le jour du bout de lan du feu Roy .

Plus je deliure a Estiene le chantre vij aulnes de velours noir pour lui faire vng foye chauffés et lui bender vne cappe .

Plus je deliure au dict Estiene vj aulnes de fatin noir pour lui faire vng pourpoint et bender sa cappe par dedans et emplir ses chauffés .

Plus par le commandement de la Royne je deliure a Madamoifelle de Raalle vne martre et vne hermine a mettre a lentour du col garnies de testes et piedz dor emailles et les colletz desdictes martre et hermine garnies de pierres et perles referue que a la bride de la martre il fault vne perle laquelle martre et hermine jauois receus avec les meubles de la feu Royne .

Plus je deliure vne aulne de toille pour acoustrer les perruques de la Royne .

Plus jay deliure au tailleur trois quartiers et demi de satin noir pour doubler le corps d'une robe faicte a l'Espagnolle pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a la gouuernante de la Jardiniere vng drap des brodeurs pour faire des mouchouers pour ladicte Jardiniere .

Plus je deliure a Daud le chantre viij draps des brodeurs pour la garniture de son liët avec vne couuerte desdicts brodeurs .

Plus il a este deliure six couuertes desdicts brodeurs a ceux qui font la garde la nuit en la salle de la Royne . (50 .)

Plus il a este entame vngs poignetz dhermine pour border et chamarrer vne robe a l'Espagnolle pour la Royne .

Fin de la susdicte annee .

Marie R

**M**emoire de tout ce que jay deliure durant lannee 1562 commençant le premier jour de Januier .

*Premierement .*

**J**e deliure a Madamoiselle de Raalle trois quartiers de frize rouge pour enueller vne martre et hermine pour mettre a lentour du col . Ladiète frize est de la tapisserie des brodeurs .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur vne aulne de Hollande pour faire des braffieres de nuit pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure au cordonnier trois quartiers de velours noir pour faire vne paire de mulles et deux paire de foulliers pour la Royne .

Plus jay deliure au dict cordonnier vng quartier de taffetas pour doubler lesdicts foulliers .

Plus je deliure au clerc de chapelle demi quartier de velours noir pour mettre au cierge de la Royne .

Il a este prins vng farcot dhermines pour border les robes des filles . (88 .)

Il a este employe des poignetz dhermine pour faire des parementz a vng manteau de nuit et border des robes des filles . (46 .)



La Royne a prins pour lui seruir vng manteau de estamet noire garni de parementz dhermines . (82 .)

Il a este pris pour la Royne vng manteau de taffetas mouchette pour faire vne cotte et lhermine dudiect manteau a este pris pour border les robes des filles . (84 .)

*Memoire de ce que je distribue au mois de Feburier 1562 .*

Je deliure a Francoise trois aulnes de fatin noir pour mettre dedans ses coffres au parterment de la Royne pour aller a Sainct Andre .

La Royne a donne a Marnard vng manteau de fatin noir pour lui faire vne robe de nuit . (85 .)

La Royne a donne a Seruais vne vasquine et vne paire de vielles brassieres de fatin noir . (92 .)

La Royne a donne a Baltazar vne paire de brassieres et vng deuant de fatin noir . (93 .)

Plus la Royne a prins vng poignet de panne de foye noire .

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure au mois de Mars 1562 .*

Je deliure demie aulne demi quart de fatin noir pour faire vng collet pour la Royne .

La Royne a donne a Seruais vng manteau de farge drappe tout fimple . (83 .)

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois d'April 1562 et May audicte an .*

Je deliure vng quartier d'Ecosse de velours noir pour faire des mules pour la Royne .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Juing .*

Je deliure a Jacques le tailleur vng quartier de fatin noir pour faire deux touretz de nez pour la Royne et vng quartier de taffetas pour les doubler .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Juillet 1562 .*

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois d'Aoust 1562 .*

Je deliure a Jacques le tailleur sept aulnes de fatin noir pour faire vne cotte pour la Royne aussi deux touretz de nez deux cornettes et deux masques .

Plus je deliure au dict Jacques trois quartiers de taffetas pour doubler lesdictes befoungnes .

Plus je deliure a Francoisé demi quartier de taffetas noir pour mettre a vne paire de chaufes pour la Royne .

*Memoire de ce qui a este distribue durant le mois de Septembre 1562 .*

Je deliure a Pierre Odri brodeur iiij draps et vne couuerte des celles qui seruoient aux brodeurs en France .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Octobre 1562 .*

Je deliure a Baltazar vallet de chambre vne piece de fatin noir contenant quarante trois aulnes trois quartz quand la Royne estoict au nord .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Novembre 1562 .*

Je deliure a Jacques tailleur vne aulne et trois quartz de fatin noir pour faire vne piece d'ung corps a l'Espagnolle pour la Royne et demie aulne de taffetas pour doubler ledict corps .

Plus je deliure au cordonnier vng tiers de taffetas noir pour doubler deux paire de foulliers pour la Royne .

Plus jay deliure a Mathieu menufier vne aulne et demie de fatin noir pour doubler vng coffre de nuit pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure au dict Mathieu vne aulne et trois quartz de fatin noir pour couvrir les atibois du liêt de fatin noir fait de broderie .

Plus je deliure au tapissier Pierre Martin xix aulnes de fatin noir pour faire vne couuerte au liêt de fatin noir fait de broderie .

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Decembre 1562 .*

Je deliure a Marnard cinq aulnes et demie de fatin noir pour lui acomplir vng habillement .

Plus je deliure a Madamoiselle de Ceton deux aulnes de fatin noir .

Plus je deliure a Madamoiselle de Raalle huit aulnes de plette pour seruir a mettre les bagues et seintures de la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Estiene vallet de chambre trois aulnes et vng quart de fatin noir pour lui faire vng pourpoinct et vne paire de manches a vng vieil pourpoinct de fatin .

Plus je deliure a Jacques tailleur demie aulne de fatin noir pour faire vng deuant d'ung corps a l'Espagnolle dune robbe de farge dascot .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur demie aulne de fatin noir pour faire vng collet a l'Espagnolle pour porter aux champs pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a tapiffier cinq aulnes et demie de plette blanche pour picquer et mettre au saintures et dorures de la Royne .

Fin de la susdicte annee 1562 .

MARIE

Memoire de ce que jay distribue en lan 1563 a commencer au mois de Januier .

*Premierement .*

Je deliure a Monsieur du Vaux alors quil fut hors de page trois aulnes et demie de fatin noir .

Plus je deliure a Adrian vallet de chambre trois aulnes de fatin noir pour lui faire vng pourpoint .

Plus vne aulne et demie de damas blanc pour faire six gibefieres de bergers pour des masques au nopces de Monsieur de Saint Cosme .

~~Plus jay deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux manteaux de masque faictz de tafetas blanc pour faire daultre forte chabillementz a ceux qui jouoient du lut pour lesdicts masques .~~

*Efface pour ce quil est escript en vng aultre endroit .*

Plus jay deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux aulnes de fatin noir pour faire vne paire de brassieres pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure au dict tailleur vne aulne et demie de tafetas noir ray pour border vng manteau pour la Royne lequel est de vellours a deux endroitz .

Plus je deliure a Estiene vallet de chambre deux aulnes de fatin noir pour mettre dedans des chausses .

Plus a Francoise femme de chambre je deliure trois aulnes de Hollande pour faire des chaufes pour la Royne .

Plus la Royne a donne a Marnard trois pieces de tapissierie des finges . (29 .)

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois de Feburier 1563 .*

Jay deliure vng drap pour faire des frotoiers pour la Royne .

Plus deliure a Jacques le tailleur sept aulnes et vng quart de satin noir pour faire vne basquine et vne paire de brassieres pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Francoise trois aulnes de Holande pour faire des chaufes pour la Royne .

*Durant le mois de Mars 1563 .*

*Durant le mois de Apuril 1563 .*

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois de May 1563 .*

Je deliure a Jacqueline quatre draps pour coucher la Jardinierie avec vne couuerte blanche . (50 .)

Plus je deliure a Jacques tailleur trois quartiers de satin noir pour faire vng corps de cote pour la Royne .

Plus la Royne a donne vne robbe de damas noir a Leuifton laifnee . (72 .)

Plus la Royne a donne vne robbe de damas noir faicte a grandes manches a Madamoifelle de Raalle . (73 .)

Plus la Royne a donne a Madamoifelle de la Souche vne robbe de fatin noir a manches longues . (75 .)

Plus la Royne a donne a Madamoifelle Leuifton la jeune vne robbe de taffetas noir a grandes manches . (76 .)

*Memoire de ce que jay distribue durant le mois de Juing 1563 .*

Je deliure sept aulnes de Hollande pour faire fix paire de callefons pour la Royne .

Plus jay deliure a Madamoifelle de Raalle vne aulne de plette pour enuelopper des coiffes et colletz pour la Royne .

Plus quand la Royne alla en Argueil je deliuray a Baltazar vne plette bigarree pour la Royne .

Plus trois quartiers de plette pour enuelopper vng collet de perles et grains noirs lequel jay faict .

Plus la Royne a prins pour lui feruir vng manteau de velours a deux endroiçts . (79 .)

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois de Juillet 1563 .*

Il a este rompu trois habillementz de taffetas blanc borde de rouge lesquelz ferurent a abiller des joueurs aux nopces de Monsieur de Saint Cosme .

*Memoire de ce que je deliure durant le mois d'Aoust 1563 .*

Il a este prins vng morceau de toille dor enuiron vng tiers et vne demie aulne en vng aultre morceau le tout pour seruir a la broderie de velours vert .

*Memoire de ce que je deliure durant le mois de Septembre 1563 .*

Je deliure a Madamoifelle de Leuifton laifnee onze aulnes de damas gris pour lui faire vne robbe .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux chanteaux de damas gris broche dor pour faire vne robbe a vne poupine .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur trois quartz et demi de toille dargent et de foye blanche pour faire vne cotte et aultre chose a des poupines .

Plus jay deliure a Madamoyfelle de Seton et Leuifton vne aulne trois quartz de toille dor figuree . (120 .)

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur onze aulnes et demie de fatin tanne pour faire vng manteau rond pour la Royne .

Plus la Royne a faict rompre vng vieil manteau royal pour faire vng tapis et garnir des pilliers de liêt de velours violet faict a fleurs . (87 .)

~~Plus la Royne a donne a Madamoifelle de Seton et Leuifton vng morceau de toille dor frize contenant vne aulne trois quartz .~~

Efface pour ce quil est escript cy deuant .

Plus a este pris la queue dung dees de velours noir laquelle queue nestoiêt que



dune aulne de France de long pour remettre au liēt duquel on auoiēt defrobbe le doffier .

Plus pour paracheuer de rabiller lediēt liēt il a este prins le foubassement et les rideaux dung aultre vieil liēt de velours noir .

Plus a este pris vng tapis de velours violet feme de fleurs de lis pour faire couvrir deux chaires et deux placetz . (51 .)

Plus la Royne a donne a Seruais vng manteau destamet lequel auoiēt les parementz de jennette . (81 .)

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois d'Octobre 1563 .*

Je deliure a Jacques le tailleur fix aulnes de fatin tanne pour faire vne juppe pour la Royne .

