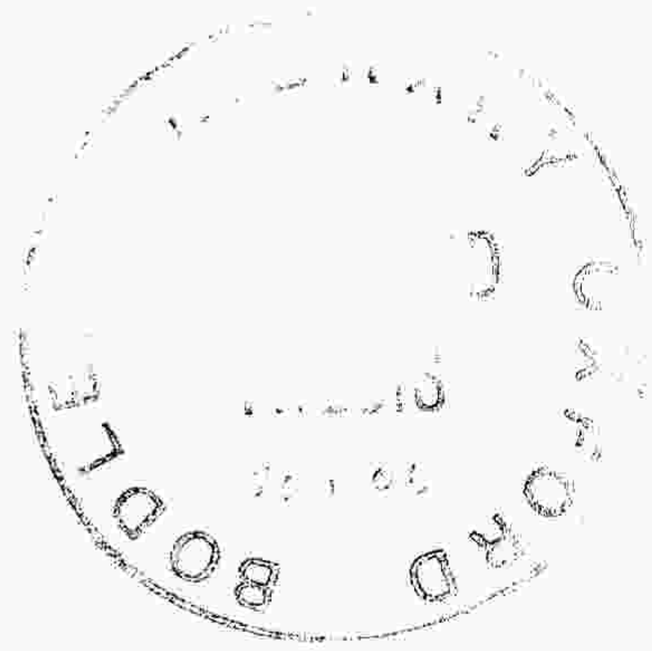
EXECUTING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS:
STRATEGIES OF REPRESENTATION IN EARLY MODERN SCOTLAND

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Abstract

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This thesis examines a series of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts that respond to the 1567 deposition of Mary Queen of Scots. As these texts argue about her character or her sovereignty, they illustrate how Mary became the centre of an ideological debate in which those men whose representation of the Queen prevailed might direct the course of political or religious history.

The thesis employs a range of interpretative tools to uncover how cultural references, discursive choices, and clandestine publishing ventures function to discredit or to defend Mary. The first three chapters focus on seminal texts dating from 1567 to 1571: Robert Sempill's satirical poetry, George Buchanan's *Detectioun* (1571), and John Leslie's *Defence* (1569) and *Historie of Scotland* (1570).

Working for Mary's political opponents, Sempill and Buchanan demonise the Queen by manipulating literary and cultural traditions such as Senecan tragedy, medieval poetic *topoi*, and the *speculum principis*. Their rhetorical strategies collaborate with burgeoning Scottish and English print culture – broadsides tacked to market crosses, for instance – to create the illusion of a widespread populist uprising against Mary. In response, her primary advocate John Leslie, the Bishop of Ross, transforms moral into political debate, stridently proclaiming Mary's title to English throne and writing a version of Scottish national history sympathetic to her cause. These texts use familiar narrative patterns to authenticate specific views of Mary, demonstrating how systems of language and representation can be enlisted to justify or to challenge political change.

The final chapter turns to Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* (1603), a retrospective of sixteenth-century court politics written as James I accedes to the English crown. Melville must account for the conflicts between earlier texts, and his depiction of Mary, especially as revealed through substantive alterations made to his holograph manuscript, illustrates a cautious desire to recover her reputation in order to preserve a legacy for her politically successful son. The *Memoirs* thus register a growing ambivalence that emerges largely from the complexity of the Queen's textual representation.

Privileging the form and strategy of arguments about Mary over the question of her guilt or innocence, this project, unlike previous studies, lays bare the operations of a culture that found in her the source of its most pressing concerns – about female rule, religious change, popular sovereignty, and versions of national history.

For Mom and Dad

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Finally, for his patience and love, his faith in this project and his honest (though sometimes painful) editing services, I owe an immeasurable debt to James McNaughton.

Abbreviations

APS	T. Thomson and C. Innes, eds., *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1424-1707*, 12 vols. (Edinburgh: Lords Commissioners of H. M. Treasury, 1814-75).
ATS	T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul, eds., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 12 vols. (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-1916).
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CSP, Foreign	Joseph Stevenson *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth*, 23 vols. (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863-1950).
CSP, Scot.	Joseph Bain *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1898-1969).
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
DNB	L. Stephen and S. Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1885-1900).
DOST	A. J. Aitken, W. A. Craigie, J. A. C. Stevenson, and H. D. Watson, eds., *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1937-2002).
EUL	Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh
Mason, *Kingship*	Roger A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998).
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
OED	J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition*, 20 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
Phillips, *Images*	James E. Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).
PRO, SP	Public Record Office, London, State Papers

RPC	J. Hill Burton and David Masson, eds., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. First Series 1545-1625*, 14 vols. (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-98).
Scots Peerage	J. Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1904-14).
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SLJ	*Scottish Literary Journal*
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds. (rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and K. F. Pantzer), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91).
STS	Scottish Text Society
SSL	*Studies in Scottish Literature*
UM	University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, Ann Arbor

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION PRACTICE:
Quotations from modern editions of Middle Scots and other medieval works retain the spelling and punctuation of those editions; abbreviations are silently expanded. Manuscript transcriptions expand abbreviations and give yogh as y and thorn as th. I have not modernised the distinctions between I/j and u/v/w. Dates are given in new style.

Introduction

From time to time, historians and scholars proclaim a transformation in the controversy surrounding Mary Queen of Scots. In a spirit of objectivity, they insist, Mary can now be assessed as something other than either a 'saint or a criminal'.[1] They announce, in other words, the end of partisanship. In 1727, for example, responding to a century of Marian debate fought in terms of religious fervour and Stuart political fortunes, James Anderson observed that 'the true Story of Queen Mary of Scotland could not be easily known, without having recourse to Records and Papers of State'.[2] Anderson professed to solve this problem by publishing four volumes of sixteenth-century documents. Anderson's optimism about the course of Marian studies, however, was followed by the exegetical obsessions of the eighteenth century and the 'passionate rhetoric' of the nineteenth century; strongly personal views of the Queen continued to infect criticism.[3] In the 1970s, Antonia Fraser announced a 'tide of good sense' among historians. The present attitude, she breathed with a sigh of relief, no longer credits the dubious Casket Letters as viable historical evidence and willingly sees Mary 'as a real person, having real emotions, neither the lasciviousness or vengefulness of her critics, or the inhuman purity of

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[1] Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), 18.
[2] James Anderson, *Collections Relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London: J. Mosman and W. Brown, 1727-8), 1:vi.
[3] Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Historians*, Royal Stuart Papers, no. 7 (London: The Royal Stuart Society, 1974), 5. The landmark volumes of Samuel Jebb (1725) and James Anderson (1727), with their publication of contemporary documents, signal the beginning of critical Marian studies. Walter Goodall first scrutinised the Casket Letters (1754), proclaiming them forgeries and precipitating years of related controversy. This textual mystery was further investigated by William Tytler (1790), T. F. Henderson (1888, 1905), Andrew Lang (1901), and M. H. Armstrong Davison (1965). Notable historians in the Marian debate have included William Robertson (1759), David Hume (1762), Malcolm Laing (1804), Patrick Fraser Tytler (1841), D. Hay Fleming (1898), and Gordon Donaldson. John Hosack (1870), R. H. Mahon (1930), and W. A. Gatherer (1958) published important studies, Hosack and Mahon printing key texts and Gatherer clarifying the inconsistencies in George Buchanan's indictments of Mary. Fraser argues that Marian debate has usually fallen into three main categories: Mary's alleged immorality, her religious conviction, and her political entitlement, specifically to the English throne. In addition to Fraser's useful survey of Marian studies, see Wormald's introduction (12-19). Fraser, with her influential biography of Mary (*Mary Queen of Scots* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969]), and Wormald must, of course, be included in the foregoing list of scholars.

defenders'.[4] Writing more recently, Jenny Wormald has confirmed the emergence of this 'new and sober school of historians of Mary Queen of Scots', which tries 'to assess her as a character of history rather than drama'.[5]

If explicit partisanship has waned, as Fraser and Wormald predicted, the scholarly impulse to write about the controversies of Mary's life continues unabated, even to the present year with John Guy's new biography.[6] And, despite the sobriety of scholars, the project to understand and present Mary as a 'character of history' seems as problematical as ever. Anderson believed the solution was to return to primary documents, to reconstruct the true and objective story of Mary's reign by citing the reports and observations of her contemporaries. Yet, even in primary documents one confronts an elaborate linguistic edifice, built out of evocative cultural references, complex discursive strategies, and clandestine publishing ventures. This thesis contends that no objective truth exists behind that linguistic wall, at least not one that can be reconstructed from verbal and written artefacts no less immune to bias than later secondary scholarship. This thesis asks, rather, how and why Mary's contemporaries erected this representational structure, and explores the operations of a culture that used the Queen to work out its most pressing and deeply felt concerns – about women rulers, religious change, popular sovereignty, and versions of national history. My study privileges the form and strategy of arguments about Mary over the question of her guilt or innocence. Each writer considered here has his own ideological investment in Mary, be it personal, political, religious, or historical; in turn, these individual investments determine specific generic, discursive, linguistic, even metaphorical choices. By laying bare the mechanisms at work in a series of seminal Marian texts, this thesis shows how she becomes the site of an

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[4] Fraser, 9, 10.
[5] Wormald, 17.
[6] John Guy, *'My Heart Is My Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London and New York: Fourth Estate, 2004).

ideological skirmish, in which those whose representation of the Queen prevails may direct the course of political or religious history.

As the pawn of the rival English and French parties in Scotland, Mary was a controversial figure almost from the day of her birth. Her personal reign, however, inaugurated the most familiar period of controversy, especially in July 1565 when she married her first cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. Darnley's strong claim to the English throne, now matched with Mary's, unnerved Elizabeth; his Catholicism, however lukewarm, angered Scottish Protestants; and his petulant and dissolute behaviour eventually alienated both Mary and her court. Less than a year later, in March 1566, Darnley participated in the murder plot against David Riccio, Mary's Italian secretary, who the nobility claimed had gained too much influence over the Queen's affairs. Afterward, to preserve both Darnley and herself, a pregnant Mary wheedled him back around to her side, but his co-conspirators never forgot Darnley's treachery. On 9 June 1566 Mary gave birth to a son, the future James VI. She and Darnley grew increasingly estranged, and he was excluded from James's baptismal celebrations at Stirling in December 1566. On 10 February 1567, while convalescing at Kirk o'Field in Edinburgh – probably from a bout of syphilis – Darnley was murdered. A huge explosion destroyed the building, but his body was discovered some yards away in the garden, where he had been strangled, perhaps trying to escape the explosion.

In the aftermath, Mary seems to have suffered a breakdown, which only fuelled the ensuing controversy. Her inability to act decisively and her growing dependence on the Earl of Bothwell, the prime suspect in Darnley's murder, prompted a rash of placards and rumours accusing her of adultery and murder. Lewd drawings portrayed her as a siren who had lured Darnley to his death, and satirical poetry compared her to familiar figures like Clytemnestra, the adulterous Greek queen who murdered her husband Agamemnon

after his triumphant return from Troy. Having been acquitted in a sham trial, Bothwell convinced a group of nobles to sign a bond approving his marriage to the Queen; he then kidnapped Mary and took her to Dunbar. Whatever happened there – he allegedly raped her – after this incident he and she announced their plans to marry. After the marriage on 15 May 1567, the nobles' disaffection with their Queen and resentment for Bothwell's influence intensified. They issued proclamations explaining their 'just cause' against the Queen, and on 15 June 1567 they confronted Mary and Bothwell at Carberry Hill, where she surrendered in exchange for Bothwell's safe conduct. She was led back to Edinburgh in disgrace – with troops and citizens shouting 'Burn the whore' – and then imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, where she was forced to abdicate in favour of her son. In July James VI was crowned at Stirling, and in August James Stewart, the Earl of Moray, Mary's half-brother, was proclaimed Regent of Scotland. The following May, Mary escaped from Lochleven and mustered her supporters. After the defeat of her forces at Langside, she fled to England in a small fishing boat, convinced that Elizabeth would support her against the rebel Lords. Instead, Elizabeth's government sponsored a series of 'conferences' to examine the Scottish situation, during which Mary's rebels, led by the Earl of Moray, trotted out a scathing attack on the Queen, written by Scotland's premier humanist, George Buchanan. Moray's party also displayed a series of letters and poems allegedly written by the Queen to her lover Bothwell – the damning but largely fabricated Casket documents. Unwilling to condemn Mary categorically and even more unwilling to dismiss the men ruling Scotland in her stead, Elizabeth opted for equivocation. As a result, Mary spent the next 19 years under house arrest in England, until she was executed in February 1587 for her involvement in the Babington Plot against Elizabeth.

These events not only precipitated centuries of speculation about and interpretation of Mary's moral fibre, but also generated a vigorous debate in her own

lifetime, carried out through poetry, pamphlet, and polemic. James Phillips subjected these contemporary texts and the events to which they refer to their first literary analysis in his sweeping survey of sixteenth-century literature about Mary, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (1964). Phillips resisted critical custom by undertaking 'a study in image building', offering an account of pro- and anti-Marian literature from 1554 to 1603 that addressed 'the political and religious affiliations of the writers, the circumstances of publication, and the often ingenious devices of censorship and bibliographical deception employed by both sides to build one image and suppress the other'.[7] Phillips's broad outline made explicit the impact of ideology and print culture on the Marian debate, but his range restricted any in-depth analysis of individual texts. Historians, too, began to re-imagine Mary's reign by finding ways around the usual dichotomies. Gordon Donaldson's *All the Queen's Men* (1983), which Jenny Wormald characterises as breaking the mould of Marian historiography,[8] examined the political alliances that formed after Mary's downfall. In *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (1991), Wormald herself sought greater objectivity in a political study focused on 'Mary as a mid sixteenth-century monarch'.[9] While the move to assess Mary strictly according to 'the success or failure of her rule' might be admirable,[10] Wormald refused to account for early modern attitudes about female rule. And her assertion that 'the problem of female rule was arguably less severe in Scotland than elsewhere' seems unsustainable given Mary's enforced deposition and the language through which it was justified.[11]

This thesis, unlike previous studies, concentrates on that language of justification, as well as on the textual strategies used to discredit or defend Mary Queen of Scots. In

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[7] Phillips, *Images*, 7.
[8] Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London: Batsford, 1983); Wormald, 17-18.
[9] Wormald, 19.
[10] Ibid., 18.
[11] Ibid., 40.

doing so, it attends closely to the poetry and polemics that date from 1567 to 1571, for this reason: the rhetorical and bibliographical methods of Robert Sempill, George Buchanan, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross – all of whom write during this period – are responsible for shaping attitudes toward Mary that endure to the present. To illustrate the impact of their texts and the increasing difficulty of writing about the Queen, the final chapter turns to the early seventeenth-century *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville of Halhill, who, with anxious manuscript alterations, must negotiate the conflicting images of Mary formulated by Sempill, Buchanan, and Leslie. Melville's account of sixteenth-century court politics, written partly to extol his own service in light of James's English accession, illustrates an early instance of the temporising required to put to rest the controversies of Mary's reign. The thesis thus emphasises the conversational nature of the Marian debate, with each writer responding to the tactics and themes of others. As a literary study devoted to the mechanisms of propaganda, it also adopts an expansive definition of 'text', especially in its early chapters, by considering how gossip, anecdote, illustration, and emblem literature collaborate with the more formal discourses and narratives used to characterise Mary. Managing such varied instances of early modern culture requires historical precision and judicious attention to the material record, as well as thoughtful notice of theoretical and interdisciplinary developments since Phillips's study of Marian literature. Moreover, this thesis presumes that each text, given the appropriate attention, will reveal the ways it can and should be read. Thus, in a field as well worked over as Marian studies, one of the pleasures of this project has been to allow the material to guide me – to theories about gossip, female authority, historiography, and narratology; to histories of kingship theory, succession debate, and theatrical tradition. The pertinence of these digressions into intellectual history demonstrates the complexity and far-reaching nature of the Marian controversy. In fact, somewhat surprisingly and

perhaps more valuably, this project sketches a far clearer picture of the methods of propaganda than of Mary Stewart herself. If finding the 'real' Mary behind layers of representation proves difficult or impossible, those layers – at the very least – should be peeled away and evaluated.

The thesis begins this process by tackling the early onslaught of anti-Marian propaganda dating from spring 1567. Beginning with an analysis of rumours circulating in Scottish burghs which accuse the Queen of adultery and murder, the first chapter moves on to examine a series of broadsides tacked to market crosses – better known as the 'satirical poems of the time of the Reformation'. I argue that bibliographical evidence points to an orchestrated campaign to defame Mary's character, carried out by members of the nobility so as to suggest a grassroots movement against her. After a detailed review of the poems' material status – including issues of authorship, printing history, textual presentation, and means of preservation – I analyse their adaptation of literary traditions, which, in a new context, become political tools to describe Mary's failings. This analysis reveals how language, especially as a confirmation of national feeling, becomes the means of justice itself: banners proclaiming Mary's immorality are carried through the streets, poets call for others to use pen and paper against the Queen. Perhaps even more damning, the propaganda makes ordinary Edinburgh women look like key participants in the condemnation of Mary.

The second chapter pursues the developing image of Mary in George Buchanan's *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1571), the first official indictment of the Queen. Though recognised as a determining Marian text, the *Detectioun*, inflammatory and inaccurate, has often been jettisoned from critical discussions. As complex and shrewd propaganda, however, this volume uses legal, theatrical, and political discourses to cast Mary in the role of tyrant. A principal feature of

my approach is to consider how its component parts – narrative, oration, contracts, and other court documents – work with and against one another. Seen in this way, the 1571 edition in particular (though others will be addressed) enacts two important fictions: first, that each reader – with this volume in hand – can judge Mary for himself, and second, that she is allowed to speak for herself in its supplementary material, the Casket Letters and Sonnets. The argument of the *Detectioun* thus emerges through the form of a courtroom trial, relying on the authority of the individual reader, who must judge the outcome. Tracing the *Detectioun*'s journey from Latin summary to 'courtroom' accusation to public condemnation charts the deepening political response to the circumstances of Mary's deposition and detainment.

John Knox's absence from these early chapters deserves some comment, especially considering the Reformed minister's antipathy for Mary's rule. Indeed, Knox seems to have been preternaturally obsessed with the Queen, and, as Wormald convincingly argues, his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* is at least partly invested in the project of transforming her into the 'agent of the Antichrist' – the implacable foe of the godly John Knox.[12] Wormald's argument, in fact, goes some way toward explaining why he is not treated here: her perceptive reading of Knox's descriptions of his interviews with Mary covers much of the terrain I might have done at an earlier point. More importantly, despite Knox's self-promotion as an instigating and sustaining force behind the Scottish Reformation,[13] combined with his professed bravado during the interviews with Mary, the real source of anti-Marian representation can be traced more confidently to the satirical poems and to the invectives of George Buchanan, neither of which have received any substantial literary analysis. Interestingly, aside from a few isolated

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[12] Jenny Wormald, 'Godly Reformer, Godless Monarch: John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots', in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 237. The volume in which Wormald's essay appears is an excellent contribution to Knox studies.

[13] James Kirk offers a slightly different assessment in 'John Knox and the Historians' (14-16), in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, cited above.

references to 'Baallis Preistis' or a 'papist loun', the early propaganda against Mary is notably lacking in extreme anti-Catholic sentiment. Even though many Protestants would have attributed her perceived immorality to her Catholicism, Mary's conciliatory policy toward Protestants during her personal reign might explain the muted role played by religion in both the satirical poems and in Buchanan's *Detectioun*.[14] In spite of Knox's fulminations from the pulpit, Mary's religion was not the leading issue of 1567-8. Moreover, his *History*, with its 'unflattering portraits' of Mary, was not printed until 1587 in London, and then in an incomplete edition suppressed by Elizabeth, thus greatly limiting his impact on Marian representation in the sixteenth century.[15]

The years 1569-71 mark the commencement of John Leslie's textual campaign on behalf of his deposed sovereign. The third chapter brings into sharper focus his discursive strategies and the source material which gives them shape, arguing for an intimate connection between Leslie's two most important works: *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande* (1569) and his vernacular *Historie of Scotland* (ca. 1569-70). Deeply invested with the possibility of Mary's political restoration, Leslie's project is less concerned with defending Mary against charges of immorality than with proclaiming her title to the English crown. Not only does her dynastic claim become the lynchpin of his defence, but he also uses her femininity as a way to defend her honour. In his *Historie*, Leslie constructs a version of Scottish history meant to support Mary's cause. The modes of apology and history thus become ideological partners, each making a strategic contribution to debates about dynastic succession, political authority, and versions of national history.

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[14] See Wormald, 'Godly Reformer', 227-8.

[15] Phillips, *Images*, 83. Thomas Vautrollier printed only Books I-III in 1586-7. David Buchanan edited the first full edition of Knox's *History*, which George Thomason and Octavian Pullen published at London in 1644. See item 236 in J. Scott, 'A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary Queen of Scots: 1544-1700', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 2 (1896): 1-96.

The final chapter submits Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* to a cultural and textual reassessment in order to explore his depiction of Mary, especially as a response to James's accession to the English throne. I begin by outlining the ideological and generic traditions which shape Melville's political views and provide a conceptual framework for his text. The views on kingship and counsel embraced by this framework lie in wait for Mary's appearance: despite her position as Melville's 'souerane' and her honesty and forthrightness – qualities that clearly emerge in his portrait of the Queen – Mary is estranged from the *Memoirs*' informing principles. Next, I turn to substantive alterations made to the manuscript. Melville's changes to the passages treating Mary reveal his cautious desire to recover her reputation but his inability to resolve the conflicts of her reign. Familiar narrative patterns and attitudes toward female rule allow Melville to account for her downfall while preserving a legacy for her politically successful son. His text valuably demonstrates not only the challenges but the political imperatives of resolving competing versions of Mary's reign.

Scrutiny of these texts opens several original perspectives on and approaches to the Marian debate. Emerging most clearly is how partisans of both sides appropriate literary modes and genres. The propaganda against Mary, for example, assumes a working knowledge of authors like John Lydgate, William Dunbar, and Sir David Lyndsay, and of medieval literary conventions such as the *chanson d'aventure*, *de casibus*, and the catalogue device; propaganda alludes frequently to scriptural and classical narratives, especially those involving women considered to be destructive or immoral, such as Clytemnestra or Jezebel. In fact, the reproduction and potency of narrative patterns – the fallen woman, the betrayed monarch, for example – suggest a complex process by which Mary's situation can be explained, understood, even moralised through familiar storylines. Though his theories often address historical writing, Hayden

White's work on narratology illuminates the methods of Marian writers.[16] Challenging disciplinary boundaries, White claims that historical narratives can be characterised as 'verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented* as *found* and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences'.[17] White argues that the historian collects, assembles, and then writes facts into a narrative form that fits a culturally shared storyline, one rooted in the concepts of the tragic, comic, romantic, or ironic.[18] This narrativising process can make problematical or incomprehensible real events suddenly recognisable through a familiar plot structure or literary form. The common associations of that structure or form, in turn, endow the real events with meaning: when Buchanan casts Mary in a lovers' tryst using the elements of a *fabliau* – to cite a specific example – not only does the Queen's life seem suddenly quasi-fictional but a certain moral attitude toward her emerges. With more foresight and consciousness than White might be prepared to grant historians, Mary's supporters and opponents tap into the literary sensibilities of their culture in order to direct how real events should be 'read' and understood. In the process, familiar traditions authenticate specific views of the Queen, and suggest how systems of language and representation can be used to justify or to challenge political change.

In addition to literary allusion, other discourses similarly serve the purposes of individual writers. Political and legal terminologies, in particular, give shape and argumentative force to many of their arguments. As J. G. A. Pocock's work on language

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[16] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); and *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).White is influenced by Roland Barthes, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Paul Ricoeur, among others.
[17] White, *Tropics*, 82. Historians are not always sympathetic to this formulation; White answers objections to his work in *Figural Realism*, chapter 1, 13-16.
[18] These concepts, of course, will be most familiar from Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

and the history of political thought has shown,[19] the critic must not only reconstruct the circumstances and context in which a text was produced, but also conceive of language as a 'primary component' of that context: not just the language spoken by the author, in the sense of English or French, but rather the specialised 'idioms' which makes the text intelligible. In the early modern period, such a 'language' might be one institutionalised within the disciplines of rhetoric, law, or theology, and one text may be operating under the constraints of several idioms, 'diverse in both their cultural origins and their linguistic functions.'[20] Pocock's ideas apply to most of the works discussed in this thesis: Buchanan conflates political theory about tyranny and theatrical practice; Leslie defends Mary by relying heavily on the language and logical structures of legal argument; Melville reconstructs his court experience through the idioms of advisory literature and *de casibus*. These underlying 'languages' can operate on a number of levels. In the case of Leslie's *Defence*, for example, a legal justification for Stewart succession itself constitutes the political argument on Mary's behalf; at the same time, crafted out of English common law, supported with precedent, glossed with citations, that justification becomes meaningful, intelligible, more convincing to an audience trained to interpret its vocabulary. For that matter, even a lay audience may find the specificity and perceived sophistication of the argument convincing in its own right.

The awareness of literary and rhetorical practices displayed by the authors of Marian texts is matched with a commensurate alertness to the uses of language (in the usual sense) and of a burgeoning print industry. Several of the works discussed here exploit the connotative differences between Latin and the vernacular. The persuasive

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[19] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 24. Also see *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (New York, Atheneum, 1973); and *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

[20] Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time*, 25.

cachet of Latin ensured that a work would reach the educated and European élite for whom Marian arguments were politically and religiously relevant. If not first written in Latin, a Marian work was often translated and then distributed across European spheres of influence. The vernacular, on the other hand, reached audiences of more immediate consequence and could reinforce nationalist sentiment: the implicit argument of Leslie's *Historie*, for example, differs greatly composed in Scots rather than in Latin – one targeting his Queen and the Scottish nobility in 1569, the other directed to the Pope and the rest of Europe in 1578. The vernacular could also be manipulated to serve a given agenda. After an initial issue in Latin, Buchanan's *Detectioun* was published in Scots and French in 1572, but the 1571 English volume paraded itself as a Scottish product, without place of publication and in a poorly executed rendition of Scots. Condemnation of Mary from Scotland made for a more convincing argument than condemnation from London. The first three chapters of this thesis reveal the extent to which pro- and anti-Marians resorted to translation, censorship, and surreptitious printing as ways to reach and convince different audiences to accept their points of view.

