

IV.

OBSERVATIONS UPON A "SHILLING" OF FRANCIS THE DAUPHIN AND MARY STUART, REPRESENTING THEM AS "KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, AND IRELAND," DATED 1558: WITH NOTES REGARDING THE ASSUMPTION BY QUEEN MARY OF THE ARMS AND CROWN OF ENGLAND. BY HENRY F. HOLT, Esq., LONDON.

[The object of Mr Holt's communication was to establish the genuineness of a coin of Mary Queen of Scots and her husband, Francis, Dauphin of France, with the apparent date 1558. Other coins and medals of her reign were sent by Mr Holt, to be exhibited to the meeting when this communication was read. It is in gold, and is thus described by Mr Holt, who seems to imagine that it might have been a pattern piece for an intended silver coinage, which never came to be circulated.

"The Queen is represented in profile, her hair in plain bands, and without earrings; she wears a wreath of laurel on her head surmounted by a coronet. The profile of her husband Francis the Dauphin is 'respectant,' and above their heads is the crown of England. The legend is FRANC ·

¹ We regret to record the death of Mr HORSBURGH, on 7th January 1868, before this paper could be revised for Press.

ET · MARIA · D · G · REX · ET · REGINA · SCO · A. At the base is the date '1558.' On the reverse is the motto 'POSVIMVS DEVM ADJUTOREM NOSTRUM,' surrounding an ornamental escutcheon, upon which the arms of England are impaled on the sinister, and those of Scotland on the dexter, the numeral 'X' being on the one side, and the two units, II. on the other, the whole surmounted by the royal crown of *England*. Size of coin, 9 scale of Mionnet."

After a minute comparison with coins in the Society's Museum, a very decided opinion was expressed by members skilled in numismatics, that the one in question was not genuine. It seemed to have been altered or manufactured for deception, from one of Philip and Mary of England.

Under these circumstances it has been deemed inexpedient either to give an engraving of the coin, or to print the ingenious arguments used by Mr Holt to support his theory, that it was struck for the special purpose of paying the French troops in a contemplated invasion. We, however, extract the larger portion of his communication which serves to illustrate the assumption by the youthful Scottish Queen of the title to the Crown of England, immediately upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in November 1558.]

On the 4th of April 1558, Henry IV., King of France, obtained from the youthful Mary of Scotland her signature to an instrument granting him and his heirs the succession to the realm of Scotland, and all her rights to the throne of England, should she die without issue. A few days after this was executed—viz., on Sunday the 24th of April, Mary was married at Notre Dame, Paris, to Francis the Dauphin.

In honour of this event, Henry caused two medals to be struck, of different sizes (specimens of which are exhibited). These are here referred to simply as the first of a series subsequently struck at the Royal Mint in Paris, whence, indeed, every known seal, coin, or medal representing Francis and Mary as "King and Queen of England," was issued.

One of the most interesting writers upon Mary Stuart erroneously supposed the marriage-medallion before mentioned to have been struck at her Royal Mint in the Canongate at Edinburgh. All question on that point was, however, set at rest by the discovery in 1840 of the original

dies at the Hotel des Monnaies, Paris, from which the impression of the larger medallion has lately been taken.

The small silver coin exhibited, dated 1558, *was*, however, it is believed, struck in Edinburgh, to commemorate the marriage; as was a gold medal now to be found in the Sutherland Cabinet in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh—which bears date 1558, and resembles the “Paris Wedding Medallion” on the obverse, with the two heads *respectant*, the reverse and legend, however, being altogether different.