Plus il a este prins vne aulne et vng quart de toille d'argent pour faire vne pierre faicte en broderie au grand dees de velours cramoyfi la ou sont assis deux poetes pour le fondz dudiēt dees .

Plus a este prins vne aulne et vng quart de toille pour doubler ladiēt toille d'argent .

Plus je deliure viij paires de draps pour les liēt des femmes de chambre .

*Memoire de ce que je deliure durant le mois de Nouembre 1563 .*

Je deliure a Jacques le tailleur neuf aulnes de damas blanc pour faire vne foutanne pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur huit aulnes de damas tanne pour faire vne foutane pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur six aulnes et demie de damas gris pour faire vng petit manteau pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Madamoifelle de Raalle vne aulne de toille pour faire des sacs pour mettre des pappiers .

Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux tiers de fatin tanne pour faire vng corps de cotte pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure deux aulnes et demie de fatin noir pour faire deux colletz quatre cornettes et deux touretz de nees .

*Memoire de ce que jay deliure durant le mois de Decembre 1563 .*

Je rompu vng foye de velours bleu pour faire trois grands bonnetz a la Souiffe pour faire des masques .

Plus je deliure a Madamoifelle de Ralle demie aulne de toille pour faire des ataches pour des perruques pour la Royne .

Plus je deliure a Estiene vallet de chambre de la Royne vng quartier dung vieulx foye de velours bleu pour faire des colletz pour les petitz chiens de la Royne / et vng aultre quartier a Ferriere .

Plus je deliure au Pelletier du bord de martre de la garniture dune robbe et vng manteau pour border vng manteau de damas tanne .

Plus je deliure audiect Pelletier de la martre neuue pour doubler et paracheuer de chamarrer lediect manteau .

Plus a este prins pour enrichir les pilliers dun liēt de broderie faict par fleurs les bordz dung foye de velours bleu .

Plus je deliure a Nicollas tapiffier fix aulnes de Holande pour doubler deux paires de braffieres pour la Royne lesquelles font piquees .

Plus je deliure a Jacqueline vng bonnet de velours bleu pour Nicolle .

Plus je deliure quatre aulnes de grosse toile pour enuelopper la planche que on chauffe au liēt de la Royne et pour seruir denuelophe pour les foulliers et vaiffelle .

Plus je deliure a Jacques tailleur vne vasquine de cotte de velours noir des habillementz de la feu Royne pour seruir a la Royne . (90 .)

Plus je deliure vng parement de manteau de martre lequel est des fourrures de la feu Royne avec le bord de mesme et aussi de la martre pour eslargir lediēt parement . (50 . 51 . 52 .)

Plus de deliure vng poignet de loup ceruier des fourreures de la feu Royne pour paracheuer de fourrer les parementz dung manteau de velours noir pour la Royne avec les bords de mesme . (53 . 54 .)

Fin des trois susdictes annees [1561 . 1562 . et] 1563 .

MARIE

**M**emoyre de tout ce que je distribue en l'annee 1564 . commandant au premier jour de Januier .

*Premierement en Januier .*

**J**e delliure a Nicollas tapissier sept aulnes de canneua pour fairre vng mattellas pour les femme de chambre de la Royne .

Plus a Jacquelinne vng vieux dras pour fairre des vieux linge pour la Folle .

Plus je delliure vng vieux dras pour vne poure femme Françoise laquelle estoit en couche au petit lietz .

Plus je delliure au femme de chambre trente aulnes de toylle pour fairre deux pairre de dras pour eux .

Plus je delliure a Jacquelinne xij aulnes de toylle pour fairre six chemise et des coyfe a Nicolle .

Plus a Courcelle ix aulnes de toylle pour luy ferre vj chemise .

Plus a Jacque tailleur demy aulnes de satin noyr pour fairre des tourre de ne pour la Royne .

Plus a Jacque tailleur ij aulnes j quart et demy de taffetas chengent pour fairre vne robbe a la fille batarde de Monsieur de Sanct Croy .

Plus demye aulnes de vieux velous cramoyfi pour bander ladicte robbe .

Plus a Pierre Martin tapissier iij aulnes de canneua pour fairre deux gran sac lung pour metre le linge falle et lautre pour metre les foullier et autre chose pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vj aulnes de gro canneua pour enpaqueter ce qui fut enuoye en France a Madame de Monmoransy .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xiiij aulnes de fatin tanne pour les sincq robbe de drapt tanne .

Plus a Mademoyselle Beton et Leuifton vne piece de passement fet dor et dargent pefant xxij onse [con]tenant xxxij aulnes .

Plus a Madame de Briande demye aulnes de Hollandes pour fairre doubler xiiij pairre de manchettes pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vng tier de fatin noir pour faire des bandeaux pour la Royne .

*Durant le mois de Feuuerier .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne troy rest de taffetas orangie chengent contenant xxviiij aulnes demy cart qui furt employe pour les masque qui fit la Royne le jour de son bonque .

Plus a Mademoyselle de Rallez xxiiij aulnes de toylle pour luy ferre ij pairre de dras pour garnir vng liêt que la Royne luy aît donne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne iij aulnes de taffetas chengent pour fairre vne robbe a la petitz fille que garde Jacqueline et fut pour le jour du banquet de la Royne .

Plus je enloye deux vieux dras del lin pour couvrir deux licornne et deux pan qui seruir le jour de banquet de la Royne .

Plus au tapissier ij aulnes de grosse toylle pour netoyer les armoyrie de la salle du balle .

Plus vne aulne de toylle pour friser de perruque pour la Royne lequell je deliuree a deux foys .

Plus a Mademoyselle de Rallez iiij aulnes de toylle pour fairre des frotoy pour la Royne .

Plus a Mademoyselle de Ralle vne aulnes de pletz pour enueloper des seinturre de la Royne .

Plus a Michel femme des fille vne aulnes de toylle pour luy doubler le corps dunne robbe que la Royne luy ayt donnee .

Plus je deliure a Jacquelinne viij aulnes de toylle pour fairre huit chemise au petis enfans quelle gard .

~~Plus je deliure au Pelletier vng pongne de louseruie et vng morseaux de lautre pour metre a vng [parrem]ent de manteaux pour la Royne .~~

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne troy piece drapt ou estamet noyr pour fairre des abillement aux paiges .

Plus xvj aulnes de veloux noyr pour fairre vng manteaux a queu pour la Royne lequellz ayt des parrement de louseruie .

Plus xxiiij aulnes de veloux noyr pour fairre vne robbe a Mademoyselle Leuiston lenee et vne autre robbe a Mademoyselle de Beton .

Plus a Jacques tailleur iiij aulnes ij tier de veloux pour border vng manteaux de fatin pour la Royne lequell est fourde de martre .

Plus a Jacque tailleur vne piece de futainne blanche frisee qui ayt este employe a vng manteaux vne vasquine et des brastier pour la Royne laquel piece contenoict xx aulnes .

~~Plus je deliure a Jehan de Conpiengne troy piece destamet rouge pour faire des manteaux et dauantier au fille .~~

Efface pource quil est escript plus anplement si apres .

Plus je deliure audiect Conpiengne du treilly jaune et violet et du passément . le tout pour faire vne robbe a Nicolle .

Plus au tapisfier iij coffre a mullet pour les garnyr de plet lesque seruent a la chambre de la Royne ordinairement .

Plus a Baltasar vng autre coffre pour metre les abillement de la Royne pour porter par pays .

Plus a Jehan de Copiengne vng moyen coffre carre lequell ferme a deux serrure avec vng caddena .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne iij pannache assauoir deux de jes noyr pour metre sur des chapeaux pour la Royne .

Plus au brodeur vne aulnes vng cart de veloux noyr pour faire des boutons pour les cincq robbe tannee .

*Deurant le moy de Mars .*

Je deliure a Jehan de Conpiengne cincq piece destaminne noyr pour faire des robes aux fille .

Plus a Monsieurs dAsquin vng harnoy de chasse pour seruir a la Royne avec la housse de mesme .

Plus vne autre piece destaminne noir pour parracheuer lesdictes robbe .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne iij aulnes iij quars de toylle de Hollande pour fairre fix pairre de chose pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xvij aulnes et demye veloux noyr qui ont estez employee a bander et chamarer sincq robbe tannee et a vng manteaux et vne deuantier de drapt dAngleterre tanne et bande de quatre doibt avec les parrement du manteau double de veloux et pour fairre vng sac a metre les mouchoye ou lestre pour la Royne et vne coyffe doublee de taffetas Plus pour vne robbe de taffetas frangie fest a bourrelle et manche decoupee et bordee Et ausit en ast estez fest dudiect veloux pour bander labillement du petit garson que gard Jacquelinne assauoir manteau faye et chosse .

*Au moy d'Apuril rien et*

*Deurant le mois de May .*

Je delliure a Etienne vallet de chanbre iij aulnes de scarllatin rouge pour luy ferre vng faie et des choses .

Plus je delliure audiect Estienne iiij aulnes et demye de veloux noyr pour bander le faye et lesdictes chose avec xxxvij aulnes de biset dargent et foye cramoyfie .

Plus audiect Estienne iij aulnes de veloux blanc figurre pour doubler lesdictes chose .

Plus a Marguerit femme de chanbre deux paire de dras qui sont chacun dras de troys toylle lesquelz seruent au lietz de la Royne .



Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne cincq aulnes de veloux noyr qui ont estez employe a ferre ce qui s'enfuyt assauior Deux aulnes demy cart pour paracheuer les manteaux destamet rouge Plus vng cartier pour vng sac a metre des mouchoye Plus demy aulnes demy cart pour fairre vng corps de robbe pour la Royne .

~~Plus je delliure au clerc de chapelle iij aulnes et iij any et feintur .~~

Plus vne aulnes demy cart pour fairre troy bors sur vne robbe de taffetas pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure au parfumeur vng cartier de veloux noyr pour fairre des collie au petit chien que la Royne ast enuoye a France .

*Deurant le mois de Juing .*

Je delliure au brodeur vne aulne de veloux pour fairre vng coffre pour la Royne pour metre papier et autre choses .

Plus vne aulne troy cart de satin noyr baillee au menufier pour doubler ledict coffre .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne ij aulnes demy cart de damas blanc pour ferre des braffier pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne viij aulnes troy cart et demy destamet rouge pour commencer les manteaux et deuantier des filles .

Plus vne autre piece contenant xj aulnes demy cart .

Plus vne autre piece contenant xij aulnes vng cart . Le tout pour ferre lesdictes manteaux et deuantier .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xiiij aulnes de taffetas mouchetez pour fairre vne robbe pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vne piece destaminne blanche pour fairre vne foutainne pour la Royne .

*Durant le moys de Jullet .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne xiiij aulnes de veloux noyr pour bander les manteaux et deuantier destamet rouge pour les dammes et damoyfelle .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne vne piece destaminne blanche pour fairre vne robbe pour la Royne avec vng autre rest .

Plus a Eftienne vallet de chanbre iiij aulnes et demye de veloux noyr pour luy bander vne cappe et des chose .

Plus audit Eftienne v aulnes de fatin noyr pour doubler des choses et fairre vng pourpoin .