Finally, the thesis exposes a remarkable outcome of the enigmatic or complex publishing history of many principal works in the Marian debate: the plurality of agency and authorship. Hence, it is convenient but inaccurate to call the *Detectioun* Buchanan's or the *Defence* Leslie's. Authorship is often collaborative – sometimes consciously, sometimes not – and publication usually bears the marks of translators, printers, and even government officials. In certain important cases, the absence of a single agent becomes part of the argument itself, when, for example, the anonymity of satirical broadsides or contemporary rumour seems to testify to a 'public' outcry against Mary: the difficulty of tracing a story to any one particular source makes it feel true nonetheless. This strategy, in fact, brings contemporary political theory to bear on the representation of Mary. The

latter half of the sixteenth century saw the emergence of several strands of radical thought about popular sovereignty, one famously espoused by George Buchanan. The 'people' had the right and the obligation to resist a tyrannical ruler.[21] In the propaganda that followed Darnley's murder and Mary's disgrace, the Queen's opponents harness these forces of populism: they create the illusion of widespread hostility toward Mary with broadsides, rumours, and crude drawings, intended to look like the products of ordinary people. This leads to an extraordinary conflation of high and low culture, popular in form but arcane and learned in content. On occasion the propagandists directly access current theories of resistance, though these reference are cautious, in deference to their most influential audience, Elizabeth. If a popular movement against Mary *in fact* would have been intolerable to Elizabeth, however, the *idea* of such a movement must have been convincing and satisfying. The ordinary man prepared to pass judgment on the wayward Queen of Scots therefore becomes one of the most compelling fictions of anti-Marian propaganda. Pocock suggests that the individual reader participates in a textual event by 'reenacting' that text and becoming part of an historical process. His observation is curiously accurate when we observe a work like Buchanan's *Detectioun* calling for 'each man' to judge and condemn Mary.[22]

When Melville alters his manuscript in 1603, struggling to decide just how much Mary knew about Darnley's murder, he responds in part to this diffuseness of authority. At one point, for example, he plagiarises Buchanan – who was himself quoting rumour and whom Melville disparages as writing only what he was told to – then scratches out a few words, and in the process completely transforms the resulting interpretation of Mary's behaviour. Such emendations signal the extent to which the representation of

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[21] Buchanan's famous contribution to this view is *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (1579); see the newest edition of this work, *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship Among the Scots: A Critical Edition and Translation of George Buchanan's* De Jure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus, eds. Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[22] Pocock, 'Texts as Events', 29.

Mary becomes a wholly textual matter, references to the Queen herself becoming more estranged from any kind of source (or reality) and more contingent on the words used by others. Like the hundreds of writers who follow him, Melville finds himself, uncomfortably at times, responding to and participating in a wider textual community. Anyone who writes about the Queen of Scots, in fact, inherits a set of paradigms for thinking about her history difficult if not impossible from which to escape. At stake for Melville writing in 1603 is the representation of the disastrous political career of James's mother, whose dynastic aspirations are realised by her son. At stake for contemporary and especially later writers is a version of British history – Catholic or Protestant, Tory or Whig.[23] At stake for this thesis is nothing less than a heightened awareness of how those in power, then and now, exploit language, narrative patterns, and the popular voice to foist their judgments upon us. Mary's case, in particular, demonstrates what the rhetorical strategies supporting such judgments can accomplish, especially against a woman who assumes a measure of political authority.

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[23] See Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); and Anne McLaren, 'Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism', *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002): 739-68.

CHAPTER ONE

INVENTING THE 'IUST QUARRELL': THE POPULAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST MARY

On 19 April 1567, Mary Queen of Scots and her parliament passed an act of censorship. The legislation sought to curb a recent trend of 'licentious abuse', namely,

> placards and billis and ticquettis of defamatioun sett vp vnder silence of nycht in diuerse publict places alsweill within burgh as vtherwyse in the Realme. To the sclander reproche and Infamye of the quenis Maiestie and diuers of the nobilitie.[1]

The act postulates uneasily that if this disorder continues without punishment, not only will the 'gud fame' of the Queen and nobility suffer, but the commonwealth 'may be Inquietit And occasioun of querrell takin vpoun fals and vntrew sclander'. In order to address the threat posed by these notices, the act ordains that any person finding such a bill should destroy it immediately; if he or she fails to do this, and subsequently 'the writing beis copyit, or proceidis to forder knawledge amang the peple', this finder shall be punished with as much rigour as the 'first Inventar, writtar, tynar, and vpsettar' of the offending bill. Mary's government was obviously keen to halt the flow of this offending literature. Such a move to control and censor printed matter, in Scotland or elsewhere, was not in itself new or surprising. In February 1551, for example, the Scottish parliament had passed an act prohibiting the printing of 'ony bukis ballatis sangis blasphematiounis rymes or Tragedeis outher in latine or Inglis toung', unless the matter was properly examined and licensed by the government.[2] But the rash of 'placards and billis' in early spring 1567 signalled an altogether different threat, one – as the language of the act itself

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[1] *APS*, 2:552. The *Diurnal* reports Mary's journey to the Tolbooth for the occasion of this parliament and describes the act as 'twitching certaine tickettis and wreittingis, put vp efter the slauchter of the king, defaming diuerse personis without assurance thairof, that nane suld set thame vp, write nor dyte thame, or gif thaj saw thame, thaj suld distroy thame, and na copyse to be tane thairof; with certificatioun gif thaj be fund in doand the samin, thaj suld be pvneist as principall doaris thairof' (*A Diurnal of remarkable occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James Fourth till the year M.D.LXXV*, ed. T. Thomson [Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1833],109). Interestingly, *DOST* quotes this act of parliament as the first instance of 'placard' in Scots, defining it as 'a sheet of paper written or printed on one side, suitable for public display; a poster, notice, handbill'.

suggests – with the potency to plunge the commonwealth into quarrelsome disquietude, which is, of course, precisely what happened. Whether these placards and bills, posted in the public places of Scotland, were merely a symptom of or a major contributor to the downward spiral in civic order is debatable – probably both; that they represent a trenchant assault on Mary Stewart, facilitating the demise of her reputation and political career, is certain.

The content of surviving placards provides ample evidence to justify Mary's and her advisors' concern about the potential disruptiveness of this literature. Her alleged adultery and possible involvement in the murder of her husband provided rich fodder for the propagandists, who produced poems and drawings rife with representations of Mary as a seductive whore, Bothwell as the murderous villain, and Darnley as a martyred innocent. Bibliographical and stylistic evidence points to the likelihood of an orchestrated campaign of defamation against Mary. If true, this does not excuse Mary's ill-advised behaviour, her failure to pursue Darnley's murderers and her hasty marriage to Bothwell; nor does it imply that she was being set up from the moment the gunpowder at Kirk o'Field ignited – though that possibility exists. It does, however, place appropriate emphasis on the broader ideological dimensions of the attack. A remarkable confluence of events occurred in spring 1567, but they did not happen in a vacuum; rather, they followed almost six years of a personal reign which had seen its share of controversy, deriving in large part from the presence of a Catholic queen in a newly reformed and Protestant country.[3] In the crisis which ousted Mary, however, issues of religion were

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[2] *APS*, 2:488-9.

[3] Although the satirical broadsides represent the most significant upsurge in literature attacking Mary Stewart, her personal reign had already elicited controversial literature. James Phillips argues convincingly that the 'main lines both of attack and defense had been firmly established before fresh events gave new vigor and impetus to the literary warfare' (Phillips, *Images*, 40). See his chapter 'Emergence of the Issues', in which he discusses the debates leading up to 1567 and the propaganda that followed the death of Darnley. Also see David Parkinson, '"A Lamentable Storie": Mary Queen of Scots and the Inescapable *Querelle des Femmes*', in *A Palace in the Wild: Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and*

markedly low-key, and, initially at least, her rebels were a motley group of Protestants and Catholics – a fact which itself may account for the lack of emphasis placed on her Catholicism. For some, a 'genuine sense of outrage' about Mary's actions following Darnley's murder, perhaps fuelled by existing resentment for her or the political situation, drove them to oppose her.[4] For others, her behaviour conveniently provided the material for satire and assault. Whatever the case, by prosecuting the idea of Mary's immorality, her enemies realised a means to seize political and religious control of Scotland.[5] They had found the basis for their 'iust quarrell'.

If salaciousness provided the content for their attack, the strategic deployment of that content was especially savvy. In the wake of Darnley's murder, as Mary's hold on her crown weakened, the Confederate Lords (as they came to be called) cranked up their propaganda machine. The campaign began with versified challenges between Bothwell and his enemies and crude drawings that either satirised the Queen or provided visual reports of key events. As winter 1567 blossomed into spring, the Lords enlisted the services of poet Robert Sempill and printer Robert Lekpreuik. Sempill and Lekpreuik collaborated on broadside poems and Lekpreuik printed proclamations, which not only trumpeted the cause of the Confederate Lords but also encouraged those same men to persist in their 'quarrell rycht' against Mary. These various items papered the market

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Renaissance Scotland, eds. A. A. MacDonald, L. A. J. R. Houwen, and S. L. Mapstone, 141-60 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

[4] Michael Lynch, *Scotland, A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 218. Lynch reminds us that, far from being a 'united party of Protestant revolutionaries', Mary's rebels included a 'handful of Catholic lords' and several 'professional waverers' (219). And throughout the years of civil strife, members of the Scottish nobility were notorious for switching sides – 'Firme to na parte and reddy to bayth', as shrewdly put by one of the women in 'The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis' (PRO, SP 52/17/70, fol. 296). For a helpful overview of both shifting and stable loyalties, see Ian B. Cowan, 'The Marian Civil War, 1567-1573', in *Scotland and War AD 79-1918*, ed. Norman Macdougall, 95-112 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1991). Cowan counters Lynch's point to some extent by claiming that, at least after Carberry Hill, 'religious affiliation, if not a paramount consideration, was nevertheless important in determining loyalties' (96). Another, more recent, source for this period is Harry Potter, *Edinburgh Under Siege 1571-1573* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003).

[5] Phillips notes that the attack on Mary was 'clearly designed to justify the ultimate removal of the Queen on personal rather than religious grounds' (*Images*, 34). Though she is speaking specifically of Bothwell, Antonia Fraser concurs by noting 'new dimension of morality' in this latest Scottish crisis (*Mary Queen of Scots* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969], 391).

crosses of Scotland, and many subsequently found their way to London, posted by Sir William Drury, Elizabeth's border marshal and deputy-governor of Berwick. Because of its popular form and means of dissemination, this material seemed to testify to widespread disgruntlement among the populace.

The Protestant élite in Scotland relied on the English government as a primary (if sometimes covert) ally in their efforts to oust Mary and firmly establish Protestantism in Scotland. They intuited that while Elizabeth might be interested to learn of Mary's declining reputation with her subjects, she would not tolerate political destabilisation based purely on theories of resistance. Rather than openly support resistance to instituted authority – it was precisely during this time, after all, that George Buchanan first drafted his influential *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (1579), a work which notoriously advocates a theory of popular sovereignty[6] – the Scottish Lords fabricated the semblance of popular discontent with Mary's regime. Even those rare pieces of propaganda that specifically alluded to the idea of popular sovereignty – for example, the broadside poem 'Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust quarrell' – could be explained away as the anonymous production of a 'rude' poet. Under the cloak of ballads and drawings, even of peasant gossip about murder and adultery, the Scottish Lords created the illusion of a populist movement: the very possibility of such a movement not only afforded them immunity but also provided justification for their revolt against Mary.

The present chapter focuses on this early anti-Marian propaganda, the same material her government sought to eradicate in April 1567. I begin with a consideration of

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[6] For the development of resistance theory in Scotland, see Mason, *Kingship*, especially chapter 1. As footnotes throughout the thesis attest, Roger Mason's work on George Buchanan specifically and on Scottish political thought and historiography more generally has not only provided essential background but shaped my thought about the impact of these discourses on Marian debate. See his and Martin Smith's critical edition of *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship Among the Scots: A Critical Edition and Translation of George Buchanan's* De Jure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Essential reading also includes Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

gossip circulating in Scotland, as reported from the burghs, and make my way to the series of satirical poems printed as broadsides. Although the more scandalous aspects of these ephemeral notices and the events to which they refer have received frequent allusion, and, indeed, several cursory discussions have been published, the method and consequences of their representation of Mary have received little notice. Recently, Priscilla Bawcutt has called for a 're-investigation' and 'more sympathetic evaluation' of the poems, citing their vigorous use of Scottish literary traditions, to say nothing of their engagement with the 'great political and religious issues of their time'.[7] In fact, such a re-investigation, which this chapter hopes to inaugurate, reveals precisely how literary and cultural traditions – sometimes Scottish, sometimes not – are used to shape a specific response to a political and social reality. Especially with regard to Mary, this project presents a rare opportunity to curtail the long-running debate about her guilt or innocence, which remains not only insoluble but also irrelevant. The persistent efforts of historians to excuse or accuse Mary merely reaffirm the categories by which she was defined more than 400 years ago.[8] If we are to learn anything new about her reign – or, more generally, about attitudes toward female authority – we must abandon partisanship and, rather, uncover the mechanisms of her representation. The satirical poems mark a logical starting point, for in these documents can be traced the origins, substance, and techniques of slander. The poems provide the allusive and narrative structures on which the case against Mary perpetuates itself, and, in doing so, they codify the ensuing controversy. Above all, the poems reveal the power of language and print to effect change and, in Mary's case, to be a weapon of revenge.

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[7] Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Rose and the Thistle*, eds. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 65-6.
[8] The two camps survive today in Antonia Fraser's sympathetic portrait and Jenny Wormald's critical one. Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991).

'A GENERAL MISLIKING': INITIAL REPORTS FROM EDINBURGH

After the king's murder, during the early months of 1567, rumours begin to circulate in Edinburgh, citizens act strangely, handbills are posted on the Tolbooth and Tron, and the Queen grows estranged from her people, her approval rating increasingly contingent on her innocence and decisiveness, neither of which she seems capable of displaying with consistency.[9] In short, Mary's personal reign begins to crumble, and the cornerstone of what would become a complex system of Marian representation is quietly slipped into place, anonymously, under cover of night. In the light of day, Mary's people – the same who greeted her in 1561 with 'fires of joy'[10] – appear to have grown disaffected with their queen: they murmur, mill about uneasily, and with abusive pasquils and drawings call for justice and accountability.

The widespread disaffection of Mary's subjects with their queen is a compelling, damning, and perhaps not wholly inaccurate tale, and one which certainly found its way to London and Europe. And yet, the surviving evidence suggests, first, that this story is inadequate and, second, that it ignores the question of cause and effect: what came first, a reign undermined by the immoral behaviour of its queen or savvy propaganda against a political opponent? Those responsible for the handbills and placards were Scottish nobles, mostly Protestant, probably members of or sympathisers with Darnley's family, the Lennox Stewarts. This group would evolve into the anti-Marian faction known first as the Confederate Lords, later as the King's Party.[11] Part of their strategy involved anonymity,

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[9] In her chapter 'The Mermaid and the Hare' (360-98), Fraser provides an outline of events in Edinburgh similar to what follows here, and I presume that, for the most part, our sources are the same. For the sake of narrative, however, she does not always cite sources, and her bold assertions of several dates for the posting of placards can be mystifying. John Guy also mentions the 'rumour mill' that begins to churn after Darnley's murder. See his chapter 20, in *'My Heart is My Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004).

[10] For an account of Mary's return to Scotland, see Fraser, 171-2, or P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, 2nd ed., 9 vols. (Edinburgh: W. Tait, 1845), 6:236-7. Despite a general pleasure and curiosity at her return, some would have received her guardedly, if not with the hostility of John Knox.

[11] Lynch calls this a 'strident propaganda campaign, orchestrated by the Lennox Stewarts, one of the most publicity-conscious families of the century' (218). That Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, would have

but they did leave tracks, not only in the historical record but also in the very paradigms on which they assembled their attacks. And the powerful illusion they sought to create, of a popular uprising against Mary, endures in the tantalising gap between what the public believed or were led to believe, how they responded or were perceived to have responded. Because history is almost always told by the winners, most of the surviving record belongs to them, making it difficult if not impossible to gauge accurately the extent to which Mary's public condemned her. At the same time, these records provide clues about how contemporary propaganda was meant to work and why it was so effective.

Therefore, I shall begin with initial reports from Edinburgh: not only do they support the view of a popular revolt against Mary, providing a glimpse of the civil unrest which followed Darnley's murder, but they also offer an accessible model for thinking about the methods and principles which would become the hallmark of anti-Marian propaganda.

Edinburgh in 1567 was yet a small community. In 1560 it had covered only 140 acres within the town walls, and if its population was comparatively large – 12,000 people within that wall – its members 'nevertheless, continued to cherish the old idea of [themselves] as a small and close-knit community'.[12] The explosion at Kirk O'Field that trumpeted the murder of Darnley would have been heard by many, its repercussions felt by all. As confirmation, state papers suggest a public unnerved and troubled in the early months of 1567. On 8 March, after his official condolence visit to Mary on Elizabeth's behalf, the diplomat Sir Henry Killigrew reported to the principal secretary William Cecil, 'a general misliking among the commons', indeed, some who considered Darnley's

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been behind some of the propaganda is unquestionable. During the 1568 conferences at York and Westminster, he contributed anti-Marian material to the Earl of Moray's cause. R. H. Mahon speculates, however, that by this time, Lennox was in over his head, wearied of a 'scheme that puzzled him by its intricacy' (*The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923], 12).

[12] Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1981), 3. London's population, by comparison, was far greater, having experienced a population explosion during the Tudor era: its estimated population rose from 75,000 in 1500 to about 220,000 in 1600. Robert Gray, *A History of London* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), 141. A fuller treatment of this subject may be found in V. Harding,

murder a shame 'to the whole nation'.[13] The extensive correspondence of Sir William Drury paints a more vivid picture of increasing civil disorder. His frequent letters to Cecil – often accompanied by handbills and broadsides endorsed by the marshal himself[14] – provide evidence of a debate being waged on the market cross. As early as 19 February, a mere nine days after Darnley's murder, Drury began reporting bills set upon the Tolbooth which proclaimed Bothwell's guilt.[15] Bothwell parried with vitriol – and, one feels in retrospect, with empty bravado – swearing to 'wash his hands' in the blood of the 'setters up of the bills'.[16] Those invisible agents continued their barrage of allegations, however; by April they could riposte with some accuracy that, when murder failed to satisfy, Bothwell moved to occupy Darnley's 'steid', that is, to marry the widowed Queen.[17] Responsibility for these early placards can likely (and understandably) be assigned to the Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, especially in the period leading up to the controversial 'trial' in April which cleansed Bothwell of the crime. Nevertheless, heated exchanges between Bothwell and his adversaries were eclipsed by more salacious material, ranging from coloured drawings to broadside ballads, alleging Mary's

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'The Population of London, 1550-1700: a review of the published evidence', *London Journal* 15 (1990): 111-28.

[13] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 997. Killigrew was a diplomatic and ambassadorial servant to Elizabeth's court. He visited the Scottish court several times; he was sent to Edinburgh in 1572 and stayed until the castle fell to the King's Party in 1573.

[14] This act of civil service, incidentally, ensured the survival of much of the evidence upon which my analysis of Marian representation rests. I explain this in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

[15] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 960. Also see items 977, 1017, 1054, 1091, and 1199. The contemporary historian Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie confirms the posting of handbills after Darnley's death, describing how 'wreitting[s] set vpone the kirk dore' accused Bothwell of the crime (*The History and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. AE. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. [Edinburgh, STS, 1899-1911], 2:192). George Buchanan echoes this story in 'Ane informatioun of probable and infallable conjecteuris and presumptiounis': 'For tryell of ye placardeis prevelie set wp in accusatioun of ye erlle Bothuell y^{r} wes na paynis left nor hors flesche sparit' (CUL, MS. Dd.3.66/2; printed in Mahon, 43). Later Scottish historians refer to the onslaught of propaganda but rarely go into any detail about its nature.

[16] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 977.

[17] See 'Verses underneath an Answer to a Challenge made by the Earl of Bothwell, offering to prove by the law of Armes that he was the chief and author of the foul and horrible murder of the King', in James Cranstoun, ed., *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, STS, 1891-3), no. II. These manuscript verses may be found in the PRO, SP 52/13/29. On the verso, a later hand notes that 'Sir W Drury includes a copy of this paper in a letter dated April 19th 1567'. All quotations from the satirical poetry will be taken from volume 1 of Cranstoun's edition. Line numbers from the satirical poems

immorality and calling her enemies to action as the crisis of 1567 plunged Scotland into civil war.

I shall return to study these items in detail; for the moment, however, an anecdotal component to the propaganda which claims to reflect public opinion and reaction merits careful consideration. On 29 March, Drury first reported that 'the judgment of the people is that the Queen will marry Bothwell', signalling a perceptible shift in the substance and measure of local buzz.[18] From this point, his letters become more colourful and strange, their content reflecting the mounting tension in Scotland. If, as Drury suggests, the people begin to suspect that their queen might marry Bothwell in a fit of recklessness, at least one local resident appears to have become quite unhinged by recent events: on 10 April, Drury reports that a man has been wandering the streets of Edinburgh at night, crying 'O Lord open the heavens and pour down vengeance on me and those that have destroyed the innocent'. Nine days later, this same man was 'apprehended, and shut up in a prison which they call for the loathsomeness of the place the "foul thief's pit"'.[19] Having publicly cast himself in the twin roles of accuser and condemned, this man's apparently anguished and guilt-ridden knowledge about Darnley's murder is silenced with incarceration. Several interpretations are possible. At a metaphorical level, this nocturnal itinerant represents both a physical manifestation of his society's collective guilt, and, like Coleridge's mariner, a figure doomed to reiterate his own culpability. The original recipient of Drury's letter, Secretary Cecil, however, would have understood this tale more pragmatically: that is, as evidence of internal unrest (and perhaps internalised shame) in Edinburgh, or, more sinister, of the Marian government's attempt to hush

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are noted parenthetically and, where necessary for clarification, poems are identified by his Roman numerals (eg., IV.23-4).

[18] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1053.

[19] Ibid., items 1079 and 1116. George Buchanan's *Detectioun* alludes to this bizarre incident, when he reports that 'by bukes set out, & by pictures, and by cryes in the darke night', the perpetrators of Darnley's

someone who knew too much about the death of the king. Another critical detail potentially shifts the meaning again. Drury also reports that this man was 'accompanied with four or five to guard him'. In itself, the image of a man roaming darkened lanes, crying 'O Lord open the heavens' is macabre, prophetic, dramatic. (Comic also leaps to mind.) But to equip him with at least four guards while he wanders for, presumably, nine days smacks of sheer staginess. Just as placards were appearing mysteriously in the wee hours of the morning, this man can also be construed as a prop of Mary's adversaries, someone hired to play the role of herald, his implicit proclamation the moral degeneracy fostered by Mary's rule. Edinburgh after dark must have been a busy place.

In mid-May, Drury describes an escalation in portrayals of Darnley as an innocent martyr, especially in eulogising ballads and common gossip that, in his final moments, he was 'long of dying, and to his strength made debate for his life'.[20] One letter reports that 'the Queen upon Thursday passed through the street near the market, where were women sitting, who cried aloud, God save your Grace if you be "sakeles" [innocent] of the King's death', an encounter notable for several reasons.[21] First, it highlights Mary's public visibility and accessibility, the ease with which she and presumably a small entourage might stroll through the streets of Edinburgh. By extension, this encounter also demonstrates the close proximity of commons and nobility, especially in the confined space of this town, and what interactions, therefore, become feasible: even if they remain

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murder were exposed. (*Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*, n.p., n.d. [London: John Day, 1571], Ei^{r}.)

[20] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1199. Drury mentions a bill entitled 'Farewell gentle Henry, but a vengeance of Mary', and though nothing survives matching this title, Cranstoun's third item, 'Ane Ballat declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', surely resembles this kind of literature. The rumour about Darnley's final moments can probably be traced to the women of Blackfriars Wynd, who claimed to have heard his plea: 'Pity me, kinsmen, for the sake of Jesus Christ, who pitied all the world'. Unsurprisingly, given the persons who could be detected by their knowledge, the women were dismissed by the council. See the *Detectioun* (Diiii^{v} and Miiii^{v}). A MS. copy of their depositions may be seen in BL, Additional MS. 33531, art. 13.

[21] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1199. George Buchanan mentions this encounter in the *Detectioun* (Nii^{r}).

separated by an appropriate distance, the women call out to Mary with confidence.[22] Their words begin with a conventional blessing – 'God save your Grace' – but proceed audaciously to invoke common gossip about the Queen, illustrating not only that retaining the goodwill of her people depends very much on her innocence, but that her reputation is already in serious jeopardy. Finally, that Drury's report concerns local *women* seems to buttress moral condemnation of Mary, especially because the anti-Marian case comes to rest on alleged sexual misconduct and, more generally, on the frailty of women. The women of Edinburgh suspect Mary, and their offhand reference to her involvement in squalid affairs somehow justifies the more formal – and male – accusations being made. Women condemning their own makes for a powerful narrative. Drury would hardly have reported this encounter to emphasise the continued beneficence of Mary's female subjects: as the introduction to the *Calendar of State Papers* points out, 'nothing however absurd or improbable that might tend to [Mary's] injury' was omitted in Drury's reports.[23]

One final anecdote deserves mention here. On 20 May, Drury writes to Cecil about an incident involving Mary and the infant prince James. When Mary pays a maternal visit to the nursery in Stirling, so the story goes, 'the Prince being brought unto her she offered to kiss him, but he would not but put her away and did to his strength to scratch her'. James's aversion to his mother – his intuition, as it were – is soon justified: 'She offered him an apple', Drury continues, 'but it would not be received of him, and to a greyhound bitch having whelps was thrown, who eat it and she and her welps died

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[22] It may be worth mentioning that similar encounters between Elizabeth and her public seem barely imaginable, which may comment on how she attempted to create a more suitable distance from her subjects through representation and iconography. Important studies of Elizabethan representation include Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power* (London: Routledge, 1989); Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition of Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); and Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). My final chapter will explore the idea of Mary's accessibility, as observed by one of her courtiers. Parkinson also writes about this subject, especially with regard to the Chastelard affair.