On the 17th November following, Mary Queen of England died, and that fact having been communicated to Henry, by his ambassador at London, with the utmost speed, the King lost no time in taking steps to lay claim to the sovereignty of the whole Britannic Empire on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, as the rightful representative of Henry VII. “And therefore,” according to Speed, “as the nearest in blood, and lawful heire to the crowne of England, hee caused by proclamation in Paris her stile to be published under the name of ‘Mary Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland,’ and caused the arms of England to be joined with Scotland and France, which the Dolphin and shee did impale, both on their seales, plate, tapestry, and other adornements; which caused great troubles (saith Leslie) betwixt the kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.” (*Vide* Speed, in the “Succession of England’s Monarchs,” Book IX. p. 860. Edit. Lond. 1650, folio).

This proclamation is further alluded to in the “Memoirs of Lord Burghley,” vol. ii. p. 33, where mention is made that Mary the Dauphin’s wife and Queen of Scotland, had been publicly decorated with the additional titles, and the proper armorial insignia of a queen of England and Ireland, and the detail thus proceeds:—“In the eye of a discerning statesman, the designs of the French, and of the Catholics everywhere, could not possibly have been more significantly displayed than in the assumption of the title and arms of Queen of England and Ireland by Mary, *at the moment of Elizabeth’s succession.*”

The manner in which the arms of England first appear to have been assumed by Mary, was as “Baron et Femnie.” In the first, was the coat of the Dauphin of France, which occupied the upper part of the shield, whilst the lower half contained that of Mary. This impaled quarterly,—1. The arms of Scotland; 2. The arms of England; The third

as the second ; The fourth as the first. Over all, half an escutcheon of pretence of England, the sinister half being, as it were, obscured or cut off. "Perhaps so given," says Strype, "to denote that another (and who should that be but Queen Elizabeth?) had gotten possession of the crown in her prejudice." One of those escutcheons being brought out of France and delivered to the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall, he referred it to the heralds, who found the same to be "prejudicial to the Queen's Majesty, her state, and dignity." This decision may be seen in Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 12. "Hence," says Camden, p. 34, "flowed, as from a fountain, all the calamities wherein she (Mary) was afterwards wrapped."

The news of this assumption by Mary reached England early in January 1559, and is thus noticed by Lord Burghley in his Diary of the 16th January in that year:—"The Dolphin of France and his wife Queen of Scots, did by the style of King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland graunt to the Lord Fleming certain things," &c.

Numerous other authorities might, if necessary, be referred to, but the foregoing will suffice to prove two facts,—viz., 1st, That Mary *was* proclaimed as Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, in Paris, in December 1558. 2d, That she assumed, as her legal right, the title and arms of Queen of England, &c., *at the moment of Elizabeth's accession.*

From the data which exist, and the course adopted by Henry II., it is clear he did not content himself with the mere assumption by Mary of the title and arms of England, but that it was intended to follow up those claims by attacking England through Scotland, dethroning Elizabeth, and in her stead elevating Mary. (*Vide* Lord Burghley's *Memoirs*, p. 33.) The knowledge of these facts, doubtless, very materially expedited the coronation of Elizabeth, which took place at Westminster on the 15th January 1559.

Elizabeth's position at this period was far from satisfactory. She was without friends, allies, or money—at war with France—and Scotland in the power of the Dauphin and Mary. Peace, therefore, became an indispensable necessity for her, and it was happily concluded at Cateau Cambresis, on the 2d April following.

So far, however, from that peace in any manner abating the avowed intention of Henry to insist on the sovereignty of the whole British

empire for Mary, as the lawful representative of Henry VII., it had the effect of strengthening it, by enabling him to negotiate the marriage of his daughter, Madame Elizabeth of France, with Philip of Spain; and considering that in the March previous Elizabeth had established the Protestant religion in England, Henry was entitled to calculate with tolerable certainty on the sympathy and entire support of the Pope, and all foreign Roman Catholic powers, in addition to the very numerous members of that faith then in Scotland and England.

All Elizabeth's remonstrances against the assumption by Mary of the title of Queen of England were consequently in vain, and seemed but to have the effect of increasing the desire of the French king to maintain it.