Plus a Baltafar ij piece destaminne blanche pour metre a son coffre pour porter au voyage que la Royne fit en Arguylle .

Plus demy cartier de veloux pour fairre vne gan pour la Royne lequel fert pour tirer de larc .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xv aulnes i quart de fatin noyr pour fairre deux juppe et manche de mesme et pour larder des bandes sur la robbe de taffetas noyr avec vng pourpoin qui fert avec la robbe tanne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne i quartier de veloux noyr pour fairre vne grand bource pour la Royne lequels fert a metre les mouchoy .

*Au moys d'Aoust rien .*

*Deurant le moys de Septembre .*

Je delliure a Monfieurs de Leuifton escuyer vng harnoy de chaffe feft a la riftre lequels fert pour la Royne avec la houfe de mefme .

Plus xij chapeaux de veloux noyr borde dor et cordon dor .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne lvij aulnes quart et demy de veloux noyr pour fairre des robes au filles .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xxij aulnes vng quinsiemme de veloux noyr pour fairre vne robe pour la Royne fet en treuffe de perles .

Plus a Pierre Martin tapiffier ij aulnes et demye de veloux cramoyfy vieux affauoir de celui que je refceu de France pour garnir quatre pillier de lift . et fut a la venue du Conte de Leno .

Plus au menufier vne aulne de mefme veloux pour couvrir deux fiege pliant .

Plus au Pelletier du louferuie qui estoict de rest des pongnes pour en ferre vng louferuie pour la Royne lequel aft estez garny et aproprie pour mettre au col de la Royne .

Plus je delliure au mulletier de litier vng sac de veloux noir .

*Deurant le moys d'Octobre .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne ix aulnes de taffetas noyr a grograin pour fairre vne robe pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne v aulnes de damas violet pour fairre vne robbe a la petite fille de Madame d'Atelz .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vng cartier et demy de toille dor frisee et trafsee de blan pour ferre des manche a ladicte fille . (144 .)

Plus vne bandez de toille dor plenne avec vng autre morceau . le tout pour metre en bande sur ladicte robbe .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vj aulnes ij tier et demy de taffetas tanne turquin pour fairre vne juppe avec le corps et manche . le tout pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure vne garderobes au fille de Galletas . (96 .)

*Durant le mois de Novembre .*

Je delliure a Mademoyselle de Flamy et Beton ij pellifon d'Allemaingne lesquelz sont blan . (55 .)

Plus au Pelletier vng pellifon de mesme pour en ferre vng cottillon pour la Royne . (55 .)

Plus au brodeur demye aulnes de toille dor pour ferre les pallemier du hocqueton de Goguelu fourrier des logis .

~~Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne ix aulnes de taffetas noyr a grograin pour fairre vne robbe pour la Royne .~~

Efface parce quil est escript cy dessus .

*Deurant le mois de Desembre .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne xiiij aulnes de cammellot de foye noyr pour fairre vne robbe pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure vne garderobe au tapissier de la Royne . (96 .)

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne xiiij aulnes de veloux pour fairre vne robbe de perlle laquel est feßt en faßon de boutonier et de roße .

Plus audißt Conpiengne vij aulnes troy quars de veloux qui me restoißt de tous les veloux et estoißt pour commanser la robbe de perlle laquel est toutes couuert de les damours et compartiment .

Plus je delliure a Mademoyselle de Leuiston vng deuan et des braßfier de veloux noyr de la feux Royne . (91 .)

Fin de la fudißte anne . 1564 . et jusques au premier jours de Mars . 1565 . auan Pasque .

Mars

La fudißtz anne a estez contez jusque a Mars a raifon que je men alloye en France ainßin ne rest a conter pour lannee present . 1565 . que ix moys .

Mars .

Plus il aßt estez oublie a escriptre en cest presente annee aßauoir deux piece de toylle dor feßt de broderie par bors contentant chascunne bande vne aulnes lesquelz ont estez employe a fairre le bort de la queu de gran detz de veloux cramoify en broderie . (119 .)

Plus vng lietz de scarllatte violet feßt par bande de broderie feßt de veloux noy garny a Mademoyselle de Sanple garny de fon dosiel pante soubassement et rideau auec vne couuet taffetas piquee . (17 .)

Plus il aßt estez prin trois chappe deux tunique et vne chaffuble le tout de velours verd . lequels ornement ont estez ronpu pour garnir tout le lietz douuraiges en broderie et fleurs meparty de vert et desdicts flurs ranply par carreau dargent . et aüssit pour fairre vne hault chefez deux sieges et vne chese perfee a estez prin vne morseau contenant j aulne .

Plus je delliure a Mademoyselle de Rallez xij gros seruiet [pour] fairre des frotoy [pour] la Royne .

Plus il aßt estez perdu a Lifcot vne piece de tapisserie des chasseur de congne entre les mayns de Monsieur de Saint Jehan durant le temps quil estoict capitaine dudiect chateaux .

Marie

Memoyre de tout ce qui ayt estez delliure des meubles et dras de foye par moy Seruais de Condez vallet de chambre de la Royne . le tout feßt en lan . 1565 . commansant au moys de Mars .

*Premierement durant le moys de Januier au moys de Feuuerier .*

Je ne conte rien durant Januier Feuuerier ~~no Mars~~ parce quil est contez sur lannee presidente .

*Durant le moys de Mars .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne vij aulnes iij quars de taffetas noy pour fairre vng manteaux pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne ij aulnes et demye de taffetas noy a grograin pour fairre deux corps de robbe et vng deuan . le tout pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure a Jacques tailleur v aulnes demy cart de taffetas changent pour fairre vng cottillon pour la Royne .

*Durant le moys d'April .*

*Durant le moys de May et Jung .*

*Durant le moys de Juillet .*

Je delliure a la Royne ij chapeaux de taffetas noir avec vng chapeaux de veloux noyr garny de pannache .

Plus je delliure a lecuynie les chapeaux de veloux noyr garny de cordon dor lesquelz seruent au dammes et fille .

Plus a Madame de Saint Croy vng cote de satin cramoyfy broche dor fest par carre .

Plus je delliure a Mademoyselle de Ralle vne martre joune et vne aultre blanche .

Plus au Secretairre Dauit vne piece de veloux noy broche dor contenant x aulnes i quart . (118 .)

Plus a Baltasar vallet de chanbre vne piece de toylle dor figurre de bleu contenant ix aulnes i quart .

Plus audiēt Baltasar vne cote de toylle dargent pleynne avec la moytie dunne aultre de mesmes toylle .



Plus a Jacques tailleur six aulnes satin noyr pour faire vne vasquinne pour la Royne .

Plus a la Royne vng petit paillon qui sert donbre deuant sa Maiestez lequel est a son cabinet .

Depuys remys au meubles .

Plus vng vieux faie de veloux ~~violet~~ vert avec ij bonnet bleu et leur pannache . le tout donne au fouldz du Roy .

Plus a la femme dudit Seruais la Royne luy a esté donne vng manteaux noir doubles de panne de foye avec vne robbe de damas sans manche . lequel habillement restoyent de la feu Royne . (80 . 74 . )

Plus au Seigneur François vng manteaux de damas de rest dedit habillement . (89 . )

Plus iij aulnes i quart de satin tanne broche dor pour mestre dedans des chaufes pour le Roy .

Plus vng rest de martre pour fourrer vng chapeaux pour le Roy .

Plus vng caparanson de drap dor avec le corps de mesmes . (125 . )

Plus vng aultre caparanson sans corps delliure a Baltasar . (117 . )

Plus la Royne a prin vng chapeaux a femme fest de veloux noyr garny d'argent lequelz est au cabinet .

Depuys remys au meubles .

Plus il a esté vsez iij pairre de linfeuil a la chanbre de Monsieur de Lufurie asavoir vne de lin et les autres commun .

Plus je delliure du vieux veloux vert de rest des vieux faye pour regarnyr les pillier du liest de veloux vert fest a grue .

Plus je delliure a la chanbre de la Royne ij sieges pliant et iij tabourrez le tout de velour cramoyfi avec ij carreau . (37 . 38 .)

Plus je baille a la Chapelle vng parrement doftel avec le foubaffement la chafuble le tolle et fanon vng tapie de pie avec ij carreaux . le tout de veloux cramoyfy . avec le corporalles . (55 . 99 . 102 . 100 .)

Plus a lecuylie vng harnoy de cheual fet a la riftre lequel fert pour la Royne .

Plus pour metre au lietz du Roy affauoir a celluy qui fe port au chan je delliure ij orillier et iij taye pour ledicts orillier .

Plus vne chese perfee couuert de veloux violet avec vng baffin qui fert a porter au chan pour le Roy .

Plus au parfumeur vne garderobbe platte pour metre des befongne pour le Roy .

Plus vne petite table lequel fe port au chan pour le Roy .

Plus ij tapie de Turquie fe port au chan pour le Roy . dont lung a eftez perdu et lautre vfez .

Plus a la chanbre de la Royne il aft eftez mys par fon commandement vng aultre tapie de pie a la ruel de fon lietz a rayfon de quoy lautre estoict vfez .

Plus a Standy escuyer de lecuylie du Roy donne par le commandement de la Royne vne paillasse mattellat trauerfin ij paire de dras ij couuert dont lunne neft que de blanche des brodeur avec ij orillier et iij taye . (50 .)

Plus vne couuert de taffetas noir qui aft eftez vfee au lietz de la Royne avec vng pauillon de damas noyr pour fa garderobe .

*Durant le mois d'Aoust .*

Je delliure vng petit manteaux de satin noyr fourre de martre lequel sert a la Royne . (86 .)

*Durant le mois [de] Septembre .*

Je delliure a Marguerit femme de chanbre iiij martre entier .

Plus a Mesire Pierre prestre ij nappes dautes ij aubes et ij amy .

*Durant le mois d'Octobre .**Durant le mois de Novembre .*

Je delliure a Monfieurs de Saint Croy iiij aulnes de toylle dargent damassée pour luy mettre dedans des chaufes .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne x aulnes de veloux violle pour fairre vng manteaux de nuyct pour le Roy .

Plus v cartier de veloux noyr baillie a Jehan de Conpiengne pour doubler les parrement d'ung riftre violet pour la Royne .

*Durant le mois de Desembre .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne j aulnes et demye de taffetas blan pour doubler vne paire de braffier de satin blan pour la Royne .

Plus vne piece de futainne noyr contenant xx aulnes .

Plus je delliure a Pierre Martin tapissier vne aulnes de taffetas violet pour piquer vng ecuysson pour metre sur lestomac de la Royne avec vng bonnet .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vj aulnes de taffetas noyr pour doubler vne vasquinne de satin noyr pour la Royne .

~~Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xj aulnes de taffetas blan pour doubler vng manteaux de satin cramoyfy raye dor avec vne pairre de brassier et vne vasquinne de toylle dargent plainne pour la Royne .~~

~~Plus je delliure a Merguerite femme de chambre quatre martre .~~

Le tout efface parce quil est escript en aultre lieux .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne xj aulnes demy cart de taffetas blan pour doubler vne pairre de brassier de satin blan avec le deuan vne autre pairre de brassier de toylle dor et le deuan de mesme et vng manteaux de satin blan raye dor .