[23] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, xv.

presently'.[24] This tale confirms the perspicacity of an infant who will shortly become the figurehead for a rebellion against his reigning mother: James recognises, even at the tender age of eleven months, not only his mother's baleful influence but also her wicked – literally poisonous – intentions toward her only son. It also exhibits the prognosticatory and superstitious elements of a folktale, incorporating an omen procured from animal lore.[25] The story repudiates Mary's maternal nature; the death of the dogs symbolise her destructiveness. Hence, her removal from the nursery is justified, and her replacement with James is foretold. Moreover, the oral nature of the folktale ensures (and protects) an anonymous source. Whoever set this piece of gossip in motion knew instinctively that the potency of such a tale arises from its basis in popular belief and exchange: one imagines it enjoying wide currency, its origin and relevance to any truth becoming more and more diffuse. One can also imagine it shaping, like gossip so often does, a 'climate of general consensus'[26] – in this case, a dismal opinion of Mary's character and, by extension, a sympathetic view of those men positing themselves as defenders of her son. 'Popular exegesis' – as Paul Strohm has dubbed it – of such gossip has the potential to determine whether 'a monarch or a regime is crucially made or unmade'.[27] The greyhound tale's appeal to convention, its engaging narrative, easy morality, unknown source, and popular form – all of these elements exemplify the tactics of Mary's adversaries. The tale *was* a harbinger.

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[24] Ibid., item 1226.

[25] Folklore indices cite traditional tales about a human being saved by an animal who first consumes poisoned food, but none seems to be a direct source for this anecdote For a close analogue, see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-8), B521.1. In another strange report, Drury says that a witch has affirmed that Mary will have two more husbands, and 'in the fifth husband's time she shall be burnt, which death divers speak of to happen to her, and it is said she fears the same' (20 May 1567, *CSP, Foreign [1566-8]*, item 1226).

[26] Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 23. Although Strohm speaks about gossip related to the deposition of England's Richard II, his remarks are pertinent here. Also see Chris Wickham, 'Gossip and Resistance Among the Medieval Peasantry', *Past and Present* 160 (1998): 3-24. His comments on gossip's relationship to group identity (10-12), to gender (15-16) – compare the women in the marketplace – and to resistance (18-21) are particularly illuminating.

Aside from the sense of a potentially explosive mix of gossip and guilt in Scotland, what begins to take shape in Drury's letters and their enclosures – as suggested by the preceding anecdotes – is the complex web of cultural associations and conventions which lie behind the representation of Mary. Nowhere are these associations more manifest than in a notorious painted drawing, one of the placards posted in early March (Appendix 1.1).[28] The upper half of the sketch depicts a mermaid, perched on a bench, crowned and naked from the waist up; in her right hand she holds what may be a thistle and, in her left, a scroll or document of some kind.[29] The letters 'MR' certify that this creature is, indeed, *Maria Regina*. Below the mermaid crouches a hare, enclosed by a circle of swords; poised just above the hare's back are the letters 'IH', implying the identity of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. Antonia Fraser, who reprints the sketch in the 1969 edition of *Mary Queen of Scots*, calls this the 'most famous and most virulent of all the placards', reminding us that in sixteenth-century parlance the mermaid connoted a siren, thus by extension a prostitute, and that the hare was a heraldic device of the Hepburns.[30] I can find no independent confirmation that the hare was associated with Bothwell's family, but Fraser is correct about the drawing's connotations: it intimates a lascivious relationship between the Queen and Bothwell. Whereas rumour sometimes

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[27] Strohm, 3.

[28] The sketch is preserved in the PRO, SP 52/13/60. Drury sent Cecil a drawing by a 'painter' on 14 March, which could have been the mermaid (*CSP, Foreign [1566-8]*, item 1017). (Even today, the mermaid sketch retains remnants of its original colouring.) Fraser dates it quite specifically to 1 March; her basis for this date is entirely unclear. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie says the 'paintted wreitting' appeared on the kirk door on 7 March, which would fit with Drury's dispatch of 14 March (2:193). The sketch is mentioned by some later historians: Andrew Lang in *The Mystery of Mary Stuart* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), illustration; Fraser, 370; and Caroline Bingham, *Darnley* (London: Constable, 1995), 187. John Guy discusses the mermaid in more detail than previous historians (321).

[29] Guy reads these items as a large sea anemone and a rolled-up net, 'surrogates for the orb and sceptre' but with 'deeper, more suggestive meanings', namely that the 'sea anemone, a giant polyp with petal-like tentacles around the mouth, stood for the female genitalia, whilst her rolled-up net was to enable her to catch the unwary sailors as they passed by, distracted by the sight of the anemone'. The anemone he cites as an allusion to Ovid and the net as a reference to the Roman 'retiarius', a 'sword-bearing gladiator' (321). Guy does not provide evidence for these assumptions, though his point about the drawing's sexual insult is, of course, correct.

reported that Bothwell had seduced Mary, bewitching her with dark powers,[31] here Mary appears visually superior, wielding her charms to seduce him. In his brief but more interpretative notice of the mermaid, John Guy reads the symbolism in more openly pornographic terms and emphasises Mary's 'mortification' at the appearance of the drawing. Sexual suggestiveness aside, however, the drawing also insinuates Mary's and Bothwell's conspiratorial roles in the murder of Darnley. In his contemporary *History and Cronicles of Scotland*, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie reports, quite straightforwardly, that the 'paintted wreitting' signifies 'the quenis grace and the erle bothwell sould be the causeris of the kingis deid'.[32] Such would be the simplest and most accessible readings of the mermaid and hare.

Closer scrutiny proves the sketch to be vastly more complicated, its separate elements recalling source material and conjuring modes of discourse not immediately apparent, at least to a modern observer.[33] The image of the hare, for example, derives from Claude Paradin's immensely popular emblem book of 1557, *Devises heroïques* (Appendix 1.2).[34] First published in 1551 at Lyons, *Devises heroïques* responded to a flourishing market for emblem books. These books brought together collections of highly symbolic pictures, each accompanied by a Latin motto – image and text together 'offering

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[30] Fraser, 370. See the *OED* for early associations of the word mermaid. 'Prostitute' as a meaning was just emerging at this time; 'siren' was widely understood. *DOST* has several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century references to a 'marmaidyn'.

[31] See Fraser, 382 and corresponding note. Also suggested by Tytler, 7:83.

[32] Pitscottie, 2:193.

[33] 'Reading' such examples of visual culture can pose theoretical and critical challenges. For a useful overview of the paradigms available for such a project, see the introduction to R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), xvi-ix, especially. What follows is similarly influenced by both the iconological and semiological approaches outlined by Scribner.

[34] Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1557). The hare appears on page 206 of this edition. Paradin is first noted as a source for the hare, as far as I have been able to discover, by Bingham (187). Bingham does little aside from pointing to the source of Bothwell's hare, and she uses the 1591 English edition of Paradin for her references, a printing which quite obviously post-dates the drawing in question. Elsewhere, she incorrectly calls Paradin's 1557 edition the first (75).

a moral thought or meditation'.[35] For members of the nobility and for the educated, these symbolic pictures constituted a common language: as Margaret Swain has noted, recognising emblematic elements and unravelling their coded messages was a familiar interpretative exercise.[36] In his 1557 edition, Paradin made interpretation even easier by amplifying the usual 'image and motto' format: for each emblem he included a prose commentary, which explained its significance, cited a source, and perhaps identified the princely person who had adopted it as his or her personal device.[37] The hare in Paradin's collection, like the hare on the Scottish drawing, is surrounded by a circle of swords and tagged with the motto 'Malo undique clades' .[38] The prose commentary explains the device's meaning:

> L'espee & glaive par dehors, & le Lievre, ou la creinte par dedens, est en sine qu'il n'y ha lieu de seur acces, pour les mauvais & malins: qu'ils ne soient tousiours en danger de punicion divine, tant es chams, qu'en la vile: & de corps, & d'esprit.[39]

Another Latin motto amplifies this explanation – 'Foris vastabit eos gladius, & intus pavor'[40] – and a final, summary thought reiterates the peril facing the hare from all

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[35] Margaret H. Swain, *Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and Northern England* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 20. For studies of emblem and device literature, see Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948); Karl Josef Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem, Problemata Semiotica* 2 (1986); Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988); Michael Bath, John Manning, and Alan R. Young, eds., *The Art of the Emblem* (New York: AMS Press, 1993); and Peter M. Daly and John Manning, *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory, 1500-1700* (New York: AMS Press, 1999).

[36] Swain, 20.

[37] Ibid., and also see Alison Saunders, introduction to Scolar Press facsimile of *Devises heroïques* (1989), 2. Saunders's introduction provides a brief but accessible printing history of *Devises heroïques*. Members of the nobility, who must have enjoyed the representational potential of these emblems, would frequently adopt one as a personal 'device' or *impresa*. In addition to its indebtedness to the French emblem tradition, Paradin's book also derives from Italian treatises which sought to explain the significance and aptness of an individual's choice of device. The 1557 edition of *Devises heroïques*, therefore, actually marries the emblem and device traditions. His design was hugely successful: the book stayed in print into the seventeenth century (Saunders, 2).

[38] The 1591 English edition of Paradin's *Heroicall Devises* (London: William Kearney, 1591) has 'Mala vndique clades', and translates as 'Destruction waiteth for ye wicked in euery place' (263).

[39] 'These swords which are placed & stand forth of a round circle, and a trembling Hare in the middest thereof, do signifie vnto vs, that a safe refuge, is in no place granted to offenders, either in the field, or in the citty, or in any other place in bodie or spirite' (ibid.). The role of 'punicion divine' seems merely implicit in this translation.

[40] 'The sword shall destroy them abrode, and feare at home' (ibid.). While acknowledging 'autres infinis passages des saintes escritures', Paradin locates the source of this Latin phrase in Mosaic law; the 1591

quarters: 'Ils seront pourchassez par dehors à coups d'espee, & par dedens estonnez de creinte, frayeur, & espouvantement'.[41] Doubleness, epitomised by the 'glaive' or two-edge sword, prevails in this device: that is, internal fear and external threat as expressed in the oppositions of field and city, body and spirit, abroad and home. Stunned by their own fear and terror, the wicked are permitted no escape.

A second, cruder drawing – a companion sketch structurally identical to the mermaid/hare placard, preserved in the same collection of state papers – includes similar Latin mottoes, linking it even more overtly to the emblem tradition and to Paradin's hare (Appendix 1.3).[42] 'Timor undique clades' glosses the hare, and inscribed in the circle of swords is 'fores vastabit te gladius et intus pavor', both lifted almost verbatim from the 1557 edition *Devises heroïques*. Of the two small textual alterations – 'timor' for 'malo', and 'te' for 'eos' – the latter shifts the direction of the warning to a specific person, presumably to Bothwell. The former seems more arbitrary, though the artist has positioned the entire phrase ('timor undique clades') within the circle, just above the hare's back, perhaps emphasising the inward fear experienced by the hare. Both sketches deviate textually from Paradin's emblem, of course, by explicitly attributing this device to Bothwell with the initials 'IH'. To recognise that Bothwell has been grafted onto Paradin's trembling hare need not fundamentally alter our reading of the drawing: the suggestion of a lewd or illicit relationship between Mary and Bothwell still pertains. But the meaning of Paradin's emblem equally inheres in the drawing, and to abandon

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edition glosses the passage with 'Deut. 32'. The device as a whole seems to recall these Mosaic passages, as for example in the following: 'Vengeance is mine, and recompense, for the time when their foot shall slip; for the day of their calamity is at hand, and their doom comes swiftly' (Deuteronomy 32:35). Such was certainly the line taken against Bothwell, and the tone of this language more generally echoes the Psalmic slogan of the rebellious Lords: 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord'.

[41] 'They shall be pursued outside by the stroke of the sword, and within they shall be stunned with fear, fright, and horror' (not printed or translated in the 1591 edition).

[42] PRO, SP 52/13/61. The relationship between the two – whether the second sketch served as a draft for the first or as a copy dashed off to capitalise on the furore created by the original – seems indeterminable from existing evidence. Perhaps we must satisfy ourselves with the idea that two surviving sketches suggest an

interpretation in favour of convenience ('the hare...happened to be a heraldic animal of the Hepburns'[43]) erases an entire set of cultural associations which lie behind this particular representation of Bothwell and of the contemporary political situation. At least with regard to him, the drawing serves more as warning than insult. Certainly, the Latin mottoes label him as wicked, but the prevailing theme – with the force of Mosaic law to back it up[44] – is that he will be destroyed, if not by his own cravenness, then by the might of sword, either in Scotland or abroad. He is, literally, a marked man.

Incidentally, *Devises heroïques* can be traced with precision to the Scottish court, confirming the anonymous artist's knowledge of Paradin's book. Mary's own interest in the book and in the genres to which it belonged is well-established: she was an avid embroiderer, especially during her English imprisonment, and frequently used contemporary emblems as patterns for her handiwork; several are lifted directly from *Devises heroïques.*[45] It is also an intriguing possibility that the unfortunate Darnley himself owned this book. Caroline Bingham, in her biography of Darnley, reports that John Stuart d'Aubigny sent a 'Book of Emblems' to Darnley as a gift; Bingham speculates that d'Aubigny's gift was Paradin's *Devises heroïques.* If this were true, Darnley's own copy might have been 'the very volume that was the source of the pasquil', which, in turn, would hint at a Lennox connection to the drawing.[46] Even more significant that this possible connection are the several copies of Paradin's book held in the library of James VI, one of which was a gift from Robert Stewart, Bishop of

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energetic response to their imaginative and associative power. To my knowledge, the second drawing has been completely ignored by commentators.

[43] Bingham, 187, presumably relying on Fraser, 370.

[44] The motto 'fores vastabit te gladius et intus pavor' derives from Mosaic law. See footnote 40.

[45] See Swain, 20-1, and Saunders, introduction to Paradin, 9-10. Another useful source of information about Mary's embroidery is Swain, *The Needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots* (New York: Von Nostand Reinhold, 1973).

[46] Bingham, 75 and 187 (and corresponding note).

Caithness, the son of John, third Earl of Lennox and so James VI's great-uncle.[47] French emblem and device books, particularly Paradin's *Devises heroïques*, were undoubtedly circulating around Mary's court.

The source of the mermaid cannot be so precisely identified, though she owes much to heraldic tradition, and, to an even greater degree, this debt transforms her possible meaning. According to the *OED*, the mermaid as a symbolic representation was 'usually if not invariably depicted heraldically with long flowing golden locks, and holding in the right-hand a comb and in the left a mirror or hand-glass'.[48] The critique of female vanity is instantly recognisable, and even a rudimentary grasp of symbolic code permits an appreciation of the adroit melding of images, the seductress wielding the implements of immodesty and self-adulation. This traditional understanding invests the image of Mary's mermaid with a meaning that is then fashioned into particular relevance for its present context, much as Paradin's hare does for Bothwell's. Mary's mermaid does not attempt to view her comely visage in a mirror, nor does she raise her right hand to comb her flowing locks. Her temptress is of the political variety, the right hand brandishing the Scottish thistle above her crowned head and the other clutching a scroll. Symbols of vanity have been replaced with symbols of state and authority, yet both sets of associations inhere in the sketch, extracting representational power from one another.

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[47] G. F. Warner, ed., 'The library of James VI', *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, 1st series, vol. 15 (Edinburgh, SHS, 1893), xl. Other copies of *Devises heroïques* may be found on pages xxxvii, l, lx, lxi. One copy was a gift from Magdalene Livingston, sister to one of the Queen's Four Maries (lxi). Also see John Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *The Innes Review* 37 (1987): 89-90 especially.

[48] See definition 2a. A sixteenth-century herald's visitation to Lancashire describes one crest as a 'meyre mayd haire come & glasse' (*The Visitation of Lancashire and a Part of Cheshire, made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, A.D. 1533, by special commission of Thomas Benalt*, ed. William Langton, Chetham Society, no. 98 [1876], 55). The Scottish ballad *Sir Patrick Spens* provides a native example of this description of a mermaid: 'Then up it raise the mermaiden, / Wi the comb an glass in her hand, / "Here's a health to you, my merrie young men, / For you never will see dry land"' (F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1882-98], 2:17-32, no. 58). According to Child's sources, the mermaid stanza first enters the written ballad in the Harris MS., transcribed by Amelia and Jane Harris in the nineteenth century. Amelia traces the source of their version to her mother's nurse (back to the early or mid-eighteenth century), so the oral tradition may have included the mermaid. (*The Song Repertoire of Amelia and Jane Harris*, eds. Emily Lyle, Kaye McAlpine, and Anne Dhu McLucas [Edinburgh, STS, 2002], xviii.

While Mary's mermaid recalls the conventional depiction, her thistle and scroll disrupt the expected meaning, drawing attention to contrived difference and, thus, foregrounding a specific political context. Stated in another way, the mermaid's unanticipated elements of state signal the displacement of comb and mirror, and in doing so suggest the absurdity of a woman, a vain seductress – quite pointedly Mary, in this case – wielding political power. Traditional assumptions render the current state of affairs unintelligible and perverse. In a shrewd touch of wordplay, 'Spe illecto Inani' – 'I seduce with vain hope' – is added to the companion sketch, disarming both the political and sexual potency of this queen: she will win neither her kingdom nor her hare. As the *impresa* of a troubled reign, the mermaid heralds a new era of Marian representation.

At a basic level, this placard would have demanded very little from its audience. Even if the people of Edinburgh had failed to recognise the substitution of political symbols for comb and mirror, the equation of mermaid and siren nonetheless had a strong cultural resonance. That image alone, presented as a version of Mary, would instantly satirise her as a political figure lacking true authority. Drury describes a 'reading' of the drawing, confirming that its insult was accessible and effective enough to excite the popular imagination. When he sent the mermaid sketch to Cecil, he endorsed its verso with 'The peoples applying of thys /IH/ ys for thearle bodevell Jhon Heyborne'. By thus attributing the sketch's interpretation to the people, Drury's endorsement implies the political involvement of the populace. In fact, his language arguably creates the illusion that the placard originates with the people. The anecdotes in Drury's letters work similarly: a man wailing in the streets, market women calling out to Mary, rumoured attempts to poison the prince -- all convey the idea of a populace highly engaged with the political scene in Scotland and prepared to condemn their wayward sovereign. The story told by his letters and enclosures, then, is of Mary's deteriorating reputation with her

subjects, their indignation having found expression in placards appearing across the country – precisely the story Mary's adversaries wished to be told to their English or European audience. The anonymity of the placard's artist lends this story credence: in the excitement generated by his drawing, the artist simply fades into the crowd, his identity becoming far less important that the 'peoples' reading of his work.

In the comparatively small city of Edinburgh, however, names of those responsible for the mermaid placard were bound to circulate, and Pitscottie describes Mary as 'vondrous wraith' and impatient to summon possible suspects.[49] On 29 March Drury reported that 'The Queen sent for the minister of Dumfermline and asked him if he knew not the deviser of the Mermaid'.[50] Contemporary records clearly connect one man to the placard – if not as artist, then at least as sponsor. On 14 March, Mary instructed James Murray of Pardewis, brother of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine (her comptroller), to appear for 'causit be set up certaine payntit papers'.[51] Pitscottie also names Murray, remarking that all suspects were 'cleingit' except Murray, 'quha tuik the cryme on him and passit his way'.[52] According to Drury, Murray admitted that he had posted up accusations against Bothwell, and in late March Bothwell inquired peevishly whether Murray spoke 'evil of him'.[53] On at least two occasions, Murray offered to give Mary the names of those associated with Darnley's murder and 'to try it either armed or

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[49] Pitscottie, 2:193.
[50] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1053. Guy describes this interview in colourful detail (321-2), though I have not had the chance to review the same source, which he cites as PRO, SP 59/12, fols. 243-4 (in Drury's border reports).
[51] *RPC*, 1:500. James Murray was the second son of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, a Lord of the Congregation in 1559. James travelled to France on behalf of the Earl of Bothwell in 1564-5, but turned decisively against the Earl after the murder of Darnley. The *RPC* entry also commands that he be prevented from fleeing the country. Later, he was involved with the Raid of Ruthven and was forfeited in August 1584. His brother, Sir William Murray, became a Privy Councillor in November 1565, was comptroller of Scotland from 1566 to 1582-3, and figured importantly at Carberry Hill (*Scots Peerage*, 1:463-4).
[52] Pitscottie, 2:193. In connection with the act of parliament cited at the beginning of this chapter, *The Diarey of Robert Birrel* reports that James Murray was 'summoned to underlay the law for putting one of [*sic*] plackets upone the crosse, tolbuith, or Abby yetts' (in J. G. Dalyell, *Fragments of Scottish History* [Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1798], 8).
[53] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1053.

naked'.[54] He was clearly involved with the bills being posted in Edinburgh, and his name points not to an anonymous 'public' distributing controversial handbills but rather to a very specific and privileged group of men seeking to undermine Mary's authority. Jenny Wormald has observed that 'it is a measure of the dangerous state to which Mary's actions had brought her that the culprit named...was the brother of her own comptroller, William Murray of Tullibardine'.[55] In other words, the men connected to those who would ultimately take control of Scotland (Moray, Lennox, Morton) were behind the propaganda directed against Mary. Wormald means to demonstrate, of course, how Mary's political failure led to her sad state of affairs in March 1567. But to give a twist to Wormald's view, it is equally likely that, Mary's actions aside, this propaganda was designed to produce her sad state of affairs.

Even without evidence of Murray's involvement, the sketch itself resists anonymity. Despite its lack of artistic merit, the sketch demonstrates both a knowledge of cultural codes and a keen sense of how those codes may be manipulated in order to arouse a distinct political reaction. The evocation of heraldic tradition and emblem literature hints at persons of a social rank high enough to encounter and adapt a source such as Paradin's *Devises heroïques*. As Guy rightly points out, 'Whoever devised this placard had an impressive classical education'.[56] The same might be said for the sketch's audience. As I have already suggested, the crudity of the drawing would have pandered shamelessly to a popular audience. But like other propaganda against Mary, this placard very cleverly exploits the possibilities of multiple yet mutually compatible meanings, reaching different audiences at different levels: if one fails to recognise Paradin's hare, no

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[54] Ibid., items 1034, 1053, and 1054, for example. He also challenged Bothwell to single combat at Carberry Hill, which Bothwell refused on the basis of Murray's inferior rank. (*Scots Peerage*, 1:463).
[55] Wormald, 162.
[56] Guy, 321. He remarks that the placards being posted in Edinburgh 'could only have been the work of someone versed in Latin poetry, making it less hurtful to her than if it had come from the ordinary people' (335). I will not presume to know which would have been more hurtful to Mary, but this material certainly

matter, because less sophisticated readings remain accessible. Still, the presence of an audience with more refined interpretative skill, who would have grasped all of Paradin's nuances, should not be underestimated. As Mark Loughlin has noted, although the increase in propaganda during this period 'marked a growth of sorts in appeal to public opinion...the prime audience of civil war propaganda was still the small, influential élite who controlled the means of power' – the Confederate Lords in Scotland and, further south, their allies in Elizabeth's government.[57] Beginning with Mary's capture at Carberry Hill, the satirical poems, as we shall see, are addressed more and more overtly to the Confederate Lords, to Moray's party, to the same men who likely sponsored their production.

The multiple layers of the early reports from Edinburgh – as illustrated in Drury's anecdotal letters and in the mermaid sketch – exemplify the challenges of reading the propaganda against Mary. On the one hand, this material is deeply indebted to convention, to symbolic codes which might seem arcane but are bound to seductively simple narratives. On the other, by their democratic nature, the anecdotes and placards create the appearance –for Elizabeth's government and for the wider European theatre – of popular upheaval and revolt in Scotland. This material did not emerge from the indignation of the 'people' of Scotland, from a group of women sitting in the market, for example; but it found willing audiences, perhaps with the general populace and certainly with the 'influential élite' in Scotland, their righteous anger kindled and stoked by the efforts of a group of men with specific political goals. One might, for a fitting analogue, look to a theatrical moment three decades in the future, to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. In order to convince the noble Brutus of Caesar's dangerous ambition, Cassius crafts a

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did not come from the 'ordinary people'.

[57] Mark Loughlin, '"The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis": Maitland, Machiavelli and the Propaganda of the Scottish Civil War', in *The Renaissance in Scotland,* eds. A. A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 235.

'popular' appeal to Brutus: 'I will this night / In several hands, in at his [Brutus's] windows throw, / As if they came from several citizens, / Writings, all tending to the great opinion / That Rome holds of his name; wherein obscurely / Caesar's ambition shall be glanced at' (1.2.315-20).[58] In due course, Brutus receives these 'anonymous' missives calling him to action: '"Speak, strike, redress!" Am I entreated / To speak and strike?' (2.1.55-6). And he obeys the apparent petition of Rome's disgruntled citizens to join the conspiracy against Caesar. No less than Brutus, the political opponents of Mary Stewart were called to action by anonymous material, often directly addressing them and asking for their protection of Scotland's 'townis and communitie'. The ingenuity of the Scottish propaganda, however, far surpasses a letter dashed off in haste: rather, its use of cultural tradition demonstrates a remarkable awareness of the ways in which systems of language and representation could create the basis for a sustained attack on Mary's character, and thereby justify a dramatic assault on instituted authority.

The Satirical Broadsides: Bibliographical Evidence and context

As intriguing as the foregoing oral and visual examples may be, the most sophisticated and enduring component to the propaganda considered here is the series of satirical poems, printed on broadside and proliferating from 1567 through 1573. The so-called 'satirical poems of the time of the Reformation' earned their title from James Cranstoun, whose 1891 Scottish Text Society edition remains the only critical text available.[59] Cranstoun brings together a total of 48 poems on the basis that 'they are almost all of a

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[58] *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974).