No better indication can be adduced of this stolid determination on the part of Henry than the fact, that within a few days after the conclusion of the before-mentioned peace he caused the great seal of Francis and Mary to be prepared at the Royal Mint at Paris, and to be forwarded direct to Mary of Lorraine. By a singular coincidence, it was sent in the same ship which conveyed John Knox to Scotland, where he landed on May 2, 1559.

This fact appears in the following letter from John Knox to Railton (Sadler's State Papers): "It is most assured, that such a jewel, the Great Seal, with the usurped arms of England, quartered, is lately come to our realm, but it is kept marvellous secret. It was sent in the month of May, in the same ship in which I came to Scotland, and was shown to me in great secrecy."¹

As any notion of attacking England by sea was wholly out of the question, Henry endeavoured to hit on some expedient whereby he might be enabled to send an army into Scotland under pretence of supporting the authority of the Regent Mary. Accordingly, in May 1559, directions were given her by Henry to declare the supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland—one immediate consequence of which was to create that body of Protestants known as "The Congregation," who, desirous of testifying their determined opposition to the Regent's proclamation, hastily collected an armed force, with which they, in the month of June following, vainly endeavoured to besiege Perth. So matters stood at

¹ See the letter itself in Knox's Works, vol. vi. p. 86, and the note to p. 89.

that time, and all seemed progressing most favourably in the development of Henry's views, which he further supported by raising a large body of troops ready to be sent to Scotland the moment the marriage of Philip to his daughter, and that of his sister, Madame Marguerite, with Philibert of Savoy, had taken place. The month of July following was appointed for the celebration of these solemnities, in honour of which a grand tournament was to be held at the palace of the Tournelles, Paris, and to which, on the 10th July, Mary was borne on a triumphal car emblazoned with the royal escutcheons of England and Scotland, and preceded by the two heralds (both Scots) of her husband Francis the King-Dauphin, apparelled with the arms of England and Scotland, and crying in a high voice, "Place ! Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre !"

Such was the progress made by Henry in giving effect to his wishes. Mais "L'homme propose et Dieu dispose." Thus his dreams of victory and aggrandisement were on the same day brought to a fatal termination by his jousting with the Count of Montgomery ; and Francis the Dauphin thereby became Francis II., King of France and of Scotland.

Mary's perfect approval of the schemes of her late royal father-in-law fully appears from the following extract from a letter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, who, as early as the first week of Mary's accession to her new dignity as Queen of France, thus wrote to Elizabeth :—

"I am informed that the young French Queen, since the death of the French King, Henry, hath written unto Scotland that God had provided, notwithstanding the malice of her enemies, that she *is* Queen of France and Scotland both, and trusts *ere long* to be Queen of England."

The correctness of this surmise cannot be better exemplified than by the fact that one of the first events of the new reign was the preparation of a new "Great Seal" at the Paris Mint, on the obverse of which Francis and Mary (each wearing a crown, and both holding a sceptre in either hand) are clothed in regal robes, and represented side by side, each seated in a chair of state, placed under a canopy, semé with fleurs de lys, the feet of each resting on a separate cushion with tassels, beneath which is the date "1559." The legend round the obverse is, "FRANCISCUS ET MARIA, D. G., R. R., FRANCOR. SCOT. ANGL. ET HYBER." This seal was in like manner remitted to Scotland, where it still remains—or at

least the *obverse* of it—the reverse, if any, never having been discovered.

This seal was noticed by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 14th September 1559, wherein he wrote :—

“ I am informed that there is lately sent a seal into Scotland, with the arms of England, France and Scotland, quartered, bearing this stile :—
FRAN. ET MAR. D. G., FRA. SCO. ANGLIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX ET REGINA.
The same arms are also graven on the French queen’s plate; for the more certainty whereof, Mr Peter Mewtas and I, at our being together at the Court, were one day served with the like at dinner, whereof I thought good to advertise your Majesty.”