Plus au Secretairre Daut iiiij aulnes de veloux noyr .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne vne aulnes demy quart de satin blan pour fairre vng deuan de cottes pour la Royne .

Plus vne aulnes et demy de taffetas blan pour le doubler .

Plus vne aulnes de veloux noyr delliure audiect Jehan de Conpiengne pour fairre des tourre le ne et cornet pour la Royne .

Plus au sellier du Roy iij aulnes et demye de vieux veloux cramoyfy pour recourir vne selle darmines pour lecuirie du Roy avec les estriuer couuert de mesme .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne iiiij aulnes de toylle dargent plainne pour fairre vng deuan et des brassier pour la Royne .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne x aulnes de taffetas blan pour doubler lefdiçs  
braffier avec vng manteaux de satin cramoyfy ray dor .

Plus vng pongne de panne de foye noyre lequell estoict entamme .

Plus a Jehan de Conpiengne iij cartier dung bas de cottes rouge ray dor pour  
fairre vne pairre de braffier pour la Royme avec le petit chateaux de lautre  
cartier .

Plus iij aulnes et demye de pleçt blanche pour doubler vng manteaux de satin  
cramoyfy ray dargent dont ladiçte pleçt est en doubles .

Plus vne aulnes et demye de taffetas rouge pour doubler . . . . . es braffier de  
mesmes lediçt manteaux .

Plus je delliure vng ciel de liçtz de farge rouges garny de pantes et rideau au  
filz de Monfieurs de Codinguan .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne demye aulnes de taffetas noyr pour  
doubler troys orrilletz et iij tourre le nez pour la Royme .

Le tout aulnes de France .

Fin de lannee . 1565 . jusques au premier jour de Januier ensuy-  
uant .

MARTE

**M**emoyere de tout ce que je delliure durant lannee . 1566 . con-  
manfant des le premier jours de Januier .

**P**remierement je delliure au Secretairre Daud quatre aulnes de toylle dor  
figurree par escaille . le tout en cincq morceaux . (146 .)

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne cincq aulnes et demye de plest blanche  
pour doubler vnef outanne de fatin joune pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure au pelletier viij aulnes de vieux bor de martre pour ayder a  
border ladiete soutanne .

Plus je delliure a Pierre Martin tapissier vij aulnes de vieux veloux cramoyfi  
pour ferre vng tapis de table .

Plus je delliure vj aulnes de taffetas rouge armoyfi pour doubler ledict tappis .

Plus vij aulnes iij quars et demy de toylle dor frisee dor et traffee de noyr del-  
liuree au tapissier pour ferre des pillier de lietz . dont le tout estoict en cincq  
morceaux . (146 .)

Plus je delliure a Jouachin vng tier de toylle dor pleine pour racotrer son  
hoqueton .

Plus je delliure au tapissier vj aulnes iij quars de vieux velous cramoyfi pour

ferre vng petis tapis et iiij pillier au lietz de veloux cramoyfi venu de Monsieur de Hontelles .

Plus je delliure a vng coutellier iij quartier de veloux noyr pour fairre viij fourreaux a des dacques dEcoffe .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne iij aulnes et demye de toylle dor plainne pour fairre des flanbe sur vj abillement de masque pour des famme . le tout en viij morseaux . (128 .)

*Feuuerier .*

Premierement je prin ij aulnes de toylle dor pleine pour ferre la broderie de la crepinne du lietz fect de toylle dor et toylle dargent et houpes .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne xij aulnes de satin blan pour ferre vng manteaux a queu pour la Royne .

Plus vij aulnes de taffetas blan pour doubler ledi& manteaux .

Plus iij aulnes de toylle dargent damassee pour ferre les parrement dudi& manteaux .

Plus xij aulnes de toylle dargent plainne pour fairre vne robbe a la fille de Madame de Hontelles pour le jour quel fut marree a Monsieur de Bodouel .

Plus vj aulnes de taffetas blan pour doubler les manche et la queu de ladi&e robes .

Plus au clerq de chappelle ij aubes ij amy et vne nappe . le tout pour seruir a la chappelle de la Royne .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne xij aulnes de satin cramoyfi pour fairre vng manteaux a queux pour la Royne .

Plus vij aulnes de taffetas armoyfi pour doubler ledi& manteaux .

Plus delliure audi& Conpiengne iiij aulnes i quart de toylle dor frisee dor et trafee de noyr pour ferre vng parrement de manteaux pour la Royne .

*Mars .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne ij tier de toylle dargent plainne pour ferre ij coyffe pour la Royne vng jour de Parlement .

Plus je employe vng bas de cotte de toylle dargent plainne pour parracheuer la broderie du gran faux cielz fe& en broderie par cordellier .

*Apuril .*

Je employe vj carre de toylle dor plainne pour parracheuer la broderie dudi& faux cielz . (128 .)

Plus je employe sur ledi& cielz xv carreaux de toylle dor frisee et trafee de blan pour referre les pantes dudi& cielz . (143 .)

Plus je employe xv carreaux de toylle dargent plainne sur lesquelz on a fe& des cordellier . (126 .)

Plus je employe audi& cielz iiij les de toylle dor frisee et trafee de blan contenant ij aulnes iiij quars chascun lez . (142 .)

Plus je employe vng les de toylle dargent plainne au fon dudi& faux cielz contenant ij aulnes iiij quars . (127 .)

Plus je employ plusieurs bande de toylle dor frisee dor lesquelles estoient dedans



vne toyillet jounne pour ferre la broderie de deffus les carreaux de toyille dargent dudi& cielz . (122 .)

Plus je delliure a Baltasar xx aulnes de veloux noir pour metre au coffre de la Royne .

*May .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne vj aulnes de fatin blan pour ferre vng petis manteaux pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure audi& Conpiengne vj aulnes iij quars de fatin cramoyfi pour fairre troy pairre de braffier pour la Royne .

Plus audi& Conpiengne vj aulnes iij quars de fatin blan pour ferre iij pairre de braffier pour la Royne .

Plus je delliure au tailleur du Roy v aulnes de fatin blan pour ferre vng petis manteaux pour le Roy alors quil estoit mallade pour porter au li&tz .

*Jung .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne iiij aulnes vng cart de taffetas rouge armoyfi pour doubler ij pairre de braffier de fatin cramoyfi pour la Royne .

*Jullet .*

Je delliure au tapissier xlv aulnes de veloux cramoyfi pour fairre vng dees et

le cielz meparty dudi& veloux et toylle dor frisee dor . et xx aulnes de bougran pour le doubler .

Plus je delliure au tapissier lxxx aulnes de passément de filz dor et dargent dung doit de largeur pour mettre sur des rideaux et vne couuert . le tout de cammellot rouge raye dor .

Plus je delliure audi& tapissier ij aulnes et demye de toylle dor trafee de rougue pour ralongir vng lees de la tapisserie de toylle dor frisee mepartie de veloux cramoyfi et aufit pour en ferre vne simple pantes pour le cielz de mesme parce que au parrauan ledi& cielz nauoi& que quatre simple pantes . (58 .)

Plus par le conmandement de la Royne je ronpu vng li&tz de toylle dor et toylle dargent fe& a simple pantes . dont la toylle dor dudi& li&tz a estez employe a ferre vng dees meparty de veloux cramoyfi . Et la toylle dargent dudi& li&tz a estez employee pour ferre viij pillier de li&tz . lung pour le li&ts de toylle dor et toylle dargent et lautre du li&tz damitie . (9 H .)

Plus je employe j aulnes de fatin cramoyfi pour ferre les houppes en broderie de dessus les pilliers du li&tz de toylle dor et toylle dargent et crepinne de houppes .

*Aoust .*

Je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne vj aulnes de fatin cramoyfi pour fairre vne cotte pour la Royne .

Plus je employe vng vieux saye de veloux violet pour ferre des pillier a vng li& de veloux violet passemente dor et dargent fe& a jour .

Plus je delliure a Jehan de Conpiengne x aulnes de toylle d'argent damassée pour ferre vne couuert a Monsieur le Prince pour le jour de son baptême .

Plus alors que la Roïne a donne le lietz de velours violet au Roy il y auoit vng pairre de linseul de toylle de Hollande lesquelz ne me furent point randu a raison que les vallet de chambre du Roy me dirrent que la auoit donne tout ce qui estoit audit lietz .

Plus je employe iiij aulnes de toylle dor plainne qui estoient du lietz de feux Monsieur de Hontelles lesquelz je employe a ferre de la broderie pour le grand dees de veloux cramoyfi en broderie . (9 н .)

*Septembre .*

Je delliure vne cotte et le cartier dunne aultre le tout de cammellot de foye rouge raye dor pour doubler des choses a Monsieur de Morra . le tout delliure a son tailleur .

Plus je delliure audit tailleur iij aulnes de toylle d'argent plainne pour doubler des choses audit Sieur .

Plus je delliure iij aulnes de mesmes toylle d'argent pour doubler des choses a Monsieur d'Arguille .

Plus je delliure a Monsieur de Hontellez iij quartier de bas de cotte de cammellot de foye rouge raye dor pour doubler des choses .

Plus je delliure a Monsieur de Bodouelz iij cartier de bas de cotte de cammellot blanc raye d'argent pour luy doubler des choses .

Plus au tapissier quatre viengt aulnes de passément festé dor et d'argent pour

mettre sur vne grand couuert de parrade de cammellot de foye verd avec les rideaux de mesmes . le tout charmerre dudi& passément .

Plus delliure audi& tapissier lvj aulnes de vieux passément dargent qui estoit sur les conturre du li&tz de damas incarnal lequel a&st estez ronpu et employe a daultre choses . ledi& passément a estez mis sur les rideaux de damas violet qui seruent au li&tz d'arnitie . (23 .)

Plus audi& tapissier je delliure lv aulnes de petite frange dor qui fut deffet de dessus des abillement de masque . laquelz frange a estez mise sur des vieux rideaux de damas rouge qui seruent au li&tz de veloux cramoyfi a simple pantes .

Plus audi& tapissier lxx aulnes de canneua pour faire des paillasse et des enue-lope .

Plus audi& tapissier quatre viengt aulnes de ple&st blanche pour faire teindre pour doubler des couuert piquee .

Plus je delliure audi& tapissier iiij livres vij onse de foye de plusieurs coulleur tant pour piquer des couuert que pour faire conture .

Plus xj piece de toylle dor frisee dargent delliuree au Roy pour faire vng caparanfon . (121 .)

Plus au fellier de la Royne iij aulnes de veloux noyr pour ferre des cuyfines pour aller a cheualle a la ristre et pour ferre des chapperon a des selles .

Plus je delliure a Baltasar xxi aulnes de fatin cramoyfi pour metre dedans les coffre de la Royne .

Plus au tapissier ix aulnes de taffetas blan acord pour ferre vne couuert de taffetas blan pour le li&tz de veloux blan .

*Octobre .*

Je delliure au tapissier xij aulnes de taffetas violet pour fairre vne couuert au lietz damytie .