[59] Many of the poems were printed in John Graham Dalyell's *Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1801) and in Thomas George Stevenson's *The Sempill Ballates* (Edinburgh: T. G. Stevenson, 1872). Stevenson, in particular, prints 38 of Cranstoun's 48 poems, and also includes some poems attributed to Sir James Semple of Beltrees. A few pieces may be found in James Maidment's *Scotish Ballads and Songs* (Edinburgh: T. G. Stevenson, 1859); in James Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: J. Sibbald, 1802); and in the *Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature, 1375-1707*, eds. R. D. S. Jack and P. A. T. Rozendaal (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997).

political or party nature, and are largely tinged with the satirical element'.[60] His categorisation – though accurate – has prevailed in such a way as to shape a critical attitude toward the poems and to do little to promote any penetrating studies. As critics like Roderick Lyall and Gregory Kratzmann have lamented, this material occupies those 'wild marches' between literary and historical criticism in their insistent topicality: they present unwelcome or tricky challenges to practitioners of both disciplines.[61] But it is perhaps less their historical specificity than its attendant partisanship that has made literary critics wary and frequently disparaging of these poems. As Kratzmann aptly describes the problem, this kind of political satire

> becomes marginalized as ephemera because it cannot be assimilated by the kind of taste which centralizes writing which is valued for its ability (to use Arnold's words on Chaucer) to 'survey the world from a central, a truly human point of view'.[62]

Historical allusions in the poems might be handy and political and religious fervency even quaint, but, in general, the poems have been ignored as 'literature', critical attitudes toward them tinged with snobbery.[63] Thus, Cranstoun, in his introduction to the poems, remarks on their 'almost total absence of poetic feeling', locating their chief value in their '*bona fide* character' and 'perfect sincerity'.[64] David Irving called the poems 'indecent and unpoetical';[65] C. S. Lewis rated them as 'famous for [their] coarseness';[66] and,

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[60] Cranstoun, 1:iv.
[61] Roderick Lyall, 'Complaint, Satire and Invective in Middle Scots Literature', in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. Norman Macdougall, 44-64 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1983); Gregory Kratzmann, 'Political Satire and the Scottish Reformation', *SSL* 26 (1991): 423-37. Also useful is Kratzmann's 'Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1, ed. R. D. S. Jack, 105-23 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). See also Bawcutt, op. cit., and A. A. MacDonald's comments in 'Scottish Poetry of the Reign of Mary Stewart', in *The European Sun*, eds. Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone, and Kenneth Simpson, 44-61 (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001). Lyall's and Kratzmann's are, by far, the most comprehensive discussions of these poems to have been published – and even theirs are limited.
[62] Kratzmann, 'Political Satire', 425.
[63] Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), discusses the traditional view that street ballads reflect 'low- to middle-class customs and attitudes' (6-7).
[64] Cranstoun, 1:xi.
[65] David Irving, *The Lives of the Scotish Poets*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1804), 1:142.
[66] Quoted in Kratzmann, 'Political Satire', 425.

perhaps more even-handedly, Carole Rose Livingston has recently suggested that the poems should be recognised 'for what they are, polemics dashed off to meet various crises and to persuade readers to a course of action'.[67] As Priscilla Bawcutt notes, the foregoing judgments seem inadequate. First, the sophistication of these poems, especially in terms of their responsiveness to literary tradition, has been vastly underestimated – a critical deficit I shall attempt to address in the final section of this chapter.[68] Second, if we concede that the poems are, in many ways, polemics, then we must also examine 'the textual procedures' under which they are operating.[69] In fact, an understanding of the material status of these poems – the interactions between authorship, printing history, textual presentation, and means of preservation – can actually illuminate the character and purpose of their poetic artistry and, in turn, enable speculation about their contemporary audience. Of particular relevance, for example, is the way in which these broadside poems herald an increase in the output of Scottish printers; that this development in print culture coincides with and contributes to a specific political and religious situation is no accident of history. All of these considerations, bibliographical and stylistic, must frame an evaluation of how the poems operated in a larger cultural context and how they might have served certain polemical ends.

I begin with the broadsides' authorial and material context. Most were issued anonymously, a characteristic from which anti-Marian propaganda derives much of its power, as we have already seen. Yet one name, frequently and convincingly attached to the poems, has become eponymous: in addition to their designation 'satirical poems of the Scottish Reformation', these pieces often receive billing as the Sempill ballads. Robert Sempill remains largely anonymous, a figure tantalisingly beyond the reach of

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[67] Carole Rose Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century: A Catalogue of the Extant Sheets and an Essay* (London: Garland, 1991), 813.
[68] Gregory Kratzmann does address this aspect of the poems in 'Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry'. His discussion is insightful though abbreviated.

biographical description. Ironically, given the historical specificity of his works, what we know of Sempill, we know only from his satirical poems.[70] Although he has often been mistaken as Robert, fourth lord Sempill,[71] the balladeer Sempill was more likely 'a cadet of the house of Sempill, of illegitimate birth'. He appears to have received a 'liberal education', and probably spent some time in Paris. His poems indicate military experience, and place him at St. Bartholomew's Massacre in Paris in 1572 and back in Edinburgh for the 1573 siege of the castle. But during the period of time relevant to this discussion – beginning in early spring 1567 – Sempill must have been busy writing his 'political pasquils' on contemporary events: the murder of Darnley, Mary's marriage to Bothwell, the death of the Regent Moray, the strife between the King's and Queen's Men, and what he interpreted as the evil machinations of the Hamiltons and William Maitland of Lethington.[72] Sempill can be connected to the Confederate Lords with relative certainty. According to a contemporary diarist, Sempill wrote a play for the Earl of Moray in 1568.[73] Although his dramatic piece has unfortunately not survived, an entry in the Edinburgh *Council Register* for 20 February requests the Treasurer 'to deliuer to Robert

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[69] Würzbach, 7.

[70] His entry in the *DNB* (by James Cranstoun) in fact, lists only one source: 'the editions of Sempill's ballads'. Sempill's biographical details are all taken from this entry. Although his name is 'invariably associated with Reformation satire' (Kratzmann, 'Political Satire', 424), three poems in the 'mirry ballettis' section of the Bannatyne MS. are attributed to Sempill: 'the ballat maid vpoun Margret fleming callit the flemyng bark In Edinburth', 'the defence of crissell sandelandis', and 'the ballat...of Ionet Reid ane violet and ane quhyt'. Keely Fisher discusses the poems at length, noting that Sempill was equally capable of attacking 'the hypocrisy and excessive radicalism within Protestant party' (*Comic Verse in Older Scots*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford [1999], 170).

[71] For corrective views, see Irving, 1:141-4; Stevenson's Preface; Cranstoun's useful sketch in his biographical notice of Sempill in the satirical poems volumes; and the *DNB* entry.

[72] The *ATS* records a payment to Sempill in April 1567: 'Item be the Quenis grace precept to Robert Semple as the precept and his acquittance schawin upoun compt beris' (12:51; cf. 12:403). What service he might have provided to Mary or her government is unknown and admittedly mysterious.

[73] This is recorded in *The Diarey of Robert Birrel*: 'The 17 of Januarii a play made by Robert Semple, and played befor the Lord Regent, and divers uthers of the nobilitie' (in Dalyell, *Fragments of Scotish History*, 14). One wonders also if Sempill might have had a hand in an interlude that Drury says was played before the Lords: 'There has been an interlude of boys at Stirling of the manner of the King's death and the arraignment of the Earl [Bothwell]. He who represented the Earl was in sport so long hanged that hardly in a long time could life be recovered'. Reported to Cecil in a letter dated 14 May (*CSP, Foreign [1566-8]*, item 1203).

semple the sowme of x merkis in support of the expensis maid be him at the play';[74] and the treasury records from the same month confirm a payment to Sempill for more than £66.[75] One can hardly doubt that the political service he rendered to the new government was as a kind of satirist-in-residence.[76] Certainly, Sempill's poetic voice smacks of something more than merely a passionate and independent observer of contemporary events. As Brother Kenneth has asserted, 'the fund of inside information on which he draws and his rooted prejudices mark him obviously as the party spokesman'.[77] This position seems entirely defensible, not only because of Sempill's 'inside information' and Protestant zeal, but also for the circumstances of printing and dissemination of his poems.

Robert Lekpreuik, Sempill's printer, is more visibly tied to the leaders of the Reforming party.[78] Lekpreuik first emerged as a printer of note in 1561 when he published *The Confessione of the Fayht* [*sic*], which was probably issued with 'direction of the leaders of the reformed church'.[79] During Mary's personal reign, Lekpreuik was licensed to print the 'Acts of Queen Mary and her predecessor's Parliaments, and also the

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[74] As cited in A. J. Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, St. Andrews University Publications, no. 24 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1924; reprint, New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 191 (page citations are to the reprint edition). Mill makes the important point that although we might assume the Reformers refused to tolerate any drama, there is evidence – like that cited here – that they employed the theatre as a 'valuable means of propaganda' (88). For the English context see Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[75] *ATS*, 12:98. *ATS* also records a gift to Sempill in September 1568 of 'thre elnis of blak' (12:140).

[76] Sempill continued well into the 1580s to subject certain members of the Scottish polity to the keen edge of his pen. For example, his 'Ane Complaint vpon Fortoun' dates from 1581, and he composed 'The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis Lyfe' in 1584.

[77] Brother Kenneth, 'The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1514-1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), 180.

[78] Alastair Mann sounds an appropriate cautionary note, however, about 'bold assertions of the politico-religous proclivities of Scotland's printers'. Even though Lekpreuik's pro-Protestant reputation is based on his output during the civil war, he had also been known 'to attack Protestant supporters of Queen Mary' (*The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720* [East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000], 150-1). Mann's point is well-taken, though as the only printer of the satirical broadsides, Lekpreuik's connection to Mary's adversaries, whether heartfelt or not, is indisputable. Details about Lekpreuik are taken from Cranstoun and Robert Dickson and John P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1890). Also useful for tracking Lekpreuik's printing career is Paul Watry, *Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1992), 28-39.

[79] STC 22018. Dickson and Edmond, 199. John Scot printed the *Confessioun of faith* in the same year (STC 22016).

Psalms of David in Scottish metre'.[80] Then, in 1567, Lekpreuik's press in Edinburgh began issuing a steady stream of Sempill's poetry as well as official proclamations by the Confederate Lords. He was duly rewarded for his service, receiving the distinction of being named the 'King's Printer for the space of twenty years' in January 1568,[81] and his professional attention to the cause continued unabated through 1573. This is not to say that Lekpreuik's career was without its setbacks. His business, though thriving, must not always have been lucrative, as on occasion he entreated the financial support of the Kirk; for example, although he received special licence in 1568 to 'print the Inglis Bibell, aftir the Geneva version, for twenty years to come', this work never appeared, possibly because he lacked 'sufficient capital'.[82] Lekpreuik's colophons provide a map of his movements after 1571, when the Queen's party gained control of Edinburgh castle. His house was raided in April 1571 when he was suspected of printing George Buchanan's 'Chameleon', a scathing attack on Lethington. Fleeing Edinburgh, Lekpreuik set up shop first in Stirling, then in St. Andrews, continuing in both cities to print not only Sempill's satires but also Buchanan's *Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis* (1571) and *Ane Detectioun of the Doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis*, the first 'official' attack on Mary (1572).[83] Back in Edinburgh in 1573, he was committed to ward in the castle as punishment for printing John Davidson's 'Ane Dialog or Mutuall talking betwixt a Clerk and ane Courteour' without a licence. Although he reappeared in 1581 to print Sempill's 'Ane Complaint vpon Fortoun' and Archbishop Adamson's *Catechismus latino carmine redditus*, these were to be the last products of his press. The significance of Lekpreuik's career and his intimate association with the King's party cannot be underestimated: the

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[80] Cranstoun, 1:lv. Lekpreuik received authorisation for these tasks in 1564/5.
[81] Dickson and Edmond, 201.
[82] Ibid., 202.
[83] Lekpreuik printed various other items during these years, such as *The forme of prayers* and a letter from Knox *To his loving brethren* (1571). Cranstoun points out that while in St. Andrews, Lekpreuik issued 'no fewer than fifteen works' (1:lvii).

1567 explosion in anti-Marian propaganda is largely attributable to his efforts. He and Sempill gave material existence to the sentiments of the Confederate Lords; they created the look and feel of the campaign against Mary.

Between 1567 and 1572 Lekpreuik issued 25 broadsides.[84] Although my focus will permit discussion of only a few of these broadsides, the popularity and significance of the form should be emphasised. The broadside was simply a sheet of paper, usually folio-sized, printed in black letter type, often illustrated with woodcuts, and associated with popular literature ranging from handbills, proclamations, and, most often, street ballads.[85] On the rise from the early sixteenth century and widely popular into the nineteenth century, broadside ballads served the functions of 'disseminating propaganda and news, and providing both uplifting education and lighthearted recreation'.[86] By its very nature, the broadside was a transitory production, 'essentially printed for the day, as ephemeral as yesterday's newspaper or a handbill given in the streets'.[87] English broadside ballads are often journalistic in nature, describing crimes, monstrous births, and other remarkable news, but they are also rife with comic poems, religious matter, and popular songs.[88] Most have crude woodcuts, which are used repeatedly, often with no correspondence between the subject of the verse and the image of the woodcut.[89] Although they might be a vehicle for satirising distinguished persons or chronicling

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[84] The authorship of virtually all can be assigned confidently to Sempill: 12 poems are admittedly by Sempill, but 'from internal evidence a considerable number of them, notably those emanating from "Maddie", may be confidently ascribed to Sempill' (Cranstoun, 1:xii). Lekpreuik's last remaining broadside, 'Ane Complaint vpon Fortoun' was issued in 1581, bringing the total to 26. (With duplicate copies the number rises to 41 surviving pieces.) Of the other poems that Cranstoun prints, they are either to be found in manuscript copies or were printed in quarto or octavo. Nevertheless, the broadside format – to say nothing of Lekpreuik's presence – dominates Cranstoun's collection.

[85] Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962), 23. The classic study of broadside ballads is Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA* 34 (1919): 258-339. Livingston's essays are an immensely useful addition to the subject. Also see Würzbach, cited above.

[86] Livingston, 32.

[87] Shepard, 23.

[88] See section II of Rollins's essay for a discussion of the various topics which were covered by the broadside ballads.

current happenings, rarely do they have the kind of political insistence one finds in Lekpreuik's broadsides. In any case, Elizabeth's government would have quickly curtailed such specificity.

Set against the extant English broadsides, Lekpreuik's prints are striking, not only for their strong political content but also for their appearance (Appendix 1.4). None of Lekpreuik's prints have any decoration, aside from the odd ornament introducing a new paragraph or verse stanza; the dour columns of black letter type, coupled with Sempill's gravely satirical verse – indeed, the very matters with which these two men are concerned – constitute an imposing presence on the page. Practically speaking, the stern appearance of his broadsides is unsurprising, as it resembles most black letter productions of the time.[90] As has already been suggested, Lekpreuik did not have the resources or capital for elaborate productions, to say nothing of the disruption caused by his frequent moves from city to city.[91] Furthermore, Scottish printing was just beginning to flourish during these years; Lekpreuik, along with John Scot and Thomas Bassandyne, were the only printers at work in Scotland, and Lekpreuik's output represents a huge proportion of all material printed there. A mere glance at H. G. Aldis's *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* clearly demonstrates that Mary's deposition and the ensuing civil war marks a surge in the output of Scottish presses – from four productions in 1566 to fourteen in 1567.[92] The subject matter of Lekpreuik's broadsides *is* grave and of the highest political import; the situation in Scotland made it so. A monstrous birth – that subject so common to English broadside ballads – may have been newsworthy, even perceived as a sign of

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[89] Rollins, 262-4, explains the use of woodcuts. The Roxburghe Ballads, volumes 2 and 3, in the BL present a rare opportunity to view Lekpreuik's broadsides in the context of the more numerous English productions.
[90] Compare, for example, any other contemporary Scottish prints, such as *The warkis of the famous and vorthie knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont* (1568), printed by John Scot for Henry Charteris in Edinburgh (STC 15658).
[91] These moves demonstrate, in part, that as the Queen's Men 'gained ground', the printer was often forced to close up shop and relocate: the outcome of the civil war still hung in the balance (Livingston, 813).
[92] H. G. Aldis. *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904; reprint with additions, NLS, 1970.). Aldis can now be conveniently accessed online through

moral decay,[93] but it hardly constituted a comparable threat to the fabric of an entire society.[94]

So much do these broadsides differ in tone and content from contemporary English broadsides that one searches for other, more illuminating analogues. Livingston proposes a comparison 'not to the generality of poems and songs, but to other propaganda pieces produced by the paid agents of a government, a party, or a manufacturer'.[95] Her suggestion, though creditable, lacks precision. In an English context, one might look back to political poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, poems often written to moralise on 'the abuses of the age', or to shape or sway public opinion during the Wars of the Roses. With regard to these poems, one editor remarks that 'writers of political poems were employed like any other craftsmen or technicians to serve and promote the special interests of those classes with power or money'[96] – an observation equally valid for the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides. Within a strictly Scottish context, a search for specificity leads to the closer analogue of official proclamations also issuing from Lekpreuik's press, such as those released by the Confederate Lords justifying their detention of Mary or declaring their intentions with regard to other matters of state. If they lack the colourful satire of the poems, these proclamations at least share their broadside format and immediate political relevance (Appendix 1.5). In the heady days just before and after Mary's arrest at Carberry Hill, Lekpreuik printed proclamations on behalf of the rebellious Lords, one proclaiming their 'assemblie in armour' as a step in punishing

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the NLS: www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scotbooks.

[93] Rollins, 267.

[94] Although Lekpreuik's dour productions constitute almost the entire corpus of surviving sixteenth-century Scottish broadsides, others – of a different tone – may simply have perished. Fisher suggests that the lengthy titles of Sempill's Bannatyne MS. poems indicate that these first circulated in print, and were subsequently copied into manuscript for preservation (171). On this point more generally, see Denton Fox, 'Manuscripts and Prints of Scots Poetry in the Sixteenth Century', in *Bards and Makars*, eds. Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson, 156-71 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977).

[95] Livingston, 813.

[96] Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York: Columbia

Darnley's murderers and one to advertise the search for Bothwell.[97] Lekpreuik was again busy firing off proclamations for Moray's party in the panic which ensued when Mary escaped from Lochleven. Designed to chastise and villify 'thame quha assistit with our Souerane Lordis Mother', a proclamation printed on 14 May 1568, for example, reminded Scottish subjects of the 'horrible and vnworthie murthour' of the king's 'maist deir father of worthie memorie'; of Mary's having 'cuplit' with Bothwell; and of the necessity of separating her from 'that Tyrane and godles man'.[98] Although admittedly 'set furth be my Lord Regent', the proclamation is issued in the name of the infant King James, and it is his voice, injured and indignant, that emanates from its prose. Arguably, the poems and proclamations act as two sides of the same polemical coin: one intended to shape opinion through imaginative verse, the other through oppressive prose, both in the primary mode of justification.

Another possible avenue into the satirical broadsides may be found by way of the German Reformation. Although the Scottish Reformation bore most strongly the mark of Calvinism, Lutheranism had also had its day, especially with the 'first generation of Scottish Protestants'.[99] Before being burned at the stake for heresy in 1528, for example, Patrick Hamilton had introduced Lutheran teaching to Scotland during his tenure at St. Andrews, where he associated with men such as John Mair and George Buchanan, and had preached near Linlithgow after a period of study in Marburg.[100] Even as Scottish Protestantism shifted toward Reformed theology, however, Lutheranism survived in

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University Press, 1959), xxxvi.

[97] Proclamation, 11 June 1567, 'Assemblie in Armour' (STC 21930) and Proclamation, 26 June 1567, 'For the apprehension of Earl Bothwell' (STC 21932).

[98] Proclamation, by the Regent, 'Declaring the purpose of thame quha assistit with our Souerane Lordis Mother, &c.' (STC 21934). Also see Proclamation, 7 May 1568, 'Anent the tressonable conspiratouris...' (STC 21933).

[99] James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989), 73. McGoldrick's account is broadly helpful, though not overly detailed.

[100] At Marburg he prepared his formal statement of Lutheran theology, 'Patrick's Places'. See Alexander Cameron, ed., *Patrick Hamilton, First Scottish Martyr of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Reformation Society, 1929).

important ways. Luther's theological character endured most significantly in *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, more commonly known as the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*.[101] Compiled by John Wedderburn in the 1540s but printed in the mid-1560s,[102] this collection contains hymns and psalms deeply rooted in German sources, as well as religious adaptations of secular Scottish ballads and songs. These songs demonstrate how native material was modified (or 'purified') to supply the Reformer's needs, a strategy we shall also see employed in the satirical poems.

Interestingly, A. F. Mitchell speculated that many of these 'purified' secular songs might have appeared first as broadsheets before Wedderburn included them in his *Compendious Book*. Material speculation aside, however, the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides reflect the contemporary popularity of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* through a shared interest in both native traditions and specific scriptural themes. A second, equally important aspect of Lutheran influence may be printing itself, both as 'an instrument for moulding public thinking' and a means for 'transforming a complicated theological debate into a great popular movement'.[103] Although the pamphlet 'became the most common and influential vehicle for the spread of Luther's ideas', Luther used the broadsheet in addition to the pamphlet format.[104] Whether through the directness and simplicity of Luther's texts or the combination of word and image on Reformation broadsheets,[105] printed matter was

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[101] A. F. Mitchell, ed., *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs* (Edinburgh, STS, 1897). Aldis tells us that *Compendious Book* was printed at Edinburgh by John Scot in 1567. We now know, however, that the book was first printed in 1565. See B. Fabian, 'An Eighteenth-Century Research Collection: English Books at Göttingen Unversity Library', *The Library* 83 (1979): 224.

[102] Wedderburn was educated at and associated with St. Andrews University, and would certainly have had contact with Patrick Hamilton. See Mitchell's introduction, xxvi.

[103] Louise W. Holborn, 'Printing and the Growth of a Protestant Movement in Germany from 1517 to 1524', *Church History* 11 (1942): 124. Other useful sources for propaganda of the German reformation, or on the transformative influence of print culture, include: Lucien Febvre and H.-J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, trans. David Gerard (London: NLB 1976); Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Christiane Andersson, 'Popular Imagery in German Reformation Broadsheets', in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, eds. Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, 120-50 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986); and Scribner, op. cit.

[104] Holborn, 127-8.

[105] See Andersson and Scribner for discussions of the visual aspects of German broadsheets.

designed to have a 'kindling effect on the people in general'.[106] German Protestant propaganda, even if it does not strictly anticipate the Scottish satirical broadsides of 1567-72, can offer useful ways of thinking about them, for the two share important strategic and ideological characteristics. And it seems naïve to suppose that strongly Protestant members of the Scottish polity – those more likely involved with this propaganda – would not have learned from their interactions with European Reformations the potential of print to shape public opinion.[107]

In Scotland as in Germany, ease of dissemination was a critical factor: the broadsides, as the act of Scottish parliament states, were posted in 'divers publict places alsweill within burgh as utherwys in the realme', available to anyone who happened by the market cross. Secondly, although the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides do not include satirical illustrations – like the woodcuts common to so many German productions – they were anticipated, if not accompanied, by sketches such as the mermaid and hare. With or without illustrative material, the Scottish propaganda seems emblematic, its meanings layered in such a way as to reach diverse audiences. This issue of craftsmanship leads to a final point in this context. Louise Holborn describes German propaganda as 'written by educated men' to appeal to the masses, and, above all, designed 'to give the impression that the writings were the expression of public thought'.[108] This assessment seems particularly apt for the Scottish propaganda: not only is it notable for its indebtedness to literary and cultural tradition – as demonstrated by the mermaid and, to an even greater

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[106] Holborn, 124.

[107] Another potentially interesting analogue is the 1534 'Affair of Placards' in France, in which Protestant placards and broadsheets denigrating the Mass were anonymously posted across the city of Paris, as well as in at least five smaller towns. See Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 24-7. In *Hatred in Print*, Luc Racaut tempers this view by arguing that printing has been inaccurately equated with the success of the Reformation, at least in France which remained Catholic. There, the Catholic cause more successfully exploited the possibilities of print culture; and, like Protestant propaganda elsewhere, their polemic was 'grounded in tradition, drawing from familiar arguments which had been available to previous generations of writers...' (Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002], 5.)

[108] Holborn, 132.

extent, the poems – but it also appears in the burghs anonymously, as if had emerged organically from the Scottish people. Drury's reports to London, whether consciously or not, corroborate this interpretation of its appearance. In making a case against Mary, the illusion of a popular campaign was profoundly convincing and effective. Sempill and Lekpreuik, along with the men who commended and sponsored their activities – certainly Moray, and probably Morton and Lennox – accomplished something remarkable: they took the form of the broadside ballad and, by exploiting its popular form and its capacities for entertainment, moral instruction, and religious debate, used it to effect and justify change in Scotland.

The means by which all of this material has survived also deserves comment. The ephemeral nature of any broadside or notice – a single sheet, often tacked to tavern walls or passed from person to person – inevitably reduces the chances of survival. For example, according to Livingston's detailed catalogue, about 260 broadsides from the sixteenth century survive, a figure which represents only a fraction of the total number printed.[109] Of the 260 extant broadsides, 29 are Scottish with 26 of those hailing from Lekpreuik's press. And tellingly, the Lekpreuik broadsides, unique to Scottish printing in the sixteenth century, remain extant for the same political reason.[110] They do not survive in Scotland: all made their way to London and are now variously distributed across the collections of the British Library, the Public Record Office, and the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The extant copies bear witness to their means of dissemination and to their final recipient. Many still exhibit fold lines from being posted south to England, and

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[109] Anywhere from 6 to 13 percent, according to Livingston's calculation. The Stationers' Register began recording the licensing of ballads in 1557. Livingston notes that about 2000 were recorded before the end of the sixteenth century, though the estimates of actual prints 'range upward from 4000' (32).