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton again alluded to the seal in his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Paris, October 25, 1559 :—

“ I have received one letter from you, wherein you sent me remembrance for getting knowledge of the French Queen’s seal for Scotland, which, as you say—so do I—is a matter of great importance.

“ I cannot learn thereof otherwise than I have written heretofore, which I have had confirmed as good news, as have been at the hands of the engraver.”

Both Francis and Mary being, on their accession, mere puppets in the hands of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, those statesmen resolved not to abate the preparations which had been already made for maintaining Mary’s claim to the English throne. Accordingly, they directed the Queen Regent to at once make a truce with the “ Congregation,” and to adopt such other measures as they deemed necessary for the successful accomplishment of their intentions. In this they were, however, foiled by the treachery of the Earl of Arran, who communicated their plans to the English Ministers, and thereby enabled them to adopt measures to defeat the intended object.

As a measure of precaution, the Queen Dowager fortified Leith, and partly garrisoned it with the small body of French soldiers who had come to her aid. To meet this difficulty, the Protestants again appealed to Elizabeth, who eagerly complied with their wishes, and in the October following the allied forces besieged Leith with the intention to compel its capitulation before the arrival of additional troops from France.

The intention of the Guises to despatch further forces to Scotland will be found specially mentioned by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton in the following extract from his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated "Blois, 10 November 1559 :"—

"For the rest, I can as yet learn nothing. The bruit of the French great preparations towards Scotland *continues still*."

Circumstances, however, preventing the intended expedition, the Court of France sent Ambassadors to Elizabeth to persuade her to withdraw her troops ; but she comprehending the reason,—viz., to give Francis the liberty of making himself master in Scotland, that he might afterwards with the greater ease attack England,—not only refused to do so, but published a manifesto to show the indispensable necessity she was under to drive the French troops out of Scotland. The Amboise Conspiracy breaking out in March 1560, the Guises found themselves unable to carry out the favourite project they had formed with respect to Scotland, and were compelled to defer the execution of it to a more convenient time ; consequently, Francis II. having declared to Elizabeth his wish for peace, plenipotentiaries were sent on both sides to Berwick-on-Tweed, on May 30, 1560, where the preliminaries of a treaty between England, France, and Scotland were signed, and the treaty itself concluded at Edinburgh on July 9 following, and commemorated by a silver medal (one of which was exhibited). This medal was another production of the Paris Mint, whereon Francis was represented on the obverse, in bold relief, with the proud and unique legend, "FRANCISCUS II., D. G., FRANC. ET SCOT. REX," without the slightest allusion to Mary ; whilst on the reverse were two cornucopiæ, filled with flowers, from which protruded two miniature busts, one representing Francis, his head adorned with a wreath of laurel, and the other Mary, *without the laurel*. A large F, surmounted by the crown of *France*, appears between the two cornucopiæ, and at the foot the date 1560, with the words "PAX CUM ANGLIS." A more complete or impudent absorption of Mary's position as Queen Regnant of Scotland can hardly be imagined.

That it *was* so considered, would appear from a silver coin subsequently issued in the same year, and which deserves especial notice for two reasons,—viz. *1st*, The omission to claim the right to England ; and *2d*, The introduction of Mary's name as queen—the legend on the reverse being,

“FRAN. ET MAR. D. G., R. R., FRANCO SCOTOQ,” and the arms of England excluded from the escutcheon.

By the fifth article of this treaty, it was declared (*inter alia*) that the king and queen of France and Scotland should not assume the title and arms of the king and queen of England and Ireland *for the future*, and that all Acts passed with those titles should be repealed, or deemed of no value.

On the death of Francis on the 5th of December following, the Lorraine princes seeing no opportunity to execute the project of obtaining England by the way of Scotland, and with the arms of France, advised Mary to return to Scotland, and gave her several directions for her conduct, and among these, to quit the title of “Queen of England.”

[It may be added, that Mary Queen of Scots did not return to Scotland till the 20th August 1561.]