Plus audi& tapissier xxiiij aulnes de taffetas noyr pour ferre deux couuert lunne pour le lietz de veloux noyr passemente et lautre pour le lietz de veloux noyr .

Plus audi& tapissier xij aulnes et demye de taffetas rouge pour ferre vne couuert au lietz de veloux cramoyfi passement dor fet a simple pantes .

Plus audi& tapissier vne aulnes et vng cart de veloux cramoyfi pour ralongir le dossier du lietz des fenix .

Plus audi& tapissier quatre carreaux de vielle toylle dor doubles de mesmes pour ferre vng soubassement au lietz de jennet et vng au lietz damytie . et pour ralongir vng des soubassement du lietz des fenix . (58 . 59 .)

Plus audi& tapissier deux aultre vieux carreaux pour ferre vng soubassement au lietz de veloux cramoyfi passemente dor fe& a simple pantes . et pour ralongir le soubassement du lietz des las damours .

Plus audi& tapissier trois pantes de veloux noyr dung vieu lietz pour ferre des pillier au lietz de veloux noyr figure et passemente dor et dargent . et pour ralongir le dossier dudi& lietz . (10 .)

Plus je employe le dossier dudi& vieux lietz qui me restoi& encor pour en ferre vng petis tapis . (10 .)

Plus audi& tapissier iiij aulnes de petit passement fe& dor et dargent pour enrichir les pillier dudi& lietz .

Plus je employe ix aulnes de veloux cramoyfi pour parferre tout ce qui reſtoit a ferre au grand dees de veloux cramoyfi en broderie .

Plus audiēt tapiffier je luy ay feēt mettre le frange du liēt de damas incarnal au dees de veloux cramoyfi et toylle dor . (23 .)

Plus je feēt mettre la frange dargent dudiēt vieux liēt ſur les pantes du liēt de veloux verd et douuraiges . (23 .)

Plus les troys rideaux dudiēt vieux liēt je les feēt ſeruir au liēt des las damours . (23 .)

Plus je fes ſeruir la couuert pique dudiēt vieux liēt au liēt des fenix . (23 .)

Plus le reſt du damas dudiēt vieux liēt jen eſt feēt ferre vng tapis et couuri des cheſez perſee . (23 .)

Plus je employe les rideaux dung petit liēt de damas jonne a rayſon quilz eſtoient trop petis a ferre vng ſoubafſement vng doſſier vng tapis et vne cheſe perſee que je fes couuri du reſt dudiēt damas .

Plus je mys troys aultre rideaux de damas jonne audiēt liēt leſquelz reſtoient du liēt de toylle dor et toylle dargent feēt a ſimple pante .

Plus au tapiffier ij cens aulnes de futainne blanche pour faire des mattellas et trauerſin et orrillier .

Plus je delliure audiēt tapiffier ix aulnes de taffetas violet pour doubler les pantes dung ciel meparty de toylle dor traſee de noyr et veloux gris au quelz cielz je fes remettre ſes frange et le remonter .

Plus au menuſier x aulnes de veloux cramoyfi pour couurir deux hault cheſe troys ſiege plian et vne cheſe perſee .

Plus audiēt menufier viij aulnes de doublurre rouge pour mettre foubz le veloux defdiēt chefe .

Plus vne aulnes et vng cart de bougran pour doubler ladiēte chefe perfee .

Plus au tapiffier xv aulnes de toylle dargent damaffee pour ferre vne couuert de parrade pour le liētz de toylle dor et toylle dargent crepine de houpes .

Plus xiiij aulnes de taffetas blan pour doubler ladiēte couuert .

Plus au tapiffier iiij<sup>xx</sup> v aulnes de petitz paffement feēt dor et dargent pour meſtre fur les conturre de ladiēte couuert et fur la couuert de fatin cramoyfi .

Plus au menufier iiij aulnes iij quars de veloux cramoyfi pour couvrir vne aultre chefe et deux ſiege plian .

Plus au menufier iij aulnes et demye de veloux noyr pour couvrir vne hault chefe et vng ſiege plian .

Plus iiij aulnes et demye de veloux violet pour couvrir vne hault chefe et vne ſiege plian .

Plus vij aulnes de veloux verd pour couvrir vne hault chefe vne chefe perfee et vne ſiege plian .

Plus vne aulnes et vng cart de bougran pour doubler ladiēte chefe perfee .

Plus iiij aulnes de doublurre pour doubler la hault chefe .

Plus au tapiffier xxx aulnes de toylle de Lion pour doubler vj mattellas .

Plus je ronpu vng tapis de trippe de veloux noir figurree de quoy jen eſt prin iiij aulnes pour couvrir vne chefe perfee et vng ſiege plian .

Plus au tapiffier ſincq aulnes et demye de veloux violet pour ferre vng tapis .

Plus je delliure au passémentier lv paque tant filz dor que filz dargent tant a vne foys que aultre pour toutes les besongne quil a fe& par mon commandement . xij escheueaux pour paque .

Plus audi& passémentier xxvij liures xj onse de foye cramoyfie .

Plus en foye de coulleur tant vne que aultre vij liures v onse et demye .

Plus je delliure a Pierre Odry brodeur pour ce quil a& fe& tant en filz dor que filz dargent tant pour la crepinne des houpes que pour le bor du grand dees de veloux cramoyfi en broderie la cantite de ij paque qui sont viengt et quatre escheueau .

Plus je delliure audi& brodeur tant a vne foys que a vne aultre vne liures ij onse de foye asauoir de plusieurs coulleur .

Plus je delliure au menufier vij onse et demye de foye tant cramoyfie que daultre coulleur . le tout pour coudre toutes les frange et veloux de toute chese siege et aultres choses quil a& fe& .

Plus je delliure a Madame de Mars vj gro escheueaux de filz dargent pour Monsieur le Prince .

Plus pour toutes la broderie du gran faulx cielz fe& a doubles pantes meparty de toille dor et toille dargent sur laquelz toille dargent on a fe& des cordellier en broderie ou il a& entre iiij paque ij escheueaux tant or quarient .

Plus pour tout la foye quil a& faillu pour faire toutes la broderie dudi& cielz jliures vj onse de foye joune .

Plus pour toutes la foye quil a& entre a ferre la crepinne du li& z fe& de toille dor et toille dargent tant dunne coulleur que daultre iiij liures xiiij onse asauoir tant cramoyfie que aultre coulleur .



Plus troys liurs et demye tant filz dor que filz dargent qui font vj paque vij efcheueaux .

Plus je delliure pour le grand dees et aufit de ce que je employe tant pour rabatre que pour pourfiller tout ce qui est feët audiët dees v liures tant dunne coulleur que dautre .

Plus pour fix aulnes de bor pour le grand dees avec deux aulnes que je fet ou il aët entre iij paque et demy tant filz dor que filz dargent .

Plus au tapiffier xlix aulnes de bougran tant pour doubler tapis que cielz de liëtz et aultre choses .

Plus au menufier xij peaux de marroquy de quoy il en aët eëtéz couuert iij chefe et iij siege pliant .

Plus audiët tapiffier viij aulnes de taffetas verd pour doubler les pantes du liëtz de veloux verd et douuraige .

Plus je delliure au tapiffier xlvj aulnes de petit paffement feët dor et dargent pour chamarer la couuert de liëtz de jennet et celle du liëtz de fenix et pour enrichir les pillier dudiët liëtz et pour vng tapis de table et aufit les pillier du liëtz damytie .

Plus je delliure au tapiffier xxij aulnes et demye de veloux cramoyfi pour ferre trois tapis et des pillier au liëtz de fenix .

Plus xvij aulnes de bougran rouges pour doubler lefdiët tapis et les pilliers cy deffus diëtz .

Plus vne paire de linfeulz et vne payllasse qui ont eëtéz perdu vne durrant le temps que Monfieur du Croc eëtioët depar defa .

*Novembre .*

Je delliure au menufier iij aulnes et demye de veloux noyr pour couvrir vne hault chefe .

Plus au menufier viij aulnes et demye de veloux cramoyfi pour couvrir ij hault chefe et iij siege plian .

Plus au tapissier xij aulnes de taffetas rouge pour ferre vne aultre couuert pique pour le lietz de veloux incarnal .

Plus au tapissier vij aulnes de veloux cramoyfi pour ferre vng aultre tapis de tables .

Le tout delliure a launes de France .

*Desembre neant .*

Faiet a Edinbour le xxxj<sup>e</sup> de May . 1567 .

MARIE

Delliurance de l'année . 1567 . conmansant au premier jours de  
Januier jusques au premier jours de Jung audi& an .

*Premierement Januier Feuburier et Mars .*

Je delliure troys aulnes et demye de toylle d'argent damassée pour paracheuer  
vng li&tz a double pantes auquel li&tz je employe la couuert de toylle d'argent  
qui auoie& seruy au baptesme de Monsieur le Prince que jauoye resceu de  
Baltafar . lequel estoie& de& me&me toylle d'argent .

Plus pour mepartir ledi& li&tz je delliure quatre chappe de toylle dor frisee  
dor tra&ee de plusieurs couleurs .

Plus je delliure pour fairre les rideau audi& li&tz viengt aulnes de taffetas raye  
dor que jauoye resceu de Baltafar .

Plus je delliure soy&fant et quinze aulnes de pass&ment fe& dor et d'argent dung  
doicbt de largeu[r] . le tout pour metre sur les conturre dudi& li&tz .

Plus je delliure vng paque de petite dantelle qui a&st este& cousue ensemble pour  
mettre sur les conturre des rideaux dudi& li&tz contenant quatre vingt  
aulnes .

Plus je delliure a Jemmes Baffour capitaine du Chasteau de Lillebour troys  
pantes de broderie fe& dor faux meparty de fatin blanc et bleu fans nulz aultre  
choses . (21 .)

Plus il aſt eſtez employe deux chappe vne chaſuble et quatre tunique feſt de toyllle dor frifee dor et traſee de pluſieurs coulleurs pour fairre vng liſtz meparty de toyllle dargent damaffee et veloux cramoyſi enrichy de grand fleurs de gro poin et aultre chofes .

Et pour fornir la toyllle dargent pour lediſt liſtz je reſceu de Baltasar vng manteaux a manche longues avec vng bas de cot de meſmes .

Plus je reſceu dudiſt Baltasar dix aulnes de veloux cramoyſi pour meparty lediſt liſtz .

*An mois d'April .*

Je delliure a Janne femme de Thierry deux vieux linceulz pour luy ayder a ferre ces couches .

Plus je delliure a Pierre Odry brodeur troys aulnes de toyllle dor en pluſieurs morſeaux pour fairre la broderie du liſtz meparty de toyllle dargent toyllle dor et veloux cramoyſy .

Plus je delliure audiſt Pierre Odry pour le meſmes liſtz demye aulnes de toyllle dargent pour fairre la broderie . le tout en pluſieurs morſeaux .

Plus je deliure deux paire de dras de lin pour ſeruir au liſtz de la Royne .

*Au mois de May .*

Je delliure a Baltasar troys mars troys onſe et demye de paſſement dor feſt a jour lequels auoiſt deux doibt de largeur .

Plus je deliure a Monfieur le Duc dOrquenez vng parrement dung gran  
manteaux de fourrurre de jennet pour luy feruir a vng manteaux de  
nuyct . (81 .)