[110] Livingston's essay, which follows her catalogue, provides a fascinating discussion of what survival can tell us about a particular broadside, and what we might learn about the popularity of those which did not survive but remain with us only as entries in the Stationers' Register. See Livingston's catalogue, items S1-S41 for details about duplicates and locations of the 41 extant Scottish sheets. The epitaphs by William Fowler are the 'only extant broadsheet verses printed in Scotland in the sixteenth century which remain in Scotland' (812). One Fowler duplicate is in the PRO.

some are endorsed by Cecil's clerk, often with pithy descriptions to facilitate the Secretary's filing system: 'A balade in the name of the K. of Scottes', 'June 1567 An exhortation to the Lordis of Scotl. in metre', or 'The Lordis of Scotlands quarrel sett out in metre'.[111] As those initial reports from Edinburgh indicate, we have William Drury to thank for the survival of these and many other items of contemporary propaganda. And Drury's own endorsements are frequently helpful, identifying the author of 'Ane Answer maid to the Sklanderaris' as Sempill or, in the case of the mermaid sketch, providing a brief assessment of its meaning.[112] With or without Drury's involvement, however, two observations can be made with confidence: material against Mary – both in manuscript and in print – proliferated in the early months of 1567, and someone in Scotland wanted the English government to have a tangible record of propaganda north of the border.[113]

Communication between Cecil and members of the Scottish nobility was hardly a new development: Moray, Morton, and other members of the Reforming party – for political as well as religious reasons – had long worked toward strengthening ties with their Protestant neighbour to the south. That England was their traditional foe complicated matters but by no means prevented a cautious reliance on aid from Elizabeth's government to deal with the instability brought about – in their opinion – by Mary's Catholicism and, to a far greater extent, her immoral behaviour. On the other side of the border, the English were extremely interested in the Scottish situation, and no one more than Cecil. His habit of recording his speculations, thoughts, and schemes testifies to his interest in shaping Elizabethan policy with regard to Mary,[114] as do the great

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[111] PRO, SP 52/13/47, 52/13/62, and 52/14/73; Cranstoun's III, V, and VII, respectively.
[112] PRO, SP 52/14/74 (Cranstoun's VIII) and 52/13/60.
[113] Although the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides represent the bulk of the propaganda against Mary circulating in 1567, other kinds of ephemera appeared as well, as already noted. In addition to the mermaid/hare sketch, several other drawings depict scenes such as the aftermath of Darnley's murder or the confrontation at Carberry Hill. I shall have occasion to discuss these briefly in the final part of this chapter.
[114] See, for example, *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1128, or *CSP, Scot. (1563-9)*, items 709 and 721. Stephen Alford has a fascinating discussion of Cecil's habits of note-taking, tracing the secretary's methods to his rhetorical training at Cambridge. Alford argues that Cecil's 'private notes written *in utramque partem*

number of Scottish documents from this period which journeyed to London intended for his perusal. The Scottish lords, as they moved steadily toward rebellion and then sought to justify their actions, undoubtedly sponsored the material written against Mary. In his poem 'Of the Malyce of Poyetis', in which he laments the libellous and caustic quality of contemporary poetry, Sir Richard Maitland refers to the 'mantenaris' of these 'bakbyttaris and blasphemaris', which suggests patronage of a satirical voice such as Sempill's.[115] Those patrons also recognised the potential of this propaganda to persuade Elizabeth's government of the necessity and righteousness of Mary's overthrow, and shepherded it along to Cecil. They were counting on England for support: it is no accident that propaganda against Mary was posted, scrutinised, endorsed, and preserved – and eventually filed away in London libraries.

On the other hand, it hardly seems accidental that certain kinds of material have *not* survived, and such absences – what I would call negative traces of evidence – also indicate the influence exerted by the anti-Marian propagandists. The pro-Marian faction surely did not allow accusations to go unanswered, nor would they allow the King's Party to justify its assumption of power without written challenge, but evidence of such response is scanty, often intuited only from a title or a suggestive passage.[116] Even more intriguingly, any evidence for pro-Marian voices is usually tied to manuscript, not print. Observe, for example, Sempill's flyting poem, 'Ane Answer maid to the Sklanderaris that blasphemis the Regent and the rest of the Lordis'. The title indicates that Sempill responds to a spirited opponent of the Confederate Lords, whom he calls a 'sklanderus

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became part of the process of Elizabethan policy-making' (8), and describes the method and organisation of Cecil's filing system (13). See Alford's introduction and chapter 1 in *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[115] *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, STS, 1919), 1:325-6.

[116] For example, in 'Ane Tragedie, in forme of ane Diallog betwix Honour, Gude Fame, and the Authour heirof in a Trance', a later poem that laments the murder of Moray, the poet criticises those members of the 'burghs and commounis' who did not back the Regent, who would 'haif nane of him' (X.247-8). This glancing comment reminds us that even Moray did not enjoy universal support. Elsewhere, in the BL copy of 'the testament and tragedie of vmquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie', someone (a Marian

knaif' and 'papist loun', someone associated quite clearly with 'Hepburne, or Hoitbag Hamiltoun' (VIII.2, 6-7); the poem's endorsement further identifies it as an answer to the 'Bills sett upp against the Regent of Scotl'. Importantly, as Sempill's poem survives only in manuscript, his response to bills tacked up by a Marian supporter could indicate bouts of flyting conducted by hand as well as by type.[117] Notably, only one pro-Marian poem graces Cranstoun's collection, 'A Rhime in defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray'. As Cranstoun himself pointed out, the poem provides a refreshing antidote to the insistent criticism of Mary and praise of Moray.[118] Using the voice of 'Tom Truth', this poet vilifies Moray as a modern-day Richard III, a 'bastard past all grace' (IX.38), whereas the 'good and vertuous' Mary has been beguiled by her traitorous nobles (91). The poem also acknowledges the potency of rumour among the 'simple sort', especially the rumour of Mary and Bothwell's impending marriage, its source obliquely attributed to Moray and his supporters. Again, the 'Rhime in defence' exists only in manuscript, one copy in the National Library of Scotland and one in the British Library.[119] These traces of pro-Marian material offer a valuable reminder that manuscript continued to be an important medium for debate. I suspect that pro-Marian voices survive (or are alluded to) in manuscript for the simple reason that manuscript was safer and more accessible – and, still, much of this was probably destroyed. As the Confederate Lords gained power and support, they could employ Lekpreuik, suppress dissident voices, and distribute their

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sympathiser?) has crossed out derogatory references to the Queen (BL, Cotton Calig. C.i, fol. 17).

[117] Similarly, traces of a dispute can be seen in 'Verses underneath an Answer to a Challenge made by the Earl of Bothwell', number II in Cranstoun's collection. These manuscript verses may be found in the PRO, SP 52/13/29. See Cranstoun's note on the poem in 2:25-6.

[118] Cranstoun, 1:xii.

[119] Respective shelfmarks: NLS, Advocates MS. 35/1/1 in 3 vols., with the poem in 2:91-101; and BL, Cotton Calig. C.i, fol. 274. In the Cotton MS., the poem is not clearly a Scottish production (see Cranstoun, 1:xii); the orthography seems self-consciously archaic (in an effort to appear Scottish?), as Cranstoun's noted variants suggest. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the NLS copy, but Sally Mapstone has confirmed – as Cranstoun suggests – that most of the items in this manuscript were, in fact, copied from the Caligula MS. in the early eighteenth century, including this poem. In the Advocates MS., the copyist has appended the tetchy comment, 'This is written by Sir Robert Cottons transcriber, who never fails to blunder when he copies any paper written and spelld after the Scots manner'.

printed version of the story to the burghs of Scotland and to London for safekeeping. Mary's supporters, at least for the moment, were not so fortunate.

Mary in the Poetry: A 'Mortall Feid'

In her study of social criticism in the sixteenth century, Helen White observes that although it is customary to think of 'regard for tradition' as the mark of the conformist, it is the reformer, rather, who is 'very much alive to the advantages of the appeal to tradition'.[120] Nowhere is this truer than in the satirical poems, which are profoundly indebted to authors and traditions that came before. Robert Sempill emerged from a tradition of medieval satire, of which Sir David Lyndsay could be put forth as the best Scottish example.[121] Sempill's poems are peppered with echoes of Lyndsay's own poetry, and the portrayal of Darnley as the consummate Renaissance man, as a case in point, owes much to Lyndsay's conception of the ideal king. Lyndsay's influence is unsurprising: the Reformers found in him a kindred spirit, and their eager adoption of him as an early spokesperson is borne out by Henry Charteris's printing of Lyndsay's *Warkis* in 1568.[122] In obvious ways, the satirical poems recall Lyndsay – through dramatic complaint, the use of allegorical figures like 'Jhone the Comoun-weill', and, to a lesser extent, anti-clerical satire; and Cranstoun's notes indicate how much Lyndsay's language informs Sempill's poetry. But Sempill builds his verse on other foundations, and one does well to note A. A. MacDonald's reminder that political upheaval in the 1560s resuscitated a host of Middle Scots writers. To name only a few instances, George Bannatyne

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[120] *Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 1.
[121] These comments derive from Lyall's discussion of satire from Lyndsay to Sempill, especially 57-60.
[122] See Kratzmann, 'Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry', 106-7, for helpful comments on this subject; and Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 145-6, and section III more generally.

compiled his manuscript anthology of Scottish verse in the final years of Mary's reign;[123] Charteris commissioned a new printing of Hary's *Wallace* in 1570 and John Barbour's *Bruce* the following year; and Lekpreuik himself reprinted Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* in 1570. MacDonald suggests that 'the very religious and political factionalism of the period 1560-73 may have had a catalytic role in evoking a quasi-nationalistic interest in the literary achievement of mediaeval Scotland'.[124] I would argue that, in turn, this renewed interest in the native literary tradition offered suitable paradigms by which to frame and understand a political change as profoundly radical as Mary's deposition.

A figure like Lyndsay was still a 'transitional figure' in his own time, a supporter of church reform moving gradually away from the mode of general complaint. Sempill, motivated in 1567 by arguably far more pressing concerns, used 'many of the devices of the medieval satirist, but to new purposes and through a new medium';[125] he adapted the models of earlier writers to shape a specific response to contemporary debate, and in Mary's case to describe her political and moral shortcomings. As MacDonald points out, Scottish literary achievement could no longer be enjoyed 'merely for what it was, and strategies for dealing with old poetry in new contexts had to be developed'.[126] In the case of the satirical poems, the imperatives and goals of the new context strongly drove the strategic deployment of native verse, making the propagandist's way quite clear indeed. The controversy of Mary's reign and the 'insecure Protestant ascendancy' endowed Sempill's poetry with a keener, more precise edge.[127] By appropriating *topoi* and genres often associated with courtly literature – the *chanson d'aventure*, *de casibus*, classical

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[123] See A. A. MacDonald, 'The Bannatyne Manuscript – A Marian Anthology', *The Innes Review* 37 (spring 1986): 36-47. MacDonald considers Bannatyne's project in the context of 'the historical circumstances prevailing at the time of the compilation of the manuscript' (36). He suggests that the MS. began as a collection of love poems – about the time of Mary's marriage to Darnley (1565) – and, as the project evolved, Bannatyne 'had to make many fascinatingly devious accommodations to the deteriorating political and religious climate of the last two years of Mary's reign' (44).
[124] MacDonald, 'Scottish Poetry', 58.
[125] Lyall, 57.
[126] MacDonald, 'Scottish Poetry', 61.

catalogue, even Socratic dialogue – Sempill is able to 'erase [their] established lines of focus, and cast censorious eyes upon the queen herself': she becomes the greatest casualty of his acerbic specificity.[128] Yet her representation in these poems has never been adequately explored.[129] The following discussion, then, makes several critical moves: it determines how literary conventions – particularly those that erase or malign women – direct the representation of Mary and strip her of political authority; demonstrates how language, as a confirmation of national feeling, becomes the means of justice itself; and, finally, coming full circle, addresses the illusion that the condemnation of Mary is a populist affair, one in which women become key participants.

Like the mechanisms of the mermaid drawing, literary and cultural allusions in the poems work on multiple levels. While the poems bank upon familiarity and complacent expectation, the spectacle of contemporary figures and gossip conspicuously disrupts the usual paradigms. 'Ane Ballet declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', probably the first broadside poem to appear in 1567,[130] introduces the pervasive thematic interests of the poems and demonstrates the ways in which familiar *topoi* and narratives are brought to bear on the contemporary scene (Appendix 1.4). The poem begins thus:

> To Edinburgh about vj. houris at morne,
> As I was passand, pansand, out the way,
> Ane bony boy was soir makand his mone;
> His sory sang was oche and wallaway!
> That euer I sould byde to se that day!
> Ane King at euin, with Sceptur, Sword, & Crown,
> At morne bot ane deformit lumpe of clay,
> With tratouris strang sa cruellie put downe. (III.1-8)

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[127] Parkinson, 159.
[128] Ibid., 143.
[129] My focus here will be on the early broadside poems, those dating from before Carberry Hill and the summer following. Although I may have occasion to refer to some of the later poems, those mark a shift in political concerns: by July 1567, Mary was effectively removed from the political arena, and by August the Earl of Moray had been proclaimed Regent.
[130] STC 22196; surviving copy in the PRO, SP 52/13/47. Even though the poem is catalogued among the state papers of May, I agree with Cranstoun that it appeared earlier.

When the speaker inquires solicitously about the boy's distress, the latter conveniently summarises: 'Bludie Bothwell hes brocht our King to beir, / And flatter and fraude with dowbill Dalyday' (11-12). Recovering from momentary astonishment, the speaker asks the boy to describe the 'Kingis maneris, forme, and fassioun', anticipating the eulogy of Darnley promised by the poem's title (16). These opening lines are immediately recognisable as a *chanson d'aventure*, but their engagement with the contemporary political context transforms the effect. The poetic situation is marked by extreme specificity: a traveller *en route* to Edinburgh at six o'clock in the morning will hear about Darnley's murder by 'tratouris strang', Bothwell's connection to the deed, and his adulterous liaison with Scotland's own Delilah, Mary. The poem thus nudges the sad triumvirate of Darnley, Bothwell, and Mary onto the stage, to observe them play out their tragedy of connubial mistreatment, adultery, and murder. So convincing and startling is the tabloid quality of this particular *chanson d'aventure* that one might be tempted to attend only to the unfolding domestic drama.

These same lines, however, forestall such a reading by reminding us that the entire fiasco has more to do with affairs of state, with the making of Scottish history and the Stewart line of kings itself. The 'bony boy', for example, evokes the infant James, whom the Confederate Lords enlist as the emblematic and literal figurehead for their rebellion.[131] Moreover, the boy opens his lament by quoting almost directly from Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo*: 'At morne, ane king, with sceptour, sweird and croun, / Att evin, ane dede, deformit carioun'.[132] By recruiting these lines for his own purposes, the poet – for so the boy proclaims himself in the poem's final stanzas –

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[131] Kratzmann concurs with this reading ('Political Satire', 427). Evidence from other poems and drawings, presented later in this discussion, offers additional support.

[132] In Douglas Hamer, ed., *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1931), 1:70, ll. 484-5. Hereafter cited as Hamer edn. The general sense of these lines – how Fortune can drastically alter a situation between morn and evening – is proverbial, yet the poet's allusion to Lyndsay is quite explicit.

accomplishes several remarkable feats. Not only does he flaunt an admirable facility with the poetry of Scotland's eminent satirist, but he also adopts the established authority of Lyndsay's voice, thereby enrolling himself as a worthy participant in the native literary tradition.

Even more notable than the poet's appeal to literary tradition is the strategy of his poetic borrowing: his well-chosen quote brings a crucial episode of Scottish history to bear on the contemporary political situation. In the *Papyngo* reference, Lyndsay's king is James III, who in 1488 was overthrown in a *coup* led by his son and heir, the future James IV. Lyndsay recalls that during this civil war, 'the sonne, with baner braid displayit, / Agane the fader in battell come arrayit' – a mark of the intergenerational nature of the strife.[133] In Sempill's poem, however, the king is the bathetic Darnley – hardly the wielder of sceptor and sword – one moment convalescing at Kirk O'Field, the next a 'deformit lumpe of clay' left to rot in the garden. And, obviously, the infant James does not mastermind his father's murder; rather, when he is drafted for a rebellion, when he appears on 'baner braid displayit', it will be the one against his mother Mary. The echo of Lyndsay, then, works in a different way: it foregrounds a male narrative about Stewart kings and intestine strife, in which Darnley is the fallen king, eulogised by his surviving son. Palpably absent from this narrative is Mary, the legitimate reigning Stewart monarch, whose political demise *will* be brought about by a rebellion led metaphorically by her son. She enters this poem, simply and dismally, as 'dowbill Dalyday' – the 'double' and treacherous Delilah. This very early broadside poem, then, provides an outline of the case made against Mary more widely in the poems: placed in the context of Scottish history and Stewart kingship, she lacks any authority. She has failed in her duty of dispensing justice – with the crucial and infuriating exception of David Riccio's murder: 'Tresoun to

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[133] Hamer edn., 1:70, ll. 476-8.

try sho was that tyme maist stout; / But sho is slak to try this tresoun out' (92-3). Having disgraced her royal legacy by discarding the 'Iustice and equitie' traditionally used by the 'Stewartis stout' (77, 79), her nobles must be firm, punish treason, and 'all fantnes set asyde' (VI.81). Worse, Mary's court has become a 'bordell and ane theifis den' (VII.70), a place where sloth and luxury are presented as shameful examples to the realm. These are gendered accusations – even when levelled against a male figure – and emphasise that Mary's political failure results from an immorality largely attributable to her sex.[134]

According to the poems, in fact, the story of recent events in Scotland boils down somewhat predictably to one woman's unchecked passion. Moreover, that woman happens to be the Queen of Scotland, which – like the mermaid brandishing the implements of state – makes her political position all the more absurd. This antifeminist satire takes formal shape in the poems through the catalogue or compilation of examples. Derived from Ovid's *Heroides*, the catalogue device was a literary convention used extensively by authors such as Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Christine de Pisan; it was applied 'to evil women and masculine martyrs, or to noble women whether amazonic, chaste, or the martyrs of man's lust'.[135] Sempill's application of this structural model allows him to prove Mary's moral dissipation by associating her with a host of women – deceptive Delilah, cruel Jezebel, and murderous Clytemnestra, to name a few. Delilah dominates the early stanzas of the 'Nobill and Gude inclination of our King': in this role, for example, Mary departs from Darnley on the fateful February night in a flurry of cunning words, dancing the evening away until the explosion at Kirk o'Field assures her that 'hir gude Lord was slane' (III.33). When the poet condemns Mary for pursuing Riccio's murderers but not Darnley's, she becomes the 'cruell Jesabell' (III.99). Of the familiar figures who

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[134] See my discussion in chapter 2 about the association of tyranny and femininity.
[135] Francis Lee Utley, *The Crooked Rib* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1944), 44. Another useful resource is Alcuin Blamires, ed., with Karen Pratt and C. S. Marx, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

endow cultural meaning to Mary's actions, Clytemnestra, the murderous wife, seems to be the most fitting and therefore the most appealing to the satirist.[136] Becoming feverish in his exhortations for revenge, the 'bony boy' finally bursts forth with 'Fy! fle fra Clitemnestra fell' (III.143). In another poem, 'the testament and tragedie of vmquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie',[137] Clytemnestra – who 'for Egistus face, / Agamemnon, the mychtie King of Greice, / Hir husband slew' (IV.143-5) – appears along with a host of other 'wickit wemen' (IV.109), who perform their 'crewell work of wretheit womanheid' in 'luiffis raige' (IV.135, 134). These women seem wholly reasonable, even expected, analogues to Mary: they provide ready-made narratives about the dangers posed by powerful women, onto which Mary's story can then be grafted. Nevertheless, Sempill's catalogues are remarkable for their excess – the early broadside poems are literally saturated with female characters – and some of his choices seem to undermine his ruling agenda. How, after all, might Hero or Thisbe – both of whom make appearances – serve Sempill's purpose? Francis Utley's suggestion that the catalogue of women achieves its effect by cumulative symbolism, and not by logic, seems especially apt here.[138] Sempill's lengthy roll call of women simply desensitises the reader into assuming Mary's commonness, her unavoidable womanhood – under the present circumstances, a serious indictment in itself.[139]

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[136] Clytemnestra serves as analogue to Mary in English representations as well. John Pikeryng's interlude *Horestes*, performed during the 1567-8 Twelfth Night celebrations of Elizabeth's court, presents Mary as a modern Clytemnestra who has ruthlessly slaughtered her husband. As Karen Robertson has noted, the play seems to offer advice to Elizabeth by exploring the 'justifications for interference in the affairs of another state and [condoning] deposition of a queen without undermining sovereign power entirely by defining Clytemnestra as an adulterous woman and tyrant, thus one who has forgone all respect as a ruler' ('The Body Natural of a Queen: Mary, James, *Horestes*', *Renaissance and Reformation* 26.1 [1990]: 25). This certainly echoes the justification for Mary's deposition that appears in the satirical poetry.

[137] STC 22199; only surviving copy located in the BL, Cotton Calig. C.i, fol. 26.

[138] Utley, 44.

[139] In terms of antifeminism in contemporary Scottish poetry, one can also look to Part IV, 'ballattis of luve', in the Bannatyne MS., which contains a striking collection of misogynistic poems. For George Bannatyne's editorial practices with regard to this section, see Evelyn S. Newlyn, '"The Wryttar to the Reidaris": Editing Practices and Politics in the Bannatyne Manuscript', *SSL* 31 (1999): 14-30. Sarah M. Dunnigan has an interesting reading of how this material relates to Mary in her second chapter of *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Yet the extent and quality of the poet's rage against Mary can be explained by a more pertinent Ovidian context, conveniently invoked by the 'bony boy' in the 'Nobill and Gude inclination of our King':

> Now all the wois that Ouid in Ibin
> Into his pretty lytill buik did wryte,
> And mony mo be to oure Scottish Quene,
> For sho the cause is of my wofull dyte.
> Sa mot hir hart be fillit full of syte,
> As Herois was for Leanderis deth,
> Hir self to slay for wo quha thocht delyte:
> For Henryis [Darnley] saik to lyke our Quene war laith. (III.153-60)

The *Ibis* was one of Ovid's major exilic productions, a poem directed against an unnamed enemy in Rome and of such sustained invective that one can imagine its appeal for practitioners of Scottish flyting.[140] Filling nearly 400 lines, the poem's catalogue lists countless gruesome deaths suffered by mythological and legendary heroes, all to explore 'every possible avenue of death for Ibis'.[141] Thomas Underdowne, who translated the *Ibis* in 1569, described the effect thus: 'There is nether story, nor tale almost, from the beginning vnto hys tyme, wherin any ill luck was noted, to happen to any man, but the Poet wisheth the same to light vpon his aduersary'.[142] Gareth Williams has argued, however, that there is method to Ovid's 'seemingly unending' stream of *exempla*: 'Ovid's approach in the *Ibis* is to exploit the disconcerting potential of elliptical narrative: by obliquely conveying only certain details of each story, and by restricting each allusion to a single couplet, Ovid keeps turning the torturer's screw'.[143] By 'pruning' each narrative,

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[140] Two works by Gareth D. Williams provide a rich analysis of Ovid's exilic corpus. The broader study is 'Ovid's exile poetry: *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Ibis*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie, 233-45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). A thorough discussion of *Ibis* may be found in Williams's *The Curse of Exile: A Study of Ovid's* Ibis, Cambridge Philological Society, vol. 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[141] Williams, 'Ovid's Exile Poetry', 243.

[142] Thomas Underdowne, trans., *Ouid his inuectiue against Ibis* (London: Thomas East, & Henry Middleton, 1569), Aiiii[r] (STC 18949). I have not been able to confirm who might have owned a copy of Ovid's *Ibis* in Scotland. But see John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* [Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961], 60, 178.

[143] Williams, *Curse of Exile*, 90.

Ovid accelerates the pace of his catalogue, his 'dream-like fantasy of revenge' becoming more and more obsessive.[144]

The influence of *Ibis* explains Sempill's narrative excess, as well as the psychology of his 'bony boy'. As the lines from the 'Nobill and Gude inclination of our King' indicate, Sempill imagines his Ibis as 'oure Scottish Quene', and he desires to outdo even Ovid in his cursing. Like Ovid's, Sempill's *exempla* are usually elliptical, relying on a shared knowledge of common narratives. Without this Ovidian context, some of the women who grace Sempill's catalogue are, indeed, surprising: Hero, Dido, Thisbe, and Penelope would appear antitypes to Mary. Undoubtedly, their devotion provides a contrast to Sempill's portrait of Mary. Yet these women are enrolled primarily because of their intense suffering, enabling the poet to endow Mary with the legacy of all of their woes. In addition to the sorrow of Hero, he wishes Mary Dido's 'doloure', Thisbe's (lack of) 'lauchter', and Penelope's 'langour'. The catalogue imagines a closed system: either a woman shows devotion and suffers, or she is powerful and suffers; either perspective offers the 'bony boy' a narrative by which to measure Mary. As in *Ibis*, he also imagines Mary experiencing gruesome deaths, such as the 'worthy wyfe of dowchtie Duik Jason, / Quha brint was in ane garment wrocht be slycht / Off Medea throw incantation' (166-9). It is Jezebel, a favourite Protestant epithet for Mary, who provides the cruellest vigour to this section of the poem:

> Hir [Mary's] duilsum deith be wars than Jesabell,
> Quhome throw ane windo suirlie men did thraw,
> Quhais blude did laip the cruell hundis fell,
> And doggis could hir wicket bainis gnaw. (173-6)

Ovid had consigned Ibis to a similar fate:

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[144] Williams, 'Ovid's Exile Poetry', 243. Williams's *Curse of Exile* discusses the psychology of the poem at length, while addressing the extent to which Ovid was indebted to the Hellenistic tradition of curse poetry.

The iust earth shal not graunt thy corps,
a place wherein to lye.
The Ravens shall with crooked beak,
and talans draw a part
Thy entrayles, and the greedy Dogs,
deuoure thy faithlesse heart.[145]

The biblical Jezebel wrests this catalogue from the pages of a classical text, coarsely placing the matter back in the context of sin and consequence, more familiar territory for the Reforming spirit. Finally, the 'bony boy' launches into an agitated, personal tirade against Mary – strange on its own though rendered more intelligible given his debt to Ovid. He threatens to pursue her in various animal forms ('War I ane hund, o gif sho war ane hair, / And I ane cat and sho ane lyttill mous, / And sho ane bairne and I ane wylde wod bair...'), their spirits forever at 'mortall feid', until he sees her plunged into the 'fylthie flude of hell' and tormented by 'Cerberus, that cruell hund sa fell' (III.177-92). The boy's imagined pursuit may seem absurd, but Sempill's narrative technique is calculated to achieve a certain effect and, even more importantly, it announces its indebtedness to and participation in a poetic tradition – to 'Ouid in Ibin', to the artistry of the catalogue and curse poetry. Sempill's literary game is sinister, however, because his Ibis does not remain unnamed, nor immune to his retribution.