Marie

Decharge des meubles que jauoye feſt porter au logis du feu Roy. laquelle doibt eſtre atachee avec lannee . 1567 . au mois de Feburie . Lesquelz meubles ont eſtez perdu fans en rien recouurer . Et y auoiſt vne chanbre falle et garderobe garnye ainſy quil ſenſuyſt .

Premierement vng liſtz de veloux violet a double pante paſſement dor et argent garny de boys paillafſe mattellas trauersin et vne couuert de taffetas bleu piquee et deux aultre couuert et vng orrillier et enuelope . (7 . 45 .)

Plus vne petite table avec le tapis de veloux verd . (2 H .)

Plus vne hault cheſe couuert de veloux violet avec le ſiege .

Plus xvj piece de tapifferie tant a ſa chanbre que falle et garderobe tant grand que petite . (91 . vj piece . 18 H .)

Plus a ſa falle vng dees de veloux noyr a double pantes . (6 .)

Plus vne cheſe hault couuert de cuyere .

Plus vne cheſe perſee couuert de veloux garnye de deux baſſin .

Plus vng petis tapis de Turquie et vng pot de nuyſt pour ſa chanbre .

Plus vng petit liſtz de damas joune et verd feſt a grue garny de boys pail-

laissé mattellas trauerfin et fa couuert piquee de taffetas vert avec deux aultre couuert et vne enelope .

Et vng pauillon de taffetas changent a fa garderobe . (35 .)

Fest a Edinbour le xx<sup>me</sup> de May . 1567 .

Plus il aitez perdu vng piece de tapisserie a Lifcot de listoyre des chasseur de cogny durant le baptisme de Monsieur le Prince . (84 .)

Plus ausit perdu a Estrellin au baptisme de Monsieur le Prince vne piece de tapisserie de gro feuillage et vng petis tapis de Turquie . (18 H .)

Et deux dras de lin au logis de feu Roy . (167 .)

Plus il ayt estez ~~perdu~~ vfe a Faclan deux gro dras des lietz qui estoient audiect Faclan .

MARIE

Decharge des Abillemant de Masque et dOrneman dEglise et de quelque Liures avec tous les Painture et quelque Tableau delliure a Maistre Jehan Houde . signee de Monsieur de Mora et Maistre Jehan Houd .

The Inventareis off the Buikis / Ornamentis / and Maskyn Cleifs ressaute be Maister Jhone Wod and James Murray vpoun the xv day of November the yeir of God j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxix yeiris frome Serues Franchmane .

BUIKIS .

- 1 . Herodian .
- 2 . The first buik of Frofart .
- 3 . The Historie of Palmarine .
- 4 . The Astrologie off Bassentyne .
- 5 . The Historie of Herodote .
- 7 . The Historie of Paradyn . in tua volumes .
- 8 . The Horologe of Princis .
- 9 . The first volume of Horos .
- 10 . The Corniclis of Sawoy .
- 11 . Zenophone Ceropedia .
- 12 . The buik of Afriçt and the Negotiatiounis .
- 13 . The Cosmographie of Appiane .



- 14 . The Art of Fyir .
- 15 . The Myrrour of Polecie .
- 16 . The Ethicis of Ariftotill .
- 17 . The first buik of Noveau Chriftian .
- 18 . The tua buikis of Paulus Amelius .
- 19 . The Descriptioun of the Province of the Yndianis .
- 20 . The Inftitutioun of Patience .
- 21 . Tymee of Plato .
- 22 . The Illuftratioune of the Gaulis .
- 23 . The Sympofie of Plato .
- 24 . The Hiftorie of the Varis againis the Turkis .
- 25 . Ane Arrest Memorable of the Seneit of Tullofe .
- 26 . The buik of Statutis concerning the Ordour of Sanct Michael .
- 27 . Discourfs of the Hiftoreis of Loraine and Flanderis .
- 28 . The first part of the Promptuarie of Medallyeis .

*In quarto .*

- 1 . The Successioun of the Armes of Longove[lle] .

*In octavo .*

- 1 . Diuerfs Lefsfounis of Peter Mefsee .
- 2 . The Hiftorie of Ethiopia be Diodore .
- 3 . The Hiftorie of Chelidon of the [Instit]utioun of Princis .
- 4 . The Lyf of Charles the Maine .
- 5 . The Inftitutioun of ane Chriftiane Prince be the Befhope Seneforie .

- 6 . The Princeps of Aftronomie .
- 7 . Leon the Hebrew of Luif .

*In decimo sexto .*

- 1 . The Paragon of Vertew .

LATYN BUIKIS .

- 1 . Commentarij Romane Reipublice per Volfangum Lazium .
- 2 . Tabule Ptolemei . in pergameno .
- 3 . Lutherus in Genesim .
- 4 . Variarum Lectionum Joannis Oldendorpij .
- 5 . Henrici Loriti Annotationes in Titum Liuium .
- 6 . Seueri Boetij Commentarij in Topica Ciceronis .
- 7 . Blondi Roma Restaurata .
- 8 . Harmonia Osiandri .
- 9 . Officiorum Ciceronis libri tres .
- 10 . De bello Rhodio libri tres .
- 11 . Cornucopia Lingue Latine .
- 12 . Virgilius .
- 13 . De Natura et Gratia .
- 14 . Petri Angeli Carmina .
- 15 . Harmanni Reformatio . in duo volumina .
- 16 . Quinti Horatij Flacci opera .
- 17 . Ludouici Regii Consolatio .
- 18 . Antonij Masse contra Vsum Duelli .

*In octavo .*

- 1 . Diogenes de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum .
- 2 . Caluinus contra Seruetum .
- 3 . Commentarij in Georgica Virgilij .
- 4 . Psalms Buchquhannani .
- 5 . Fabrica Strabuli .
- 6 . Hodepori Bizantini Opera Quatuor .
- 7 . Diui Michaelis Regij de Principibus Christianis .
- 10 . Tria volumina Ciceronis . in velin .
- 10 . Ciceronis Opera . in 9 voluminibus deauratis .
- 11 . Diodorus Siculus . deauratus .
- 12 . Publij Virgilij Opera .

*In decimo sexto .*

- 1 . Compendium Patricij Senensis .

## GRECA VOLUMINA .

- 1 . Atheneus Grece .
- 2 . Luciani Opera .
- 3 . Chrysostomus in Epistolas Pauli . in 3 voluminibus .
- 4 . Platonis Omnia Opera .
- 5 . Eusebij Pamphili de Evangelica Preparatione .
- 6 . Herodotus .

- 7 . Commentarij in Aphthonij Progymnasmata .
- 8 . Commentarij Lingue Grece .
- 9 . Ifocratis Orationes .
- 10 . Sophoclis Tragedia cum commentariis .
- 11 . Geographia Ptolemei .
- 12 . Demosthenis Orationes .
- 13 . Dictionarium Hysichij .
- 14 . Commentarij in Platonem .
- 15 . Homeri Elias et Vlifsea .
- 16 . Institutiones Lingue Grece .

*In quarto .*

- 1 . Mercurij Trismegisti Poemander .

*In octavo .*

- 1 . Euripides cum scoliis .
- 3 . Luciani pars prima et secunda . in duobus voluminibus .

Refaut fra Serwais . 25 . Novembris . 1569 .

M<sup>r</sup> Johnne Wod .

**The Inventarie of the Ornamentis deliuerit to James Murray .**

Inprimis of stoillis and fannounis xxxij .

Item ane covertour of ane altar of cleith of gold champit with grene veluat .  
(35 H .)

Item ane foir frontell of ane altar of blew dames .

Item four caipis of quheit dames .

Item ane chesabill and tua twnykis of blak dames .

Item ane chesable and tua twnykis of crammase veluat .

Item tua caipis of cleith of gold figurit with blew veluat .

Item ane caipe ane chesible and tua twnykis of blew veluat .

Item ane chesible and tua tunikis of cleith of gold figurit with reid .

Item ane chesible three caipis and tua twnykis of cleith of gold figurit with reid veluat .

Item ane felle of blew purpour veluat to be careit on Corpus Chrifteis day with four pandatis and with brouderie of cleith of gold about the borderis of the fame . (34 H .)

Item ane chesible and tua twnykis and tua caipis brouderit wark with King Edwart his armes .

Item ane chesible tua twnykis and ane caip of quheit veluat figurit with gold .

Item tua twnykis of quheit dames with flouris one the fame .

Item ane auld caip of filk .

Item ane auld caipe of greine figurit weluat .

Item ane chefible tua twnykis of cleith of gold figurit with blew veluat

Item tua caipis of blew dames figurit with flouris of gold .

Item ane frontell of blak weluat with ftarnis of gold with ane subueftment of the fame .

Item ane chefible and tua twnykis of blak weluat .

Item ane caipe of blak weluat ftarnit wyth gold .

Item mair tua caipis of blak weluat .

Item ane chefible and tua twnykis of pyrnit cleith of gold .

Item tua caipis of champit crammasie veluat and flouris of gold in the fame .

Item ane parrament of ane aultar with fubueftment thairof the ane half thairof of crammasie veluat fteikit with gold and the vther half interleft with cleith of gold fteikit with blak veluous .

### The Inventarie of the Maskyne Cleife .

Item ane coit of blew fatyn with ftarnis of toig .

Item thre leauche coitis of crammasie fatyn pyrnit with quheit .

Item tua of the fame dowblit with variand tauffateis .

Item thre coitis of greine veluat raynit with yellow . with bodeis and flewis of yellow fatyn .

Item tua coitis of yallow fatyne champit with greine with bodeis and flewis of the fame .

Item tua coitis of the same champit with blew . the ane thair of the bodeis and flewis of yallow fatyne .

Item tua coitis of quheit tauffateis figurit with blew with bodeis and flewis of quheit .

Item tua coitis the ane of reid and the vther of blak ~~fatyne~~ champlet .

Item vj leauche coittis of yellow fatyne lynit with sum toige of filuer .

Item ane coit of reid fatyne with bodeis and flewis of quheit begareit in the bodeis with toige .

Item ane vthir coit of quheit fatyn with bodie and flewes of the same .

Item ane coit of quheit reid and blew tauffateis hingand full of schakaris .

Item ane coit of quheit armefing tauffateis hingand full of schakaris .

Item vj coitis begareit with quheit and reid fatyne and dropit with cleith of gold .

Item ane howd of blew reid and quheit tauffateis with schakaris .

Item four bodeis tua aprounis the ane of yallow fatyne and the vthir of greine tauffateis .

Item tua pair of flewes of yellow fatyne .

Seruees of Condry / ye fall deliuer to our seruitouris James Murray and M<sup>r</sup> Jhone Wod . the haill stuiFFE and buikis heir aboue ex-  
premit . togidder wyth aucht bredis of the new Doctouris . item  
xxviiij payntit clethis of Flanderis wark of the gretast volume and  
fywe payntit clethis of the small volume . quhilk salbe weill  
allowit to yow keiping this present for your varrand subsciuit

wyth our hand . At Edinburcht the xxiiij day of Notember the  
yeir of God ane thoufand fywe hundrith thre fchoir and nyn  
yeiris .

*James Regent*

Item mair reffaut the Commentareis vpoun the Pfalmes .