Sempill's catalogues blend historical allusion, literary convention, and political concerns to highlight Mary's inability to govern Scotland. 'Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust quarrell', which dates from late summer 1567, confirms this purpose by placing Mary in a long line of tyrannical rulers.[146] (See Appendix 1.6.) The poem's political philosophy makes it arguably the most important poem of the collection. Here, the poet figure pays homage to other medieval conventions, namely the *locus amoenus* and an overheard dialogue: as he strolls 'intill ane place was plesand to behauld', he hears

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[145] Underdowne, Cii^{v}-Ciii^{r}.
[146] STC 22192; located in the PRO, SP 52/14/73; and in the BL, Cotton Calig. C.i, fol. 11 (Cranstoun has fol. 10, but renumbering has shifted the copy forward by one folio) and Roxburghe Ballads 2:569. The

a debate between 'twa leirnit men', Philandrius and Erideilus, whose talk of 'this Realme and gouerning' gets duly reported to us (VII.2-3, 14). As the fall guy of the poem, Erideilus poses the right questions – why have the lords risen against Mary and Bothwell, can the Queen be lawfully detained, should princes be subject to the same punishments as private persons? His well-timed inquiries enable Philandrius to propound a theory of popular sovereignty, encompassing not only the definitions of kingship and tyranny but also the civic responsibility which demands the overthrow of a prince who has failed to maintain 'the weill of that countrie' (25). Philandrius even explains the origins of kingship,

> Quhen ruid pepill assemblit thame togidder,
> And maid thair Kingis be creatiounis.
> In votis than war variatiounis.
> I trow rycht few was chosin be the haill,
> Bot he was King quhais pairtie did preuaill. (136-40)

And what the people have given by consent of the majority, they can take away – and 'set ane better in the steid' (157). Philandrius's arguments engage with contemporary European debates about the roles and responsibilities of princes and their subjects. And in Scotland, the poem specifically recalls John Knox's arguments about what allegiance subjects owe to their temporal superiors as well as George Buchanan's theories, at this very moment beginning to take shape in his *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus*.[147] Whereas other poems, such as the 'Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', have insisted on Mary's misbehaviour and urged the Lords to action, 'Ane Declaratioun'

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verso of the PRO copy is endorsed with 'The lordis of Scotlands quarrel sett out in metre'.

[147] The correspondences between Buchanan's theories and those expressed in this poem are striking. J. H. Burns reviews the similarities and differences in *The True Law of Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 185-8. In addition, with the *De iure regni*, the poem shares (albeit somewhat loosely) the dialogue form, a preoccupation with figures and values of republican Rome, a strategic application of Scottish history, and a conviction in the effeminacy of tyrants (16). For more about Buchanan's political theories, see Mason, *Kingship*; id., 'People Power? George Buchanan on Resistance and the Common Man', in *Widerstandsrecht in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Robert von Friedeburg, 163-81 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001); and id., '*Rex Stoicus*: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, eds. John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch, 9-33 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982). For more on Knox, see Mason, ed., *On*

explores the political implications of her overthrow in detail and seeks to justify her detention and deposition. The poet does not mince words. Philandrius confirms what has been alluded to elsewhere, describing Mary's court as having descended into 'reif, to murther, and wyle licherie' (57); Mary herself is characterised, somewhat pathetically, as having been 'bewitcheit' by Bothwell, the 'poysone in hir hart' so powerful that she 'will not consent he puneist be' (120-1). Through the influence of Bothwell, she has become 'reft lyke ane huire', complicit in her own ravishing and disgrace (51). Having disregarded both her 'office and honestie' (123), Mary has given the Scottish nobility a 'quarrell gude', a ruler who 'fra vice can not be callit back' (154, 158), and they are obliged to seize her crown lest the commonweal 'ga to wrak' (155, 159). Only to a small degree does Philandrius maintain the fiction that if Mary can be purged of her 'fylthie lust', she might once more, 'with gude consall to guyde', regain her authority (122, 223).

In fact, with regard to the relationship between kings and their people 'quha in beginning did the heid vp mak' (156), Philandrius pontificates so successfully that one little doubts that Mary has already been branded a tyrant who deserves to be dethroned permanently. Eridielus, handy foil that he is, foolishly admits that he can find 'few examplis' in which a prince's overthrow was just, prompting Philandrius to cite as evidence a host of nasty tyrants from classical history. He kicks off this catalogue, however, with an example from the more germane context of Scottish history, of a king who betrayed his people:

> As, gif ane King his pepill wald betray,
> And him and thame baith bring to seruitude,
> He sould in this reformit be, I say,
> Naimly be Nobillis and be men of gude.
> The Baliols cause – considder how it stude:
> Quhat rycht had Robert Bruice him to expell?
> Because to Ingland he subiect him sell. (162-8)

Rebellion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Like the reference in an earlier poem to the overthrow of James III, this specific historical allusion to the Bruce-Balliol conflict is intended to illuminate the current situation. Here, Robert Bruce has rescued Scotland from John Balliol, a king willing to allow himself and his realm to be dominated by another country. Bruce's assumption of power, though itself not morally irreproachable, was finally justified by a decisive victory over the English at Bannockburn in 1314; his leadership abilities confirmed, the community rallied to his cause. He had defended the independence of Scotland, whether England chose to recognise it or not.[148] In the same way, the nobles must now rescue Scotland from the clutches of Mary, or rather the 'huirmaisters' and murderers to whom she has subjected the country: her removal becomes a matter of national security. The example of Robert Bruce – who marks the beginning of the Stewart dynasty – also draws attention to Mary's failure as a Scottish monarch: her progenitor's vigorous defence of the realm sharpens the edge of her moral failure, her betrayal of her political birthright. For good measure, Philandrius also reminds Erideilus that Mary's forced removal is not altogether without precedent, that many Scottish kings have been lawfully imprisoned by the 'Nobill Barronis of this land' (183). For proof, one need only 'reid the buik' (186), which surely indexes the chronicles of Scotland, in this instance most likely Hector Boece's immensely popular *Scotorum Historia* (1527), or perhaps John Bellenden's 1531 vernacular translation of that work. The poet's method has a calculated effect: summoning the spectre of Bruce and citing the Scottish historical tradition places Mary within specific native contexts and discourses, widely familiar to the Scottish community. Appraised according to these standards, she not only lacks authority but also poses a real threat to the integrity of the kingdom of Scotland. Having established native precedent, Philandrius can concentrate more fully on colourful examples, comparing the sad state of Mary's

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[148] See Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

court to the lust, cruelty, and brutishness of classical tyrants, Sardanapalus and Nero topping the list. Tyrants are so plentiful, 'in euerie land examplis dois abound' (195), that, finally, Philandrius deems it necessary to curtail his catalogue: 'Off Commodus, Caius, and Caracall, / It war to lang for descriue the fall' (202-3). Before allowing his browbeaten comrade to skulk away, Philandrius adds one final and noteworthy touch to his catalogue of notorious rulers – a woman, Joanna, Queen of Naples.

Joanna was Countess of Provence and Queen of Naples from 1343 to 1382. Like Mary, she was suspected of being involved in her husband's assassination and of marrying his murderer, though she secured a papal declaration of her innocence and managed to stay in power for years after this scandal. Nevertheless, her reign was plagued by intrigue, not to mention numerous marriages, and she was eventually imprisoned and murdered.[149] To Mary's opponents, she seemed a highly suitable figure with which to compare their own queen – quite ominous when one considers Joanna's untimely demise.[150] In anti-Marian propaganda, she makes her debut in Philandrius's catalogue.

The passage deserves to be quoted at length:

> Quhat sorow into Naples than was sene!
> Quha knawis the story cleirly thair may reid

University Press,1991), 3-31.

[149] Boccaccio writes of Joanna in his final entry to *De mulieribus claris* (1361). Her portrait is entirely flattering, however; he describes her as 'not only remarkable and striking for her splendid fame, but a singular glory of Italy such as has never before been seen by any nation' (CVI.14). He even claims in the Dedication to have considered dedicating his book to her, but because her 'royal luster is so dazzling' (Ded. 2-3), he offers his work to Andrea Acciaiuoli, Countess of Altavilla. As it so happens, this Countess was sister to one of the powers behind Joanna's throne and an old friend of Boccaccio, Niccolò Acciaiuoli (xi-xiv). Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. Virginia Brown, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[150] Joanna is also mentioned in the fourth part of the Book of Articles, a document against Mary used by Moray's delegation at the York and Westminster conferences of 1568. (Preserved in BL, Additional MS. 33531, and printed in John Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 2 vols. [Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1869], 1:523-49.) See my second chapter for more detailed discussion of this document. Joanna makes another fascinating appearance in Bodl., 80 Rawlinson 14, in a piece entitled 'An Analogie or resemblance betwene Joan Q. of Naples, & Mary Q. of Scots' (fols. 56-8). The piece compares Joanna's and Mary's stories in detail and give historical sources for each. (Sources for Mary's tale include George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* [1582] and her own – dubious – letters.) It has clearly been copied, text and marginal notations, from an anonymous book printed after Mary's execution, *A defence of the honorable sentence and execution of the Queene of Scots* (London: John Windet, 1587). The Rawlinson manuscript receives notice in W. Oldys, 'Henry Earl of Derby's Historical and Political Collections, relating to some years of Queen Elizabeth's Reign', *The British Librarian* 5 (May 1737): 275-6.

Quhen Charlis dochter, Jeane, that catiue Quene,
Baith honestie foryet and womanheid,
Hir husband and hir cousing put to deid,
Syne with his Burrio band ane new mariage.
Allace! this sample seruis ower weill our age.

And yit the Lord he leit hir not eschaip,
Bot of hir tuik ane punishement conding;
Quha first hir husband hangist in ane raip,
The murtherer syne in his bed did bring;
God maid hir paine aggre with hir guyding.
As bedfoly to sic mischeif hir led,
Euin so she endit, smorit with a bed. (204-17)

The poet takes obvious pleasure in the poetic justice of Joanna's condign punishment, her sexual excess ('bedfoly') snuffed out with 'a bed', and, in this context, the fiction that Mary will reign again seems insupportable. The catalogues of Philandrius, of the 'bony boy', even of Darnley in 'the testament and tragedie of vmquhile king Henrie', all filled with quasi-legendary figures who populate classical, biblical, and Scottish antiquity, thus culminate with a flesh-and-blood queen of the not-so-distant past, whose narrative appears to dovetail perfectly with Mary's. Joanna's appearance, especially as a postscript to a long list of male tyrants, is jarring, not only for her sex but also for her proximity and novelty. She is an 'ower weill' example for this particular age, and her unanticipated presence wrenches the catalogue device from the banality and wonderlessness of a well-worn literary tradition. Philandrius's concern for the Scottish commonweal seems pressing, substantive, and, for Mary, menacing. Until this point, one might have objected that all sixteenth-century poetry draws heavily on the traditions of medieval antifeminism, on devices like the catalogue, and that Sempill's – or any other poet's – incorporation of such material simply reflects his literary heritage. This is true, of course. But it is one thing to use the catalogue device as a courtly pastime or even a more serious foray into the *querrell de femmes*. It is a wholly different gesture to drag these figures from an historical, even legendary, world into a highly charged political imbroglio and have them

serve a specific agenda – literally, to subpoena them as witnesses to the treasonable womanhood of Mary. Surely Joanna, out of female solidarity, would have preferred to plead the Fifth Amendment.

The organising principle of Philandrius's catalogue – paramount for his political philosophy – is undoubtedly tyrannical rule, its perpetrators deposed through the civic concern of 'Nobillis and be men of gude' (165). But underwriting the morality of every tyrant's presentation is another important medieval genre which heavily influences much of Sempill's poetry: *de casibus*, the fall of princes, whom Fortune has plucked from power and who testify to their earthly vanity, thereby serving as a warning to all. One might expect, given this dimension of Philandrius's catalogue, that Mary is being similarly cast as a fallen prince – and, undoubtedly, the pathos of the *de casibus* framework is meant to cushion the blow of the rebellion against her. Yet, both she and Joanna seem to be excluded from the genre, the latter structurally so, as her introduction into the poem is mindfully positioned outwith the list of those for whom 'it war to lang for to descriue the fall' (203).[151] Mary's exclusion requires more clarification. In the 'Nobill and Gude inclination', the poet turns to Boccaccio to seek assistance from an author whom he considers an expert in matters of female wickedness:[152]

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[151] This is not to suggest that women never participate in the *de casibus* tradition, but their appearance can be problematic. The 1563 edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, for example, introduces an English woman into *de casibus* tragedy – Jane Shore, whose tale was written by Thomas Churchyard; Elianor Cobham followed in the 1578 edition. Paul Budra argues that '*de casibus* literature was a form of history writing that used concatenated biographies to demonstrate a teleology...at work in the course of human events' (xiii). As a vehicle for lessons in history and power, the tradition does not allow for representations of women, and when they do appear, 'the significance of the tragedy is personal rather than public' (67). Eventually, women begin to move out of the tradition altogether, to be 'consigned to the nunneries of sonnet sequences and miscellanies' (69). Paul Budra, A Mirror for Magistrates *and the* de casibus *Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). The work of both Götz Schmitz and John Kerrigan also pertains to the topic of dramatic complaint. Schmitz, *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Kerrigan, ed., *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and 'Female Complaint': A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[152] Paul Budra points out that Boccaccio's reputation for misogyny arises less from his 'representations of women that are presented in *De casibus [virorum illustrium (1356-1360)]* than in a famous digression against women in that book' (60). His *De mulieribus claris*, although associated with the *de casibus* tradition, would not have been as influential in the English Renaissance, given the popularity of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (61-2).

War Johne Bochas on lyue as he is deid,
Worthy workis wald wryte in hir contempt,
Alsweill of tresoun as of womanheid:
Thairto his pen wald euer mair be bent
Hir for till shame, and bludie Bothwell shent… (III.193-7)[153]

For a Scottish and English audience, 'Johne Bochas', an explicit reference to one of the most important promulgators of the *de casibus* genre, would hark back less to Boccaccio than to Lydgate, whose translation of the *De casibus virorum illustrium*, *The Fall of Princes* (ca. 1432-8), enjoyed a 'wide and varied circulation' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[154] And this same quote explicitly recalls Lyndsay, whose Cardinal Beaton in *The Tragedie of the Cardinall* laments that 'war Jhone Bochas on lyve, / My tragedie at lenth he wald discryve' (27-8), a poem, incidentally, whose stylistic influence can also be seen in Sempill's 'The Bischoppis Lyfe and Testament', an attack on John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.[155] 'Johne Bochas', then, inevitably brings to mind the *de casibus* tradition, but this instance seems to rely more on his reputation for promulgating antifeminist sentiment.[156] The 'bony boy' trusts that this 'Bochas', if he were alive, could attack and shame Mary for both her treason and womanhood – her treason her complicity in the death of a king, the 'vmquhile King Henrie Stewart', her female frailty the prime mover for the whole sordid mess. His call for 'Bochas' is answered in large part by the full-scale invective against women in the next poem, a railing against feminine 'mylde

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[153] Another reference occurs in Sempill's 'Ane Complaint vpon Fortoun': 'The worthie Bocas, in his morall buke, / The Fall of Princes plainly dois compyle' (XLIII.9-10).

[154] A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Influence of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes c.* 1440-1559: A Survey', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 428. For the circulation of Lydgate's poetry among Scottish audiences, see Joanna Martin, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (2002), 8-9 and Appendix 1. It is also worth mentioning here that certain aspects of Sempill's poems suggest Lydgate's direct influence: Edwards points out, for example, that Lydgate's adaptation of Boccaccio 'seems to have had an appeal based on content rather than decoration', and he traces this emphasis on sententiousness even to the lack of decoration on manuscript copies of the *Fall* (430-1). Arguably, the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides reflect a similar impulse. Related to this moralising urge and even more convincing is Sempill's use of the envoy – a singularly Lydgatean development in *de casibus* tragedy – in a poem like 'The Regentis Tragedie ending with ane exhortatioun' (XII).

[155] Cranstoun, XXVIII. The poem begins traditionally, with the 'pieteous spreit' of Hamilton appearing to the poet who has been pondering the 'mutabiliteis / Of this Inconstant warld' (1-2).

[156] See Alain Renoir, 'Attitudes Toward Women in Lydgate's Poetry', *English Studies* 42 (1961): 1-14; and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Lydgate's Attitudes Toward Women', *English Studies* 52 (1970): 436-7.

meiknes sylit [masked] with subtilities', like 'Medeais helters to bring vs in your net' (IV.116, 117).[157]

Whereas Joanna's exclusion from this genre was structural, Mary's is rhetorical, signalling a more literal displacement – her removal from the Scottish throne – and emphasising, once again, the unreasonableness of allowing a woman to wield political power. In the two satirical poems which certainly pre-date Carberry Hill, Mary hardly seems to be the reigning Stewart monarch at all. The lavish eulogy of Darnley – extolling his 'meiknes' and nobility, his martial feats, his talents for music and rhetoric, his 'twinkland Cristell eine...and vult heroycall' (III.58-9) – stands in stark contrast to the disparaging portrait of Mary as domestic fury: when her infatuation with Darnley 'cuild' sufficiently she turned adulterous and murderous wife, 'frely fred from all aduersitie' through the 'Sacrifice' of her excellent husband (III.76, IV.72). And the occasional reference to 'our Quene' only serves to emphasise the incongruity of her sovereignty with her womanhood. Just as Philandrius suggests that she has stained the honour of the Bruce's achievement, the 'bony boy' overtly links her bad behaviour with the decline of the Stewart line:

> O Stewartis stout, ha! benedicitie!
> War ye not Royis in this Regioun,
> And ay did vse Justice and equitie?
> And now your glas of honestie is run. (III.77-80)

Darnley, on the other hand, is more than mere husband or consort – he is a Stewart king, as the titles of both poems remind us: 'the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', 'the vmquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie'. Mary married him, perhaps, but the

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[157] Besides this and another reference in the satirical poems (I.169), I have found only one other reference to Medea in early anti-Marian propaganda, a woman one might expect to see more of in this context. More surprisingly, that reference occurs in Casket Letter IV, where Mary fears that she will be cast off as Bothwell's second love, like Medea was cast off by Jason. She steps away from the comparison somewhat: 'Not that I will compare you to ane sa vnhappy as he was, nor yit my selfe to ane sa vnpitiful a woman as sche. Howbeit ye caus me to be sumquhat like vnto hyr in any thing that touchis you, or that may preserue and keip you vnto hir, to quhome onely ye appertaine' (Wiii$^{r\text{-}v}$). The narrator of the *Detectioun* naturally

poorer people 'did pryse thair Maker of mycht, / That send thame ane Stewart sa Kyndelie to Ring' (IV.23-4). To have pulled him 'fra his hie potent gloir, / Quhome God did place be ordinance dewyne' is a crime of shocking treason (III.127-8). Thus, in 'The testament and tragedie of vmquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie', Darnley eclipses Mary as the fallen prince. It is *his* testament, *his* voice that warns fellow princes against 'warldlie welth' and the inconstancy of fortune, settling the question of Mary's political relevance, even before her crown is seized from her. Mary is rhetorically deposed, already impotent, and although echoes of the *de casibus* tradition allude to her fall from power, she is not allowed to participate in its catharsis. Casting Darnley in the role of the fallen prince deprives Mary, the actual Stewart monarch, of any political efficacy. In this *de casibus* narrative, she has no voice but simply functions as a specific, contemporary example of a wicked woman, who has brought on the destruction of a prince.[158]

Darnley is not the only Stewart male in these poems who effects Mary's displacement. While accentuating Darnley's kingship may figuratively diminish Mary's political prestige, the mere existence of the infant James threatens her hold on the crown. He will be the male solution to a female Stewart who has emptied the 'glas of honestie'. The necessity for preserving and protecting the young prince reverberates across the early poems: in his 'testament,' Darnley asks that his 'Bab and Childe [be] vnder the Counsallis cuire' (IV.183), and Sempill's exhortations to the lords usually include an injunction to 'Keip weil your Prince, & for him pray / That God indew him with his grace' (V.129).

But, as I have already suggested, James himself makes important personal appearances.

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pounces on this reference, asking readers to 'call to minde that part of hir letters to Bothwell quhairin sche maketh hir selfe Medea, that is, a woman that nouther in loue nor in hatrit can kepe any meane' (Gii[r]).

[158] By the end of the century, after years of debate about her reputation, Mary is finally given her own testament. *The legend of Mary, queen of Scots*, written probably by Thomas Wenman around the turn of the seventeenth century, seems to be an attempt to add Mary's tale to the *Mirror for Magistrates* tradition. (ed. John Fry [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810].)

He is recalled by the 'bony boy', a poet figure who will 'wryte...In Poetrie narratioun of the cryme' (III.219-21). And in another poem, 'The Kingis Complaint', the poet clearly reports his words: 'With hauie hard, on Snadoun hill, / ane young King I hard schoutand schill' (XIV.1-2). This poem, however, dates to early 1570 and exemplifies the shift of concerns in the later satirical poems.[159] In the 'Kingis Complaint', for example, James no longer laments his father's murder but rather the assassination of the Earl of Moray, the protector who restored his 'stait maist hie' after Darnley's death and his mother's disgrace (XIV.33). Nevertheless, both the early and late poems mark an important representational trend. The boy figure becomes not merely the young king who will assume his mother's throne, but, more complexly, the medium through which her removal (and punishment) can be sanctioned. And so Sempill's broadside poems begin to reflect the ways in which the Confederate Lords discovered they might exploit the infant prince: James becomes not only their figurehead – the legitimate heir to replace the wayward queen – but also their visual and verbal emblem, a small child crying mightily for revenge against their enemies, whether Mary or her supporters more generally.

A brief look at two contemporary drawings will help illuminate the principles at work here, as their visual representations intersect forcefully with Sempill's poetry. A sketch of the scene of Darnley's murder at Kirk o'Field survives in the Public Record Office (Appendix 1.7).[160] It is a busy piece of evidence, attempting to present all at once the demolished house and environs, the half-naked bodies in the garden, the gathering

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[159] As Cranstoun explains in his notes, the poem has been erroneously dated to 1567. Its content unequivocally belies this interpretation. Jamie Reid-Baxter usefully examines some of the concerns of Sempill's later productions in '"Judge and revenge my cause": the Earl of Morton, Andro Blackhall, Robert Sempill and the fall of the House of Hamilton in 1579', in *Older Scottish Literature*, ed. Sally Mapstone, vol. 3, forthcoming.

[160] PRO, MPF 1/366. The sketch probably dates from May or June 1567. The reasons for the dispatch of this item to London are obvious: the drawing, akin to a police report or an in-depth news summary, recreates the scene for someone unfamiliar with the area. The place of Darnley's murder has always had a whiff of intrigue about it – the mysteriously chosen place of convalescence, the rival Hamiltons living nearby, the logistics of depositing the gunpowder, and so on – and this sketch duly exploits the physical aspects of the murder scene.

crowds, the burial of Darnley's servant, the removal of Darnley's body, and, most striking of all, the infant James sitting upright in his bed, his cry, 'Judge and reuenge my caus o lord', neatly inscribed in a banner issuing from his praying hands. Time is oddly suspended, past tragedy and immediate aftermath neatly synchronic, and casting James as the voice of revenge, his bed and banner hovering over the scene, places retribution on the same temporal plane with the murder and reaction of the community. His plea for justice and revenge eventually crops up in Sempill's poetry, becoming a familiar refrain in 1567 and in the chaotic years that followed. As a direct quotation of Psalm 43, it must have had exceptional appeal for the Protestant members of the anti-Marian faction, and served quite prominently as the slogan for the Confederate Lords at Carberry Hill.[161] The Lords' banner, proudly carried into the confrontation with Mary and Bothwell – a reproduction of which also survives in the Public Record Office – portrays James kneeling over the dead figure of his father, these same words issuing similarly from his hands clasped in prayer (Appendix 1.8).[162] Carberry Hill, then, the locale of Mary's apprehension and removal from the political arena, inheres in the sketch of Kirk o'Field: retribution and rebellion are already present at the scene of Darnley's demise. As Mary had failed to revenge Darnley's murder, the representation of James and his slogan point directly to Mary.[163] Indeed, a few days after the Queen's capture, Drury reported to Cecil that, having led Mary back to Edinburgh in disgrace, the Lords made a point to show her

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[161] Jamie Reid-Baxter discusses the use of this slogan, though his focus differs from mine. The slogan proved so effective that it was adopted after the assassination of Moray in 1570. See the poem, 'The Kingis Complaint' (XIV), whose refrain is variations on the theme, 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord'.

[162] PRO, MPF 1/366. Pitscottie reports the use of this banner: 'And thaireftir thay maid ane assignay and pat vpone it ane pictour of ane deid bodie quhilk representit the kingis bodie and thair was writtin abone his heid. "Judge and reveng my cause o lord"' (2:195).

[163] Fraser notes that 'throughout the summer of 1567, the blame for Mary's downfall was heaped by the lords on Bothwell; the Queen's crime was considered to be her refusal to abandon him' (405). Accusations for Darnley's murder came later, according to Fraser, especially after Mary's flight to England, when the Lords had to justify themselves to Elizabeth's commissioners. While this is certainly true, it is naïve to suggest that no rumours of Mary's involvement in the murder existed, associated as she was with Bothwell in spring 1567.

their banner, hanging it from the window of the lodging in which she was being held.[164] Although Mary may be visually absent from the Kirk o'Field drawing, her presence is palpable not only as the necessary link between murdered father and infant son, but also as a monarch who has failed to dispense justice. This is much more than a dispassionate diagram of a tragic event: the justification for deposing the Queen resides in the representation itself.

James VI and his slogan figure more and more prominently as the propaganda of 1567 wears on and the terms of the Lords' 'cause' against Mary become clearer. Several observations can be made in this regard. As I suggested at the outset of this chapter, the murder of Darnley and, to an even greater extent, its ensuing events provoked moral outrage against Mary; and this indignation, whether entirely reasonable or not, provided grounds upon which the Lords could move against her. While the pathos of James and his plea, floating over the corpse of Darnley, undoubtedly recalls the sins which have been committed, it also discloses more pragmatic reasons for ousting Mary: political and religious power. Paraded prominently as a figurehead for their rebellion, James, at one year old, is a sovereign infinitely easier to control politically. Furthermore, the orphaned infant, unable to vocalise his distress, nevertheless overcomes his muteness: speaking through the Psalms, he performs the Protestant emphasis on scripture and personal prayer to God. Using the principles of the Reformed Scottish kirk, James appeals for divine assistance, and his very cry signifies the beginning of the revenge. The power of retribution lies in the word itself – and, consequently, in the form of propaganda, banner or broadside or drawing, on which it is emblazoned.[165] The Lords knew this instinctively, as replication within the drawings reveals. Like a set of nesting dolls, banner and slogan are embedded in each drawing. A tiny reproduction of the Lords' banner, for example, is

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[164] *CSP, Foreign (1566-8)*, item 1313.

visible in another contemporary sketch, which depicts the arrangement of troops at Carberry Hill.[166] Thus, in three drawings – the murder scene, the banner carried at Carberry Hill, and the arrangement of troops there – the infant king observes the scene, his words in a banner of their own and, importantly, inscribed to appear printed. Not only do these drawings function as banners themselves – to be carried into battle or passed along to others – but the act of publicising that very same propaganda is also recorded within each representation. While the Lords trumpeted their cause, issuing printed declarations and marching into battle, their most powerful visual weapons were the contemporary sketches which replicated and gave material justification to their actions.

The broadside poems, as the linguistic counterparts to these drawings and banners, reflect a keen appreciation of the power of language to become the source of revenge and to shape the course of events. The *topos* of reporting an overheard dialogue or the words of an authoritative figure, for example, can now have considerable consequence. The poet who is privy to the conversation between Philandrius and Erideilus, by putting 'in wryt thair disputatioun', gives textual and material reality to a political philosophy with profound implications for the Scottish nation. The 'Ballat declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King' demands that its audience consider the consequences an act of writing might have for Scotland. Speaking to the Lords who subscribe to the new Kirk, the 'bony boy' threatens that unless they perform their duty of dispensing justice, he shall 'wryte in prettie poetrie / In Latine leid, in style Rethoricall, / Quhilk throw all Europe sall ring lyke ane bell' (III.139-41). The boy warns them to act decisively or risk embarrassment on the world's stage. No mean versifier, the boy will give his art international appeal by writing rhetorically sophisticated Latin poetry. Furthermore, he exhorts the Lords to condemn these 'tratouris deidis', like he does, in writing, and anyone

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[165] The image of a banner recurs in the satirical poems. See, for example, VI.37 and XI.113.

who 'from his paper hald aback the pen' must 'hait our Scottish Natioun' (150-1). Joining in the condemnation of Mary becomes a matter of loyalty to the nation, of saving face and saving the new church from the immorality represented by her. As the poem draws to a close, like the drawings, it performs the very act of spreading this story: it becomes the 'bill' tacked to the Tolbooth. The boy agrees to write down his tale for the other speaker, who has revealed himself as a minstrel wishing to sing of these matters on his journeys. The boy's written version for the minstrel will be in 'Inglis toung' – to be read or sung to the ordinary people presumably – but he will also compose a Latin version, which shall pass 'to the Cane of Tartarie, / And Peirs sall erthe and air Etheriall / The wickit workis done in Britannie' (226-8). The boy writes and delivers his 'bill', and the two part ways. The poem articulates not only a confidence that the broadside 'bill' can publicise events in Scotland, but also a recognition of how the vernacular and Latin languages can be used to reach diverse audiences. Fittingly, the first formal and systematic attack on Mary's character will be George Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina* (1571) – a Latin work which Mary's opponents distribute throughout Europe. The *De Maria*, in turn, will be translated into the English, Scots, and French vernaculars with the idea of reaching wider and perhaps less educated audiences. As my subsequent chapters will show, participation in the Marian debate – whether pro or con – requires a sense of how to reach one's audience by manipulating language and the print industry, something the 'bony boy' already recognises as he composes his 'bills'.

The poems indicate that this poet figure – whether Sempill or James or the Lords – does not act alone; rather, his call to condemn these 'tratouris deidis' is answered by other popular forces. Like the anecdotes reported by Drury, the poems often create the impression of collective participation in the project to seek justice for recent events. In

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[166] Also in the PRO, catalogued with the other drawings.

reporting how Mary behaved after Darnley's death, the 'bony boy' defers to Maddie, the voice of the 'Caill mercat':

> And Maddie meinis sho [Mary] did in Setoun sing:
> Full weill was hir that day that sho was fre,
> And into ioy and out of tray and tene,
> So freely fred from all aduersitie. (III.73-6)

As Roderick Lyall reminds us, Maddie recalls the plain-speaking personae used by medieval satirists, figures like John Upland (who, incidentally, makes an appearance in 'Ane Exhortatiovn derect to my Lord Regent' [VI.8]) or Lyndsay's 'Jhone the Comoun-weill', 'whose satirical power derives from the supposedly popular view they express'.[167] She differs from these figures, however: rather than being merely allegorical, she 'represents…the opinion of ordinary, sensible citizens of Edinburgh, an observer of events and a commentator upon them' – a significant, and transformative, distinction.[168] In other words, the abstraction of the medieval satirist, as employed by Sempill, steps off the page to become a very real presence, with the full force of plain-speaking, truth-telling citizenry behind it.[169] In the lines above, Maddie recounts local rumour, telling how Mary frolicked in Seton after Darnley's death, filled with relief and joy at his good riddance – a seductive and salacious narrative which, incidentally, gained a strong foothold in anti-Marian lore. In later poems, where Maddie laments the state of Scotland, her audience comprises her female associates in the 'Cail mercat': 'quhair as I sat, / Thir wordis I did Indyte / The wyfis amang' (XX.185-7). Maddie thus harks back to the women of the market described by Drury, shouting their ambivalent greeting to Mary, and, in doing so, she weighs in as another female voice criticising the Queen: women are cleverly made to turn against their own.

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[167] Lyall, 57. Maddie thinly veils Sempill's voice in 'Ane Answer maid to the Sklanderaris', and she speaks directly in 'Maddeis Lamentatioun' (IX) and 'Maddeis Proclamatioun' (XX).
[168] Lyall, 58.
[169] See Holborn for what I believe is a counterpart to this – Luther's plain Protestant language, 'at once profound and simple, and thus…understood by both the learned and uneducated' (128-9).

THE 'FORSYCHT AND WISDOME' OF WIVES

Women – especially Edinburgh wives – populate anti-Marian propaganda, whether in rumours peddled by Elizabethan civil servants (about women calling out to Mary), or in a satirical figure like Maddie (who spreads rumour among the other market wives). Writing to Elizabeth in July 1567, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton reported that popular opinion had turned against Mary, and he claimed that the common people, particularly the women, were 'moost furyous and impudent against the Queen'.[170] It is worth remembering that although complicated by many factors, this historical moment was very much determined by contemporary attitudes about female nature, insofar as the success of Mary Stewart's overthrow relied on anti-feminist stereotypes of sexual misconduct and female frailty.[171] Thus, to use women's voices to condemn another woman is a complex operation. To explore a specific use of female voice, this final section turns to a piece of propaganda less well-known than the satirical poems but equally remarkable, 'The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis'. Never printed and surviving in a single manuscript copy, the anonymous 'Dialogue', like the broadsides, was posted south to London and found its way into the Public Record Office.[172] The 'Dialogue' can be dated to early 1570, making it a bit later than the poems and more concerned with the Queen's Party than with Mary herself; yet it similarly refashions literary tradition, specifically the gossips' meeting, and thus uses women's voices to make a political argument against Mary's supporters.[173]

In the prologue, the author explains that while he rests in an Edinburgh tavern, he overhears a conversation between two wyfeis who have just 'sat doun to the drink'.

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[170] *CSP, Scot. (1563-9)*, item 560.

[171] Parkinson speaks interestingly about the politicisation of the *querrelle des femmes* at the Scottish court (143-6)

[172] PRO, SP 52/17/70. The manuscript was endorsed by Cecil on 30 April 1570: 'a Scottish dyalog betwixt 2 Scott. women of the state of Scotland'. Because the wyfeis allude to the death of the Earl of Moray, the manuscript can be dated between late January (when he was murdered) and late April 1570. All citations are to manuscript folio, noted parenthetically; transcriptions are my own.

[173] The 'Dialogue' has attracted the attention of two historians: Mark Loughlin, op. cit.; and Roger A. Mason, 'George Buchanan's vernacular polemics, 1570-1572', *The Innes Review* 54.1 (spring 2003): 47-68.

Pressing his ear to the door as they speak 'at lairge thinking that na man hard thame', he listens carefully to their conversation. Addressing one another familiarly as 'cummer', the wyfeis lament the current state of affairs in Scotland – the rising price of goods, the unusually bad weather. These complaints lead them to speculate about another, more ominous 'storme', the gathering of the 'lords on the meill marcate' – the Queen's Party. Initially, the wyfeis concentrate on ridiculing Maitland of Lethington, who as a disciple of Machiavelli has been teaching his blasphemous principles to the members of the Queen's Party, who are characterised for their deceitful motives and their willingness to switch parties when it suits them best.[174] The wyfeis express great scepticism about the Queen's Party's allegiance to its figurehead. For one thing, the goal of restoring Mary to her throne seems farfetched: one wife asks sardonically, how can they hope to restore her authority when they cannot even put her in her own room (290). The real problem with the Queen's Party, according to the wyfeis, is lack of unity. Whereas the King's Party strives simply to maintain young James VI's authority, the Queen's is divided by the personal interests of its members. Finally, the wyfeis resign themselves to 'drink away sorow' and let men deal with civil conflict 'as thai think best'. Anyway, confides one, if 'my man wer slane this nycht I haif ane uthir in his steid'. 'Marie cummer', the other approves, 'that is the forsycht and wisdome that wyfeis suld steik be' (297).

The 'Dialogue' adapts several important literary and rhetorical traditions. Most obvious, of course, is the dialogue form itself,[175] but it also recalls a constellation of

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Although my interests differ, their notices are helpful.

[174] The 'Dialogue' has been described accurately as a 'tour, both geographical and personal, of the Queen's Party's principal supporters', each, in his turn, targeted by the wyfeis' canny wit (Mason, 'George Buchanan's verncular polemics', 57). The Hamiltons are a 'nest of fuillis' (290); the inconstant Earl of Cassillis has pledged himself to both parties (291); Lord Home sees 'grit vertew & proffit' in lying and breaking promises (293); and the Earl of Argyle (and all highlanders by implication) is naturally Machiavellian.

[175] Sixteenth-century Scottish examples of particular relevance include William Lamb's *Ane resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis merchand* (1549) and, more splendidly, Buchanan's *De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (1579), written shortly before the wyfeis 'Dialogue'. Loughlin speculates about Buchanan's authorship of the 'Dialogue' (235-6) and also mentions Lamb's *Ane resonyng* as a Scots exemplar. See

other medieval and late-medieval literary forms, falling generally under the heading of *chanson d'aventure*. The *chanson d'aventure* gives the 'Dialogue' its structure: the eavesdropper may not wander outdoors, but like his fellow medieval poets, he does encounter the women in the tavern unexpectedly, and he records their conversation carefully. Two subdivisions of the *chanson d'aventure* lend even more precision to a classification of the 'Dialogue': the *chanson de mal mariée*, in which women complain about their husbands, and the gossips' meeting.[176] These forms are natural partners, because when gossips gather in taverns to carouse, they almost always exchange stories and advice about men. And often we learn of their ribald conversation thanks to the ubiquitous concealed listener. Although numerous fifteenth-century English examples satirise women for their idleness, wantonness, and loose tongues,[177] the author of the 'Dialogue' did not need to look far for his pattern. Scotland's own William Dunbar probably influenced this piece most strongly, with his *Twa Cummeris* and *Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*. The *Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, in particular, illuminates the form and method of the 'Dialogue'. In Dunbar's poem, the narrator hides behind a hawthorn to observe and listen to the women, whose laughter and bawdy gossip about men and marriage becomes livelier with each cup of wine. Initially, however, the women seem to be cast in a courtly poem: adorned with fresh flowers, gilt tresses, and green mantles, these ladies congregate in a garden, recognisable for its fine fragrance and joyful birds. Medieval readers were on familiar terrain. But when Dunbar's 'gay ladeis' begin to

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Roderick Lyall's discussion of the dialogue form in William Lamb, *Ane resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis*, ed. Roderick J. Lyall (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985), 24-9. A piece of Queen's Party propaganda worth comparing to the 'Dialogue' is *An Account of a Pretended Conference held by the Regent, Earl of Murray, with the Lord Lindsay and others, January, MDLXX*, in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1827). Unlike their counterparts in many other dialogues, however, the wyfeis meet as equals: one wife does not instruct the other through a Socratic dialogue; rather, they invite one another to gossip, one posing a question to test the other's knowledge and vice versa.

[176] Utley provides a concise overview of how these forms overlap (41-3).

[177] *Talk of Ten Wives on Their Husbands' Ware* and *How Gossips Myne* are two examples (Utley, numbers 172 and 107). And in the early sixteenth century, John Skelton drew his celebrated portrait of gossips and

speak, bawdy language replaces courtly idiom. As one critic argues, the surprising shift from aureate to coarse speech 'defines a larger thematic opposition in the poem'.[178] Bawdy talk entertains and satirises, but also provides meaning by going 'beyond parody to suggest something about the nature of literary language itself and its relation to our perception of reality' – hence, the authenticity of courtly idiom is also drawn into question.[179] The opening of the 'Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis' similarly plays on generic expectations in order to make a larger point. Women drinking, conversing privately; man eavesdropping, ear pressed eagerly to the door: the scene, in other words, prepares the reader for gossip about men. Linda Woodbridge, writing about the genre of the gossips' meeting, comments on a 'widespread male curiosity about what women talk about when they are alone together.'[180] At least in literature, men's fears are usually warranted: women chatter about sex. But, as Woodbridge speculates, 'For all we know, Renaissance women might have used the tavern as a forum for discussing the war with Spain, or predestination versus free will, or the double time scheme in *Othello*'.[181] In Edinburgh taverns, the 'Dialogue' suggests, women do concern themselves with politics, not with sex. Thus, like Dunbar, the author of the 'Dialogue' plays on literary habits, surprising the reader with the wyfeis' chinwag about politics in Scotland.

That two wives have this political discussion does not seem an arbitrary choice: gender announces itself in this text as much as it is manifest in the historical context. Admittedly, a narrative about market women dabbling in political matters is part of the larger rhetorical project described throughout this chapter, in which Sempill and his fellow propagandists create the illusion of a populist movement – first against Mary, in

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booze with *The Tunning of Elynor Rummyng*.
[178] Lois Ebin, 'Dunbar's Bawdy', *The Chaucer Review* 14.3 (1979-80): 282.
[179] Ibid., 285.
[180] Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 236. Woodbridge devotes a chapter to the gossips' meeting.
[181] Ibid., 237.

the early years of the civil conflict, and later against the party that represent her interests. The King's Party uses the 'common people' as a litmus test by which their opponents can be judged: sometimes their propaganda refers explicitly to the 'common people', and they can point to 'anonymous' broadsides as evidence of popular discontent. But, interestingly, this political ruse seems to rely heavily on the real and imagined opinions of Edinburgh's women.[182] In the 'Dialogue', not only have the common people recognised the machinations of the Queen's Party, but two simple wives can also discuss the political characters and situation with a high degree of fluency. If gossip about the poor behaviour of the Queen's Party has filtered this far down the social scale, the eavesdropper must surely be privy to a common 'truth'. Moreover, these ordinary wives, in their vigorous Scots, characterise the Queen's Party policy in terms of its members' personalities. The wives effectively reduce these men to a pack of fickle children, who cannot make up their minds and simply adopt the deceit practiced by their teachers. The 'Dialogue' thus uses informal and accessible terms to authenticate a negative view of the Queen's Party.

The wyfeis speak, however, by means of a literary form often used to satirise women, and the tradition of the gossips' meeting lies uneasily but meaningfully behind their political chat. The author undoubtedly wants his audience to credit their observations; he needs their opinion – trustworthy in its simplicity – to help condemn the Queen's Party. At the same time, according to conventional anti-feminist discourse, women can rarely be trusted, especially when they gossip and drink together. To extricate himself from this bind, the author strikes purposely in both directions: he can use the wyfeis' straight talk and female intuition to condemn the Queen's advocates, while also slipping in anti-feminist satire against those same two women – and women more

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[182] Besides the 'Dialogue', Maddie, and the market women, women and their voices crop up in other places, for example in a satire of burgesses' wives at the end of 'The Lamentatioun of Lady Scotland' (XXXIII); and in the depositions of the women of Blackfriars Wynd, questioned as witnesses to Darnley's murder. See Buchanan's *Detectioun* (Diiii^{v} and Miiii^{v}) and BL, Additional MS. 33531, art. 13.

generally – by means of a literary framework. The wyfeis, in other words, are still just two women, gossiping and drinking. Their criticism of the Queen's Party, in fact, carries even more weight because they themselves are natural practitioners of fickleness and deception: who better to recognise these particular faults than two women? The members of the Queen's Party are themselves effeminised, partly because they rally around (and are therefore associated with) a disgraced female figure, but also because two 'cummeris' can easily anatomise their personalities.

The 'Dialogue' is notable for a collection of metaphors about shifting and inconstancy which more firmly links the satire of the Queen's Party with that of the two wyfeis. The Queen's Party are noted for their indecisiveness – one minute supporting the Queen, another favouring the young King. The Earl of Athol exemplifies their brand of political allegiance:

> he is noldir heit nor cauld....he yokkis uthiris and standis by and lukeis on. Firme to na parte and reddy to bayth. He helpit to tak the quene, and to bring hir out agane, he wald fecht with nolder, and haif thankis of bayth. (296)

Even more colourfully, the wyfeis describe the Earl of Argyle as sitting at home playing 'nevy nevy nak quhat neve will ye tak'. According to *DOST*, 'nevy nevy nak' is a child's game in which an object is hidden in one fist and others must guess which. Unable to settle on one side or the other, Argyle has made political allegiance a game of either/or. The comparison with children playing 'nevy nevy nak' diminishes Argyle's stature as a political figure, suggesting that he treats important civil affairs cavalierly and makes decisions as a child would. The image is also appropriate in a conversation between wives: they domesticate politics and recast it in their familiar idiom. Elsewhere, the wyfeis use other familiar images to describe politics. Comparing the ways of the market with politics, they refer to Maddie, who sells kale, lettuce, and other wares according to the season. They also refer to weathercocks which turn according to the wind – a common

metaphor but one that might well derive from Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, where the constancy of women is compared to a 'widdercok in wind'.[183] Thus, the wives argue that men follow the 'wyndie wisdome' of 'michaell wylie' (295): their allegiance is not based on loyalty, nor is it ethically anchored; rather, it shifts arbitrarily and expediently, so that these men can hedge their bets and reap benefits from both parties. In a 'Dialogue' thus preoccupied with fickleness, the wyfeis' conversation concludes appropriately, with one wife consoling herself that she has another man waiting close at hand should her husband be killed. One critic suggests that she is simply pragmatic in an uncertain time, when 'events are beyond [her] control'.[184] But the lack of loyalty in this closing note resounds back through the 'Dialogue'. Like a child playing a guessing game or a politician shifting from one party to the other, this wife is prepared to play both sides. Her *sexual* politics involve hedging her bets, making sure that one man can be immediately replaced by another. This view of women as pragmatic at best (looking out for their own interests) and unfaithful at worst (switching mates with little thought) signals the political capriciousness and cunning of the Queen's Party, who like children play 'nevy nevy nak' and like women play the field. Devastatingly, they too become an assembly of unreliable women.

Taken as a group, the satirical poems and related pieces of propaganda such as the 'Dialogue' seem to advance the idea of widespread engagement with the political scene in Scotland. We eavesdrop on a sophisticated debate between two men; recognise familiar voices like Maddie's or John Upland's; overhear one side of an energetic bout of flyting; observe through the pen of anonymous scribes the dramatic complaints of prominent figures; and listen to a rustic poet, in 'rurall termis, and sentences denude' (VI.10), repeatedly encourage the nobles to persevere in their loyalty to one another and to the

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[183] *Robert Henryson, The Poems*, ed. Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), l. 567.

commonweal. Even Scotland herself laments in several poems, whether over a specific event like the death of Moray – 'Allace! to Graif is gone my deir!' (XI.5) – or her wretched state more generally in 'The Lamentatioun of Lady Scotland, compylit be hir self' (XXXIII).[185] The poems, in other words, hum with the chatter of the commons, most of it seemingly anonymous. The power of a specific figure like Maddie, I think, rests with the paradox of her anonymity – the unknown source of rumour and, at precisely the same time, her reference to a Scottish citizen indignantly crying out from the marketplace. Maddie signals how old friends – like the literary or cultural expectations so shrewdly manipulated in the drawings, anecdotes, poems, and 'Dialogue' – can comment stridently on an immediate political reality. As a female voice, she also suggests how assumptions about gender and common gossip are put into political service. In her 'Proclamatioun' about the state of affairs following Moray's murder, Maddie tells us how the world goes:

> For I, a wyfe with sempill lyfe,
> Dois wyn my meit ilk day,
> For small auaill, ay selling caill,
> The best fassoun I may.
> Besyde the Throne [Tron] I walt vpone
> My mercat but delay;
> Gif men thair walk, I heir thair talk,
> And beiris it weill away. (XX.17-24)

As a 'sempill' wife – and in the voice of the 'sempill' poet who claims to speak on behalf of the people in so many of these poems – Maddie waits for news, notes it well in her 'awin hand', and carries it away. In doing so, she demonstrates the means by which condemnation of Mary can be transformed into a popular affair, which, in itself, comes to constitute the most commanding narrative of all.

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[184] Loughlin, 244-5.

[185] Sir James Melville of Halhill includes a similar ballad in his *Memoirs*, in which dame Scotland laments the factiousness of her subjects. *Memoirs of His Own Life*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1827), 268-74.

Chapter Two

Performance, Print, and Politics in *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*

nam quotquot homines video, tot me Proteos
videre vultus credo qui sumant novos
seseque vertant in figuras quaslibet,
subiecta quorum maxime calumniis
fortuna semper scaenici est spectaculi.[1]

As the author of *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1571) prepares to recount the story of Mary's cruel and licentious behaviour, he also denies the need to put her crimes in writing: 'as thay were than as a spectacle noted of all mens eyes, sa now as a fresh image thay remane imprintit in all mens hartes'.[2] Subsequently, of course, he reports at great length the neglect and suffering inflicted on Darnley by his wife and her paramour Bothwell. Aside from rhetorical effect, the author's reluctance to perform the task at hand registers a concern about how and why the 'spectacle' of Mary's actions should be translated into words. The 'why', as will become clear, can be answered by a specific set of historical circumstances: Mary's escape from Lochleven, defeat at Langside, and arrival on English shores in May 1568 forced the Earl of Moray and his party to justify their rebellion against her. The *Detectioun*, though published later in 1571, originates with Elizabeth's request in 1568 for documentary proof of Mary's misconduct. Its opening page hints at the discomfort felt by Moray's party in being required to traduce their queen, especially to an English commission: 'Quhairas of thynges iudicially determinit within any dominioun, to haif accompte demandit by strangeris, is...baith strange, and also for the strangenesse displeasant' (Aii[r]). Wisely, the author does

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[1] Prologus, *Baptistes sive calumnia tragœdia*, ll. 10-14, in *George Buchanan, Tragedies*, eds. P. Sharratt and P. G. Walsh (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), 99: 'I believe that in all the men I see I behold as many Proteuses who assume new features and turn themselves into every possible shape; and the success of a stage-play always runs the gamut of their calumnies especially' (134). All citations to *Baptistes* are from this edition and noted parenthetically hereafter.

[2] [George Buchanan], *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*, n.p., n.d. [London: John Day, 1571], Aii[v]. STC 3981. All citations are from this edition and noted parenthetically hereafter.

recognise and commend the 'equitie' of Elizabeth, who grieves to see her 'kinswoman...in speche of all men to be dishonorably reported'. But as Elizabeth desires 'to understand the truth' about the situation in Scotland and Moray and the Lords must 'avoide sclaunder' for a treasonous rebellion, so the *Detectioun* becomes a necessary means to both ends.

The 'how' of translating Mary's actions into words is a thornier matter. The author claims that the 'spectacle' of her misdeeds retains its power to sway men's hearts. Why should he bother recalling specific incidents, he asks, when all 'was openly done in all mens sight, & continueth emprintit in all mens memorie' (Bi^{v})? The 'spectacle' or image of Mary's cruelty, though potent enough to engrave itself on the pages of memory, becomes blandly inadequate in a written report: language, as the author laments, fails to convey 'the haynousness of the offense' (Fiiii^{r}). Yet, his elaborate narration – indeed, the printed *Detectioun* itself – suggests anxiously that that image, far from being permanently 'imprintit' in all minds, demands linguistic and material representation, at least to serve as politically viable evidence. That is, to endow Mary's crimes with a continuing reality requires the 'production of discourse': her crimes are made real because they are explicitly named and literally printed.[3] The author must help the reader imagine her impudent 'wordes and doynges' by closing the gap between actual event and its report, between phenomenon and representation (Bi^{r}). In doing so, he manages to reformulate the entire Marian debate into a contest for the authenticity of words. Although the pro-Marian camp will answer with its own rival 'truth', the *Detectioun*, as the first formal printed attack on her character, has the dubious honour of fixing the prevailing narrative about her descent into immorality. With this volume also begins the process of flattening and

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[3] Timothy J. Reiss, *Tragedy and Truth: Studies in the Development of a Renaissance and Neoclassical Discourse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 57. Reiss uses this phrase in his analysis of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*; the comparison with the *Detectioun* seems apt.

reducing Mary to a linguistic subject, available for endless exegesis through ironically suspect letters, confessions, and poems.[4]

This remarkable volume grew out of a Latin summary of Mary's alleged crimes written in 1568 by George Buchanan at the request of Moray. Several years and multiple versions later, with an oratorical supplement and documentary 'evidence' appended, Buchanan's summary was first printed as the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* in London by John Day in order to address the threat of a plot against Elizabeth. After the Latin version soon followed versions in English, Scots, and French. This chapter recounts the evolution of this text – its changing purposes, its principal authors, its material character and distribution. Unlike any previous Marian scholarship, however, the chapter also investigates in detail the shaping influences, themes, and arguments of the *Detectioun*. Perhaps because of its shameless inaccuracies and polemical distortions, the volume has occasioned no real literary analysis. (Its argument about Mary's rash, destructive, and womanly passion, after all, will not earn accolades for originality in the annals of early modern misogyny.) Parts of the volume have been ground in the critical mill. The historical value of Buchanan's narrative about Mary has been ably appraised by Gordon Donaldson and W. A. Gatherer; Ian McFarlane has addressed authorship and publication issues in detail.[5] The most celebrated items of its supplementary 'evidence' – the notorious Casket Letters – have cornered generations of historians, both professional and dilettante, in an interpretative cul-de-sac. Despite being entirely dubious documents, which were likely fabricated or tampered with and whose originals have mysteriously

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[4] Sarah Dunnigan makes a similar point about 'Mary's rhetorical containment' (*Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* [London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002], 21-2, 25).