Item the Cathedisme in Englis .

Item ane buik of Prayeris in Latine .

Item the Pfalmes of Daud and Prayeris on the fame in Latine etc .

Item mair tayne be my Lordis Grace hym felf vj fyndrie buikis .

Item tayne be my Lordis Grace and brint vj Mefs Buikis .

XXV Nouembris and in the fame moneth dywerfs tymis befoir  
all this geyr abuif expremitt refaued be James Murray and me  
M<sup>r</sup> Jhone Wod at my Lord Regent his Gracis command . and  
layd in his keipping .

Ita eft .

M<sup>r</sup> Jhonne Wod .





# A P P E N D I X.



**I**NVENTAIRE ET ESTIMACION des pierres précieuses tant en œuvre, brodures, carquans, colliers, chattons que autres joyaulx affectez à la Couronne de France, que la Royne Marie a, après le trespas du feu Roy François Deuxième de ce nom, que Dieu absolve, remis ès mains du Roy, et qui ont esté baillez en garde à la Royne Mere de sa Majesté, ayant esté lesdictes prises et estimacions faictes par François du Jardin orfèvre du dict Seigneur Roy, Pierre Redon orfèvre et vallet de chambre du Roy de Navarre, et par Henry du Boux aussi orfèvre du dict Seigneur Roy de Navarre, en la présence de nous Jehan Babou sieur de la Bourdaiziere, Tristan de Rostain sieur de Brou, gentilzhommes ordinaires de la chambre d'icelluy Seigneur Roy, Maitres Florimond Robertet sieur D'Alluye conseiller secrétaire d'estat et des commandemens et finances, Nicolas Legendre sieur de Villeroy aussi secrétaire des finances, Charles de Pierremue sieur de Lezigny conseiller et maître d'hôtel ordinaire, et Charles le Prévost sieur de Grantville aussi conseiller et intendant des finances d'icelluy Seigneur, commis et deputez par le dict Seigneur pour cest effect, suivant la commission qui pour ce nous en a esté expédiée, de laquelle la teneur est transcritte à la fin du dernier de ces deux Inventaires; ayant lesdictes pierreries

et tout le contenu en cestuy cy esté remys dans le coffre duquel elles avaient esté tirées, et le tout baillé en garde et mis entre les mains de Mademoiselle du Gauguier l'une des Dames de la Royne, par le commandement dicelle Dame.

*Et premierement*

[1.] **E**MBRODURE DE TOURET faicte à canettes esmaillée de rouge, et à tous les bijoux y a des F. couronnées, garnie de neuf tables de diamans de plusieurs grandeurs, et huit couplets de perles entre deux en chascun desquelz y a des perles.

Le premier desquelz dyamans de la dicte brodure, estant ung peu longuet et escorné des quatre coings, a esté estimé II. mil écus.

Le second estant diamant à plain fond, escorné d'un coing, a esté estimé III. mil v. cens écus.

Le troiesme estant diamant foible, escorné d'ung coing, a esté estimé IIII. mil écus.

Le quatriesme estant diamant escorné de deux coings, à demy fond, a esté estimé XVI. mil écus.

Le cinquiesme estant diamant taillé de lozanges par deffus, faible et ung point au millieu, a esté estimé VI. mil écus.

Le fixiesme estant diamant longuet et escorné d'ung coing, à demy fond, a esté estimé VIII. mil écus.

Le septiesme estant diamant à plain fond, escorné d'ung coing, a esté estimé IIII. mil écus.

Le huitiesme estant diamant longuet, à plain fond, a esté estimé III. mil écus.

Le neufiesme estant diamant longuet, escorné de troys coings, a esté estimé II. mil v. cens écus.

Les quarente perles estans de huit couppletz ont esté estimées l'une portant l'autre v. cens écus.

De la vailleure de la dicte brodure, sans l'or, XLIX. mil v. cens écus.

[2.] UNG CARQUANT de pareille façon auquel y a cinq dyamans, deux en grosse poincte, une grande table taillée à face et deux petites tables, dont y en a une rompue par la moitié, et six coupplets de perles entre deux, où y a à chacune cinq perles.

Le premier diamant desquels, estant escorné d'ung coing, a esté estimé VIII. cens écus.

Le second, estant à six poinctes, a esté estimé x. mil écus.

Le troiesme estant en table longuette escorne d'ung coing, où y a une lozange dessus, a esté estimé VIII. mil écus.

Le quatriesme estant en une grande poincte, ung peu longue, a esté estimé xx. mil écus.

Le cinquiesme estant diamant foible, cassé en deux, a esté estimé II. cens écus.

Et les perles de la dicte brodure, en nombre de trente, ont été estimées II. cens L. écus.

De la vailleure dudiect carquant, sans l'or, XXXIX. mil II. cens L. écus.

- [3.] UNG GRANT COLLIER d'or, garny de unze grans dyamans, avec dix cordelieres garnies chacunes de cinq grosses perles rondes.

Le premier desquels diamans, estant taillé en triangle, a esté estimé III. mil v. cens écus.

Le second estant un peu longuet, à demy fond, a esté estimé II. mil écus.

Le troisiésme, estant en poincte, taillé à facettes, a esté estimé III. mil écus.

Le quatriésme, estant diamant en façon de coeur, plat dessus et taillé à facettes par dedans, a esté estimé III. mil écus.

Le cinquiesme, estant en poincte longue et taillé a faces, a esté estimé IIII. mil v. cens écus.

Le sixiesme, estant taillé en façon de fuzée, a esté estimé III. mil écus.

Le septiesme, estant taillé en poincte, long et taillé à faces, a esté estimé VIII. mil écus.

Le huitiesme, estant diamant en poincte, escorné par le bout, a esté estimé II. mil écus.

Le neufiesme, estant foible et en table, a esté estimé II. mil v. cens écus.

Le dixiesme, estant une belle table, escorné d'ung coing, ayant le teinct tafche, a esté estimé III. mil v. cens écus.

Le unziésme, estant carré, escorné de deux coings, a esté estimé xv. cens écus.

Et les perles, estant en nombre de sept vingtz, ont esté estimées XIII. cens écus.

De la valeur du dict collier, sans l'or, xxxvII. mil ix. cens écus.

[4.] QUATRE AUTRES TABLES DE DIAMANS servans pour allonger le dict collier.

Le premier desquelz estant longuet et escorné d'ung coing, taillé à faces, a esté estimé vi. mil écus.

Le second, estant carré, estimé ii. mil écus.

Le troiesieme estant carré, escorné de deux coings, a esté estimé xv. cens écus.

Le quatriesme, estant longuet, a esté estimé ii. mil v. cens écus.

De la valeur des dictz quatre diamans xii. mil écus.

[5.] UNG AUTRE COLLIER en grosse oeuvre, émaillée de plusieurs coulleurs, garny de cinq grosses émerauldes, dont y en a deux frellées de cassures, trois cabochons de rubby, ung beaucoup plus gros que les autres, et ung grenat et dix cordelierès en chacunes desquelles y a six perles.

La première desquelles emerauldes, estant rompue, a esté estimée vi. cens écus.

La seconde, estant en cabochon, rompue en troys pieces, a esté estimée viii. mil écus.

La troiesieme estant grande émeraulde, d'assez mauvaise façon, et une petite vene au milieu, a esté estimée xii. mil écus.

La quatriesme, estant en triangle, a esté estimée iiii. mil écus.

La cinquiesme, estant longue et escornée d'ung bout, a esté estimée iiii. mil v. cens écus.

Elle a esté rompue à l'entrevue de Bayonne, quant elle fut prestée à Madame.



Et le premier cabochon de rubby, glasseux, a esté estimé IIII. mil écus.

Le second, estant longuet, a esté estimé II. mil v. cens écus.

Le troiesme, en forme de triangle, cabochon, a esté estimé xv. cens écus.

Le quatriesme, qui est ung grenat, a esté estimé c. écus.

Et les perles estant au nombre de foixante ont ete estimées XII. cens écus.

De la valeur dudi& collier, fans l'or, xxxvi. mil IIII. cens ècus.

[6.] DOUZE ÉMERAULDES en chattons de canettes, les bijoux esmaillés de rouge et blanc, avec des F. pour faire une bordure.

La premiere, carrée, a été estimée vi. cens ecus.

La deuxiesme, cabochon a triangle, estimée III. cens écus.

La troiesme, aussi en cabochon, platte dessus, estimée v. cens écus.

La quatriesme, en cabochon plus petite que l'autre, a esté estimée c. l. écus.

La cinquiesme, estant plus petite, en triangle, a esté estimée c. écus.

La sixiesme, en façon de triangle, ung peu plus petite, a esté estimée c. écus.

La septiesme, estant du Perou, haute eslevée, a esté estimé II. cens écus.

La huitiesme, estant en façon de table, fourde, a esté estimé c. écus.

La neufiesme, en table et languette, estimée II. cens l. écus.

La dixiesme estant languette, poinctue par ung bout, a esté estimée v. cens écus.

La unzieſme, en façon de triangle, platte, eſtimée c. L. écus.

La douzieſme, auffi en façon de triangle, a eſté eſtimée II. cens écus.

De la valeur des dictes douzes émeraules III. mil c. L. écus.

- [7.] UNE GRANDE CROIX compoſée de neuf diamans : ſſavoir : cinq grans tables, faiſans la croix, au plus hault au deſſoubz ung diamant quaſi rond et trois autres diamans en larmes, en fers de lance, taillez en faces, faiſans le pied de la dicté croix ; auquel pied pend une perle en poire. Laquelle croix ainſi garnie a eſté eſtimée tout enſemble L. mil écus.
- [8.] UNE FORT GRANT TABLE de diamans à plain fond, ung peu longue, eſcornée de deux coings, accompagnée d'une groſſe perle en oeuf, qui eſt celui que achepta le Roy François Premier, et luy couſta foixante cinq mille eſcuz ſans le perle, laquelle a eſté eſtimee XII. cens écus, et par ainſi ladiſte bague revient à LXVI. mil II. cens écus.
- [9.] UNE AUTRE GRANT TABLE de diaman foible, plus ſpacieuſe que la précédente, eſcornée de troys coings, à laquelle pend une autre groſſe perle quaſi ronde, eſtimée le tout XXV. mil écus.
- [10.] UNG GROS RUBY ballay à jour, percé d'une broche de fer, appelé l'oeuf de Naples, auquel pend une perle en forme de poire eſtimé LXX. mil écus.
- [11.] UNE BAGUE d'ung A. Romain, garnie d'ung gros rubby ballay mis en griffe, eſtimée XXV. mil écus.

- [12.] UNG AUTRE RUBBY ballay, en façon de demy oeuf, avecque une perle en poire estimé II. mil v. cens écus.
- [13.] UNG RUBY fans feuille, qui a esté osté de la poincte de Milan, enchassé d'or pour pendre, estimé x. mil écus.
- [14.] UNG GRANT RUBY ballay, faict en coste, percé en trois endroits, pendu à quinze perles au lieu de cheffe, estimé L. mil écus.
- [15.] Deux perles en poire estimées II. mil écus.

Summe total de la valeur des susdictes bagues perpetuellement affectez  
à la Couronne IIII. cens LXXVIII. mil IX. cens écus.

Faict a Fontainebleau le xxvi<sup>e</sup> jour de Feurier l'an mil cinq cens soixante.

JEHAN BABOU.	DE PIERREMUE.
LEGENDRE.	LE PREVOST
ROBERTET.	

AUTRE INVENTAIRE ET ESTIMACION des anneaulx ou bagues trouvez en ung baguier, pareillement affectez a la Couronne, et qui ont esté aussi remis es mains du Roy comme les autres bagues du précédent Inventaire, et dont la prisée et estimation en a esté faite par les orfèvres et en la présence de nous soubz signéz et cydevant nomméz, suivant la commission à nous expédiée, ainsi que dict est cy devant; ayant les dictes bagues ou anneaulx après lesdictes Inventaire et prisée parfaictz esté remis dans le dict baguier et au coffre duquel ils avoient esté tiréz, et le tout mis entre les mains de la dicte Damoiselle du Gauguier, par le commandement de la Royne.

*Et premierement*

[1.] UNE GROSSE POINCTE de diamant garnie en ung anneau émaillé de noir estimée VI. mil écus.

[2.] Ung diamant à doz dafne et en lozange estimé VIII. cens écus.

Il a esté prins pour envoyer en Espagne à la femme du Prince d'Evoluy le ~~iiii<sup>me</sup>~~  
Mars mil v. cens LX.

[3.] Ung autre diamant en table, foible et escorné de deux coings, estimé III. cens écus.

L'un des dictz dyamans a esté aussi envoyé le dict jour à ung Docteur Espagnol.

[4.] Ung autre diamant en table, escorné de deux petits coings, esmaillé de rouge à feuillaige, estimé II. cens LX. écus.

[5.] Ung autre diamant aussi en table, esmaillé de rouge, à feuillaige, estimé II. cens L. écus.

Les deux tables de diamanz esmaillées de rouge ont esté prinſes pour meſtre à deux bagues a pendre dont le Roy a ſon ſacre a fait don à Meſdames de Lorraine le 15<sup>e</sup> Mars 1561.

[6.] Ung grant table de rubby languette, esmaillée de noir, estimée I. mil v. cens écus.

La dite table de rubby prinſe par le Roy le xiii<sup>e</sup> Fevrier 1562 pour donner à la Roynne d'Eſpagne.

[7.] Ung rubiz longuet en cabochon, escorné, où il y a de petitz trophées, estimé II. cens écus.

[8.] Une petite table de rubiz émaillée de blanc alentour, estimée XL. écus.

[9.] Une chaufferette de ruby émaillée de verd estimée xxx. écus.

[10.] Ung petit coeur de rubiz émaillé de verd estimé xv. écus.

[11.] Une petite table de rubiz émaillée de noir estimée xv. écus.

[12.] Une spinelle émaillée de blanc estimée II. cens écus.

[13.] Ung grenat émaillée de noir estimé xv. écus.

[14.] Une amatifte orientale émaillée de blanc et noir estimé XL. écus.

[15.] Une autre amatifte aussi émaillée de noir à huit pens estimée LXXII. écus.

- [16.] Une autre amatiste en griffe émaillée de blanc estimée XL. écus.
- [17.] Une autre amatiste émaillée de violet estimée L. écus et demy.
- [18.] Une esmeraulde en table esmaillée de blanc et pourpre estimée VIII. cens écus.
- Ladite esmeraude a esté prinse pour envoyer à la Duchesse d'Alve le x<sup>me</sup> jour  
d'Avril 1562.
- [19.] Une autre émeraude languette aussi émaillée de blanc et de rouge estimée  
L. écus.
- [20.] Une autre émeraude sans émail estimée c. écus.
- [21.] Une petite poincte de diamant esmaillé de noir estimée xx. écus.
- [22.] Une petite table de diamant, ayant alentour quatre petitz rubys émaillés de  
noir, estimée VIII. cens écus.
- [23.] Une grant table de saphyr à une bague émaillée de noir estimée CL. écus.
- [24.] Ung autre saphyr émaillé de blanc estimé LXX. écus.
- [25.] Deux turquoises en deux bagues sans émail estimées xv. écus.
- [26.] Une bague, ou il y a ung cristall et une nunciation dedans, estimée xx. écus.
- [27.] Une pierre bleue à une bague émaillée de blanc estimée III. écus.

Somme totale des susdictes bagues XII. mil XIII. écus et demy.

**E**NSUIVIT LA TENEUR DE LA COMMISSION.

**C**HARLES par la grâce de Dieu Roy de France a nos amiz et féaulx les Sieurs de la Bourdaizière et de Rostaing gentilshommes ordinaires de notre chambre, Maitres Florimond Robertet sieur D'Alluye nostre conseiller secretaire d'estat et de noz finances, et Nicolas Legendre sieur de Villeroy aussi secretaire de nos finances, Salut. D'aultant que aultre Inventaire, appréciation et estimation, que nous avons ordonné faire par noz lettres cy atachées, soubz le contre seel de nostre chancelier, des bagues, joyaulx, pierreries et choses précieuses de nostre cabinet de ce lieu de Fontainebleau, Nous voullons aussi Inventaire et estimation et appréciation estre faicte des autres bagues et pierreries affectées à nostre Couronne que nostre très-chere et très-amée bonne seur la Royne d'Escoffe Douairière de France a remys en noz mains. A ces causes, nous vous mandons, commeçtons et ordonnons par ces présentes que en la présence de noz améz et féaulx les Sieurs de Lezigny nostre dict conseiller et maistre-d'hostel ordinaire, et de Grantville Maistre Charles le Prévost l'ung des intendans de noz finances, vous faictes faire inventaire desdictes bagues affectées à nostre dicte Couronne et icelles avalluer et estimer par noz chers et bien améz François du Jardin, Pierre Redon et Henry de Boux orfèvres par nous commis à faire l'estimation des bagues de nostre dict cabinet, laquelle estimation vous ferez adjouster sur le dict Inventaire, ainsi qu'il vous est mandé faire pour le regard desdictes autres bagues, et le dict Inventaire faict et

parfaict signé de vous ou de troys de vous, et semblablement des dicts Sieurs de Lezigny et de Grantville, vous rapporterez par devers nous pour le regard ou en faire ce que adviserons. De ce faire vous avons donné et donnons plain pouvoir, puissance, auctorité, commission et mandement spécial. Donné à Fontainebleau, le xviii<sup>e</sup> jour de Février, l'an de grâce mil cinq cens soixante, et de nostre règne le premier. *Signé CHARLES, et au-deffoubz, Par le Roy, DE L'AUBESPINE. Et scellees a simple que de cire jaulne.*

Faict à Fontainebleau le xxvi<sup>e</sup> jour de Février l'an mil cinq cens soixante.

JEHAN BABOU.	DE PIERREMUE.
LEGENDRE.	LE PREVOST.
ROBERTET.	

NOUS CHARLES par la grâce de Dieu Roy de France certiffions à tous qu'il appartiendra que toutes les pierres précieuses tant en œuvre, brodures, carquans, chattons, anneaulx ou bagues que autres joyaulx affectéz à nostre Couronne, que nostre très-chère et très-amée bonne seur la Royne d'Escoffe Douairière de France a, après le trespas de feu nostre tres-cher Seigneur et frère le Roy François dernier déceddé, que Dieu absolve, remis en noz mains et de nostre très-honorée Dame et Mère la Royne, cy-devant spéciffiez et déclairéz par les deux Inventaires et appréciation qui en ont par nostre commandement et ordonnance esté faictz, par noz améz et féaulx Jehan Babou seigneur de la Bourdaizière, Trifan de Rostain seigneur de Brou, gentilz hommes ordinaires de nostre chambre, Maistres Florimond Robertet seigneur de Dalluye nostre conseiller secrétaire d'estat et de noz finances, et Nicolas Legendre seigneur de Villeroy aussi nostre conseiller et secrétaire de noz finances, en la présence de noz améz et féaulx les Seigneurs de Lezigny nostre conseiller et maistre d'hostel ordinaire et De Grantville l'ung des intendans de noz finances, et appelléz pour faire la dicte appréciation François du Jardin, Pierre Redon



et Henry de Boux orfèvres, suivant noz lettres de commission cy-dessus transcriptes, ont par les dessusdictes esté remises ès mains de nostre très-honorée Dame et Mère et de nous qui les avons bailléz en la charge et garde de nostre chère et bien amée Damoiselle Claude de Beaune veufve du feu Seigneur Dugauguier, l'une des Dames de nostre Dame et Mère, de toutes lesquelles pierres précieuses, brodures, carquans, colliers, bagues, anneaulx que autres choses dessusdictes et cy-devant spécifiées, Nous avons iceulx Seigneur de la Bourdaizière, de Rostain, Dalluye et Villeroy, de Lezigny et de Grantville, et semblablement iceulx Du Jardin, Redon et De Boux, en tant que besoing seroit, deschargéz et deschargeons par ces présentes signées de nostre main. Faict audict Fontainebleau le dernier jour de Avril l'an mil cinq cens soixante et ung.

CHARLES.

DE LAUBESPINE.

NOUS CHARLES par la grâce de Dieu Roy de France certiffions à tous qu'il appartiendra que, lors de l'entreveue par nous faict dernièrement à Bayonne avecques nostre très-chère et très-amée seur la Royne d'Espaigne, une esmeraude longue et escornée d'un bout contenue au premier des deux Inventaires cy-devant transcriptz, feuillet quatreiesme, article troiesime, a esté rompue, ayant esté prestée à nostre très-chère et très-amée seur Marguerite de France, ainsi qu'il est cotté à la marge du dict article.

Aussi que le <sup>iiii</sup> jour de Mars mil cinq cens soixante, nous avons prins ung diamant à doz-d'asne et en lozanges, estimé <sup>viii</sup> cens écus, contenu au second Inventaire, article <sup>ii</sup>, et icellui envoyé à la femme du Prince Devoli.

Plus avons prins ung autre diamant en table, foible escorné de deux coings, estimé III. cens écus, contenu au III.<sup>e</sup> article du second Inventaire, et icelluy envoyé à ung Docteur Espagnol.

Plus avons prins deux autres diamants, contenuz ès IIII. ou V.<sup>e</sup> articles dudit second Inventaire, le premier à table escorné de deux petitz coings, esmaillé de rouge à feuillage, estimé II. cens LX. écus, l'autre aussi en table esmaillé de rouge à feuillage, estimée II. cens L. écus, et d'iceulx fait présens, lors de nostre sacre, à noz coufines de Lorraine.

Plus avons prins une grande table de rubbis, languette, esmaillée de noir, contenu au VI.<sup>e</sup> article du dict second Inventaire, estimée II. mil v. cens écus, et icelle envoyée à nostre dicte seur la Royne d'Espaigne.

Plus avons prins une émeraude en table, esmaillée de blanc et rouge, contenu au dict second Inventaire, article XVIII.<sup>e</sup>, estimée VIII. cens écus, et icelle envoyée à la Duchesse D'Alve, le XI.<sup>e</sup> d'Avril mil cinq cens foixante-deux.

CHARLES.

DE LAUBESPINE.



# **I N D E X.**



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