[5] Gordon Donaldson, *The First Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1969); W. A. Gatherer, ed., *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1958); I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London: Duckworth, 1981). Historians who have recently commented on Buchanan's writings are Anne McLaren, 'Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism', *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002): 739-68; and John Guy, *'My Heart is my Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London and New York: Fourth Estate, 2004), chapter 28. Although McLaren's details are sometimes slightly off, her argument for locating the birth of British anti-Catholicism in the Marian debate is fascinating.

vanished, the letters have been subjected to rigorous (and wearisome) deconstruction by opposing sides, each driven by political or religious partisanship to discover the real author.[6] More recently, critics have turned their attention to the Casket Sonnets, a series of accompanying love poems also allegedly written by Mary to Bothwell and, like the letters, printed for the first time in the *Detectioun*.[7] These too have been scrutinised for their historical viability, although Sarah Dunnigan and Rosalind Smith have admirably tried to re-contextualise the poems with contemporary examples of erotic female poetry – a refreshing and valid approach.

By taking the *Detectioun* apart, however, by choosing to focus on this piece or another, by quibbling over which letter tallies with this or that document, critics have completely failed to consider what the volume *as a whole* articulates. This oversight can be excused. Those responsible for writing and publishing the *Detectioun* trained us well to look for answers in the minutiae of date, time, and even diction: the reader finds himself retracing Mary's movements, sorting through her possible actions, and, in several

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[6] Walter Goodall began the exegetical process of trying to prove the Letters were forged (*Examination of the Casket Letters said to be written by Mary, Queen of Scots to James, Earl of Bothwell* [Edinburgh: Ruddiman, 1754]). Also see the ensuing argument between T. F. Henderson and Andrew Lang: Henderson, *The Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1890), and *Mary Queen of Scots: Her Environment and Tragedy*, 2 vols. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905); Lang, *Mystery of Mary Stuart* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901). More recently, see H. F. Diggle, *The Casket Letters of Mary Stuart: A Study in Fraud and Forgery* (London: [Harrogate: 1960]); M. H. Armstrong Davison, *The Casket Letters: A Solution to the Mystery of Mary Queen of Scots and the Murder of Lord Darnley* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of Washington, D.C. and Community College Press, 1965); and A. E. MacRobert, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Casket Letters* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002). John Guy also discusses the debate helpfully.

[7] Most notable is Sarah Dunnigan, cited above, and in 'Rewriting the Renaissance language of love and desire: the "bodily burdein" in the poetry of Mary, Queen of Scots', *Gamma* 4 (1996): 181-95; 'Scottish Women Writers *c*1560-*c*1650', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, eds. Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan, 15-43 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997); and 'The creation and self-creation of Mary Queen of Scots: rhetoric, sovereignty, and female controversies in sixteenth century Scottish poetry', *Scotlands* 5.2 (1998): 65-88. Other studies include Mary E. Burke, 'Queen, Lover, Poet: a question of balance in the sonnets of Mary, Queen of Scots', in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, eds. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda E. Dove, and Karen Nelson, 101-18 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Peter Davidson, 'The Casket Sonnets: New Evidence Concerning Mary Queen of Scots', *History Scotland* 1.1 (winter 2001): 28-34; Rosalind Smith, *Gender, Genre and Reception: Sonnet Sequences Attributed to Women, 1560-1621*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1997), 91-131; and Betty S. Travitsky, ed., *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

instances, being led through an exegesis of passages from the Casket Letters.[8] To view the volume as a whole – that is, to restore its parts to their original printed context in which they worked with and against one another – offers a very different experience of anti-Marian material. This chapter contends that the substantive arguments of the *Detectioun* unfold through its form just as much as through its content. By 'form', I suggest two ways of reconsidering the *Detectioun*. First, the volume can be studied as an evolving object, comprised of many pieces strategically brought together to complement one another and to make a coherent whole. Its elements of presentation – language, typography, organisation – should be re-imagined as conscious decisions, pointing to tacit political agendas and supporting argumentative strategies. Second, generic forms help orient and guide the reader through the disparate pieces of the volume: the reader recognises the opening narrative as a tale of Mary's immorality; the following section as an oratorical counterpart; letters and poetry as literary illustrations; and even contracts and confessions as legal support.

Even more clearly, specialised discourses – broadly identifiable as political, literary, and legal – wind their way through the narrative and supplementary documents, distinguishing the *Detectioun* as a pivotal contribution not only to the Marian controversy but more widely to contemporary debates about the sources of political authority. John Pocock's reflections on his critical practice as a historian help elucidate the ways these discourses provide structure for the *Detectioun*. Pocock argues that the context of a work should be reconstituted according to the language or languages within which that text 'performs' – 'languages', that is, as 'specialized idioms or rhetorics'. Complex texts, he says,

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[8] See Appendix 2.6, for example.

> may be seen as performing polyvalently: not only will there be several continuities of discourse (another term is levels of meaning) within which it may be read and seen to have acted but it may be seen as performing all manner of cunning games as it moves from one level to another.[9]

This description seems especially apt for the *Detectioun*, a text layered with 'languages' that lend their individual characters to achieve a larger purpose: political theory finds expression through literary and dramatic tropes, criminal trial finds distinctive presentation in print. More complexly, each rhetorical idiom challenges the reader – 'eche man' – to respond actively, to become an observer, a participant, even a judge in the trial of Mary Stewart. The *Detectioun* suggests that the reader, to quote Pocock again, is 'an actor in the sense that he is one in a historical process'.[10] In this volume, the reader – book in hand, struggling to evaluate the evidence – is as palpable as the prosecutorial voice that bellows from its pages. And his ability to judge Mary's case constitutes a powerful argument for individual authority.

Working from the assumption that a text can present its own rules for how it should be read, this chapter uses the discourses of the *Detectioun* as a guide to understand its strategy and argument. I have several preliminary tasks: to analyse how political circumstances dictate the design and distribution of this text; to review the ideas about kingship and tyranny which inform its narrative; and to demonstrate how the theatrical idiom, though common in sixteenth-century parlance, articulates political theory. Buchanan's classical tragedy, *Baptistes sive calumnia tragœdia* (1577), serves as a case study. Turning to Buchanan's narrative, I look closely at its structure and ruling metaphors to show how theatre, politics, and law come together to define Mary's character and to suggest the 'commoun pepill' as a source for truth. The final section shows, however, how the polemical and evidentiary components of the *Detectioun* –

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[9] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 27, 28.
[10] Ibid., 29.

assembled in order to be mutually supporting in the case against Mary – begin to work against one another, undermining the reader's confidence in that unqualified 'truth'.

The Politics of Publishing 'Certain books of Buchanan'

As shown in chapter one, the allegations against Mary first found creative expression in the rumours, placards, and broadside poems of early 1567, which suggested widespread disaffection with her behaviour and support for her overthrow. Her flight to England in 1568, however, precipitated the first formal anti-Marian tracts, documents designed to portray her as a murderous, adulterous woman unfit to rule her own country, and to be disseminated much more widely. The composition, printing, and distribution of the most important of these tracts, the *Detectioun*, is a story worth recalling, because it exposes how bibliographical elements can be exploited to invent and promote a political argument.

When Mary disembarked at the English port of Workington in May 1568, both the Scottish and English courts were presented with a new set of political difficulties. Elizabeth faced the problem of dealing with her cousin queen, who had a questionable reputation but a compelling claim to the English crown, not to mention powerful Catholic allies on the continent. At the same time, Moray and his supporters found themselves in the awkward position of justifying their actions to Elizabeth by maligning their Queen. After assessing the unusual situation, Elizabeth and her advisors called for a conference to be held at York in late summer, at which an English commission would hear from both Moray's party and Mary's representatives.[11] Moray set about gathering his evidence against Mary. Among other items, his evidence included the Casket Letters and Sonnets allegedly written by Mary to Bothwell, which had been turned over to the Earl of Morton

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[11] For a lucid account of the proceedings at York and Westminster, see Donaldson, 106-41.

by one of Bothwell's servants shortly after the Queen's imprisonment at Lochleven.[12] The Regent Moray then recruited George Buchanan 'to marshal facts and construct a case' against Mary and to travel with Moray's delegation to York.[13] Ian McFarlane describes Buchanan's task as putting 'into decent literary form – and this would mean stylistic as well as dialectical presentation – the documents which Moray and his supporters required for the business in England'.[14] As one of Europe's most accomplished humanists, Buchanan was an excellent choice. His intellectual interests and his political theories pervade the Latin summary of Mary's misdeeds that he prepared for Moray and, to a large degree, give the entire narrative unity, consistency, and fluency. In fact, for the future tenor of the Marian debate, the impact of his authorship cannot be overemphasised.

Buchanan's Latin summary of the evidence against Mary probably reached Elizabeth by early June 1568.[15] The textual history at this point becomes complicated and to a large extent beyond recovery, but the most likely scenario is that Buchanan also helped prepare a formal indictment for use by the Scottish delegation, what we now know as the Book of Articles. (See Appendix 2.1.) This document, so called because of its arrangement into five 'articles' of evidence, was presented to the English commissioners on 6 and 7 December 1568, after Elizabeth had moved the proceedings nearer to her, from York to Westminster. Secretary William Cecil records in his minutes for 7 December that after reading the Book of Articles for the second time, Moray's party produced the corroborative evidence found in the silver casket, namely two marriage

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[12] These items were discovered in a silver casket – hence, their title – given to the Earl of Morton by Bothwell's servant George Dalgleish. Davison gives a helpful account of the casket's discovery.
[13] McFarlane, 323-4. Moray sent Buchanan 'closed writings' on 27 May (R. H. Mahon, *The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923], 5). Despite a claim in the contemporary *The Copie of a Letter*, cited below, that Buchanan had 'easie Accesse also to all the Records of that Countrey that might helpe hym' (Aiii^{r}), most scholars agree that he would have received only a cross-section of pertinent material, or rather, those documents on which Moray wished his case to be built. McFarlane maintains that Buchanan was much more on the periphery of political events than has previously been supposed (322).
[14] McFarlane, 325.
[15] See McFarlane, 324, for this possibility. John Wood, Moray's secretary, was dispatched to England on 21 May 1568 and again on 22 June.

contracts, records of the justice court from Bothwell's trial, and two of the Casket Letters. On the following day, becoming more confident, the Scots exhibited more items, including the sonnets and the rest of the letters from the casket; the confessions of Hepburn, Powrie, and Dalgleish; and court documents, including the judgments against these men.[16] Despite the revelation of these incriminating documents, the conference at Westminster concluded in a stalemate on 10 January 1569: Mary's representatives, their requests for a private meeting between Elizabeth and Mary repeatedly denied, had left prematurely; Moray's delegation failed to receive Elizabeth's unqualified support. When the Scottish commissioners returned north in January, however, Buchanan's account of Mary's crimes – either his early Latin summary or a later, more polished version – was left with the English government, along with copies of the accompanying documentary evidence, carefully recorded and catalogued by Cecil.[17] There this material remained for almost three years, an unpublished trump card.

After the conference, Elizabeth's way of dealing with the Marian situation, as James Phillips describes it, was one of 'semi-publicity': no anti-Marian publication was officially sanctioned. But the discovery in 1571 of the Duke of Norfolk's involvement in the Ridolfi conspiracy – a plot for a Spanish invasion and Catholic uprising, a marriage between Mary and Norfolk, and the English crown for Mary – altered the political environment. Deciding it was time to initiate an 'elaborate series of bibliographical deceptions', the English government – surely at Cecil's instigation – dusted off Buchanan's document left behind in 1568.[18]

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[16] For the minutes from 6 and 8 December 1568, see Goodall, 227-38. Minutes from 7 December are printed in John Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1869), 1:549-53. See Appendix 2.7 for a partial transcription of the minutes from 7 December.
[17] Phillips, *Images*, 62; McFarlane, 327, concurs. The question of what *specific* text was left with Cecil must go unanswered. McFarlane speculates that a contemporary manuscript copy of the *De Maria* in BL, Cotton Calig. D.i, fol. 3-28, might have found its way to Cecil (340 n. 52). It is not unlikely, considering circulating manuscripts, that Cecil had access to the 'Detectioun' in all its various forms.
[18] Phillips, *Images*, 63.

Tracing the evolution of the printed volume exposes the Elizabethan propaganda machine at work, as it builds an argument with text, print, and covert sponsorship. Buchanan's original Latin summary of the case against Mary was first printed as *De Maria Scotorum Regina* in October 1571 by John Day, a premier London printer with close ties to the Protestant cause.[19] (See diagram in Appendix 2.1 for the relationship between versions.) The *De Maria* indicated no author, date, or place of publication. Almost immediately thereafter, Day printed *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*, an English translation of the *De Maria* which orthographically is designed to look like Scots. The title page to this version states that it has been 'Translatit out of the Latine quhilke was written by *G.B.*' – the first acknowledgement in print of Buchanan's authorship; like the Latin *De Maria*, however, it bears no publication details.[20] In 1572, Robert Lekpreuik printed a genuine Scots version at St. Andrews, *Ane Detectioun of the Doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis*.[21] And, finally, in that same year, a French version appeared, *Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse*, translated from the Latin *De Maria*, not from the English or Scots vernacular. Although the *Histoire*'s title page claims to have been printed 'a Edimbovrg, par Thomas Waltum', the *Histoire* was most likely printed in La Rochelle.[22]

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[19] STC 3978. A good (though dated) resource for reviewing all editions of the *Detectioun*, as well as other Marian literature, is J. Scott, 'A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary Queen of Scots: 1544-1700,' *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 2 (1896): 1-96. Also see John Durkan, *Bibliography of George Buchanan* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Library Studies, 1994).

[20] The printing of both London editions is generally assigned to Day; he also printed a second edition in 1572. See Durkan, xiv. John Day held valuable royal privileges and was the first to print John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], 99-100). A useful study of Day is C. L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), although his account of Day's career does not cover the printing of the *Detectioun*. In 1571, 'accordyng to the Scotish copie Printed at Striuilyng by Robert Lekpreuik', Day also printed Buchanan's *Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the Kingis Grace Authoritie*. STC 3967.

[21] STC 3982.

[22] STC 3979. See McFarlane for speculations about the *Histoire*'s translation and publication history (348-50). English encouragement if not sponsorship is likely. Scott's bibliography is also useful (27-8); and for even greater detail about its uses for foreign policy, see Robert M. Kingdon, 'The Use of Clandestine Printings by the Government of Elizabeth I in Its French Policy, 1570-1590', in *European History and Its Historians*, ed. Frank McGregor and Nicholas Wright (Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press, 1977),

All versions include two principal narrative sections: a detailed account or 'detection' of Mary's misconduct – not to be confused with *Ane Detectioun*, the entire published volume of 1571 – and an 'oration' (called the 'Actio' in the *De Maria*).[23] (See Appendix 2.2 for a detailed outline of the contents of each version.) The 'oration' is an oral legal performance: using the preceding 'detection' as his source text, the narrator-as-prosecutor embellishes and emphasises certain aspects of the narrative. In the *De Maria*, the 'Actio' is followed by three of the Casket Letters translated into Latin, the 'Catastrophe huius Tragœdiæ', and two Latin poems. The next three vernacular editions, however – English, Scots, and French – include the voluminous supplementary material provided by Moray's party in 1568, including marriage contracts, court documents, confessions, and the letters and sonnets allegedly written by Mary to Bothwell. To these items, the French *Histoire* adds an essay that reviews Mary's conspiracies to attain Elizabeth's throne, noting the involvement of figures like the Pope, the Duke of Norfolk, and, of course, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. Perhaps the most remarkable item in any version, appended only to the 1571 English *Detectioun*, is a scurrilous verse meditation on the danger of replacing Elizabeth with Mary.

These multiple translations, with their deceptive imprints and orthographies, were strategically designed to serve distinct purposes and to reach specific audiences. In terms of English foreign policy, the volumes were published to justify Mary's continued detention by the Elizabethan government. Mary's strong ties to Catholic France and to her Guisean relatives resulted in French supporters who adamantly called for her release and return to the Scottish throne. Having no desire to encourage the Auld Alliance and preferring the Protestant and pro-English administration currently in control of Scotland,

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49-52. Phillips suggests the possibility of German editions (*Images*, 63 and corresponding note), which McFarlane is inclined not to credit (348).

[23] Throughout the chapter, I use *Detectioun* to refer to the volume as a whole or, loosely, to the narrative represented by both the 'detection' and 'oration' sections. 'Detection' and 'oration' designate those specific sections.

Elizabeth and her advisors recognised the usefulness of Buchanan's writings as a way 'to add criminal to political guilt and so to move France to forego her championship' of the Scottish queen.[24] The English diplomat Sir Henry Killigrew drew Cecil's attention to a pamphlet that recommended having 'divers of Buchanan's little Latin books to present, if need were, to the King of France, and likewise to some noblemen of the Council'.[25] And, of course, it would do no harm to advertise Mary's bad behaviour to the Vatican, which had a vested interest in her release and political success. Thus, the English first sponsored the Latin *De Maria*, the text most readily at hand, targeting an intellectually élite and European audience. Once printed by Day, its elegant Latin, orderly contents, uniform and dignified use of typeface (some Roman, mostly italic) condemned Mary with quiet determination. (See Appendix 2.3.) Shortly after its publication, as Elizabeth's diplomats had suggested, the *De Maria* indeed found its way to France. On 3 December 1571 Killigrew reported having delivered the Latin version to a Frenchman, who promised to have it translated into French and printed.[26] Sent there on a diplomatic mission a month later, Thomas Smith reported back to Cecil that 'Touching the Scottish matters and the treasons, they have distributed certain books of Buchanan in Latin which have done no hurt, but made the matter so plain that they be ashamed to defend her that fain would'.[27]

The French vernacular version, the *Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse*, followed quickly, as promised. Use of the vernacular attests to English and French Huguenot interest in reaching a wider reading audience in France, with the added benefit of suggesting to the pro-Marians a populace deeply engaged with the moral and political questions surrounding the Scottish queen. Moreover, the false imprint of the *Histoire* – 'a

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[24] Mahon, 24. For an explanation of how surreptitious printing served French foreign policy, see Kingdon, 49-52.
[25] *CSP, Foreign, (1569-71)*, item 2158. The recommended pamphlet was purportedly written by Robert Beale.
[26] The Frenchman Killigrew identified only as 'Du Pin'.
[27] *CSP, Foreign (1572-4)*, item 23. Letter dated 9 January 1572.

Edimbovrg, par Thomas Waltum' – emphasises its surreptitiousness. The English strategy for sponsoring the Latin, French, and English versions was to create the illusion that this text not only issued from a Scottish pen but was printed on a Scottish press. England need not look guilty of character assassination: no imprint, false imprint, inauthentic vernacular – all contribute to the pretence that this book originated with Mary's own nobles, making the case against her all the more convincing.[28]

The most interesting and complicated vernacular publication of Buchanan's text – and, hence, the primary subject of this chapter – is the 1571 English *Detectioun*. Its linguistic character, its material peculiarities, and its political suggestiveness set it apart from the other versions and account for its prominence in my discussion. Clearly a volume sculpted out of Scottish material by English hands, the *Detectioun* was meant to address a serious domestic situation in the wake of the Ridolfi Plot. Even under lock and key, Mary had become a rallying point for Catholic intrigues in England, and the English government keenly felt the need to protect Elizabeth's sovereignty. A contemporary, though anonymous, account confirms this objective. *The Copie of a Letter, written by one in London to his frend concernyng the credit of the late published detection of the doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland*, a pamphlet printed shortly after the *Detectioun*, promises that the *Detectioun* offers a 'Comparison' whereby Englishmen can judge the difference between Mary and Elizabeth and be enforced 'to pray hartely for the long Continuaunce of our good Mother to rule ouer vs, that our Posteritie may not see her Place left empty for a perilous Stepedame'.[29] The mere suggestion of a choice, of course, gives credence to the threat posed by Mary, implying her involvement in the Ridolfi plot. The statement also distinguishes the Queens' characters with a maternal metaphor: Elizabeth is cast as the source of maternal benevolence and protection, perhaps to

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[28] Phillips, *Images*, 63.

[29] *The Copie of a Letter, written by one in London to his Frend, concernying the Credit of the late published Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland* [London: John Day, 1572.], Aii[r]. STC 17565.

compensate for her lack of an heir while invalidating Mary's claim to the throne. As promised by the *Copie of a Letter*, the *Detectioun* pits the two Queens against one another, politically and morally. Nowhere is their comparison more manifest than on the final page of the *Detectioun*, exclusive to this version. (See Appendix 2.4.) Four stanzas of 'versified, gnomic reflections' ask 'Englischmen if / it be gud to change Quenis':[30]

'Quhen rude Scotland hes vomited vp ane poisoun, must fine England lick it vp for a restoratiue?' No such meditation finds its way into the *De Maria*, the *Histoire*, or Lekpreuik's St. Andrews edition, for obvious reasons in the latter case: its sentiment would not charm Scottish readers. Directed demonstrably toward an English audience, the page demands that the reader be conscious and wary of continued plots to steal Elizabeth's throne, especially those that involve Scotland's 'poisoun'.[31]

While these verses emphatically speak to an English audience, the vernacular prose more complexly performs a similar task. In English parading as Scots, it continues the charade of Scottish sponsorship. The prose betrays a translator with a 'sad ignorance of native Scots' struggling to make a text seem Scottish for an English audience.[32] Or, another possibility, the prose belies a savvy translator giving Scots flavour to a text that must remain English enough to attract a wide domestic reading audience, not only men attached to the court but those more removed from London. In any case, the palimpsest effect of the translation – aside from being a distinguishing feature of the *Detectioun* – linguistically marks the complex series of deceptions which brought the book to fruition and which constitute part of its argument against Mary. Language in the 1571 *Detectioun* is used strategically in other ways as well. Besides the vernacular, Latin continues to lend its authority in appropriate places, usually in secretarial subscriptions and the court

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[30] McFarlane, 340.
[31] The essay that concludes the *Histoire* serves a similar purpose, as it emphasises Mary's conspiracies against Elizabeth.
[32] McFarlane, 345.

documents of the 'Curia Iusticiarie'. French incipits introduce each Casket letter; and the Casket Sonnets appear first in French, then in a full Scots translation. This sporadic use of at least three (arguably four) languages in the volume communicates a desire to translate all potentially damning information about Mary into a universally understood narrative.

Language also collaborates meaningfully with typography to guide the reader's understanding and to add force to the argument of the volume. This involves what I would characterise as 'marking' the text in order to give it 'order and meaning'.[33] The full reproduction of the Casket Letters and Sonnets, first printed in the 1571 *Detectioun*, demonstrates this 'marking', where imagined voices speak in different typefaces.[34] The entire section is introduced in Roman type with 'The writynges and letters found in the sayd casket, which are auowit [avowed] to be written with the Scottishe Quenis awne hand' (Qiiii^{r}). Following a black-letter preface assuring the reader that these poems were composed 'certainly befoir [Bothwell's] diuorce from hys wife', the French sonnets appear in italic, their Scots translation in black letter. (See Appendix 2.5a-b.) The contrast in both language and typeface is striking. Although Mary's authorship is only conjectural, presenting the sonnets in French forges a strong associative link with the Queen, who, even after her return to Scotland in 1561, continued to use French as her language of choice. Juxtaposed with the italic French, the Scots version of the sonnets, with its grave return to black letter, has the effect of wrenching the words away from 'Mary': the voice becomes that of the narrator, reading her words publicly, emphasising every telling correspondence between the poetry and her bad behaviour – a pursuit that continued to occupy historians for centuries.[35] The Casket Letters are handled similarly. Each letter is

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[33] The latter quote is taken from Julie Stone Peters, *The Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17.
[34] Ibid., 24.
[35] Other contemporary texts demonstrate a similar use of typeface, that is, for distinguishing between competing voices. In Alexander Nevyle's translation *The Lamentable Tragedie of Oedipvs* (London: Thomas Colwell, 1563), the words of the oracle are printed in italic rather than the black letter generally

prefaced by a brief summary in Roman type and a French incipit; the letter is then reproduced fully in Scots and black letter. These shifts in typeface between French incipit and Scots letter create the effect of moving Mary's language into a public, legal realm, where it can be contained and closely scrutinised – essentially, the purpose of *Detectioun* itself. Such use of language and typeface also reinforces a sense of performance, largely legal in nature, in which the reader learns to distinguish voices as well as important bits of information. When Mary 'speaks' in the clean lines of Roman type, surrounded by the stodgy black letter voice of the narrator, for example, her alleged words leap from the page, making the case against her seem manifest, self-evident. (See Appendix 2.6.)

The marginal gloss undergoes a radical transformation between the publications of the *De Maria* and the *Detectioun*. In the former, the marginalia is extensive, often amounting to three or four marginal comments per page, and thus serving as a 'running commentary' on the argument of the text.[36] In the *Detectioun*, however, the marginalia gets drastically abbreviated, with only eleven marginal comments in the entire volume. Viewed as a series, these eleven comments constitute a powerful warning, one growing out of the text itself but given sharper tone when presented as paratextual material: the danger posed by Mary's marriageability – in past, present, and future. Elizabeth had reason to worry that Mary might make a strategic alliance through marriage, and the discovery of the Ridolfi plot confirmed the Duke of Norfolk's persistently treasonous ideas about marrying the Scottish queen. Thus, marital issues involving Darnley, Bothwell, and Norfolk drift into the margins of the *Detectioun* as stubborn reminders of Mary's politically threatening sexuality.

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used throughout the play text (Biv[r]). Similarly, Thomas Churchyard's 'The Whole Order howe our Soueraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, was receyued into the Citie of Bristow' uses different typeface styles and sizes to indicate shifts in voice, from the narrative frame to speeches or songs, for example. In *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1575).

[36] McFarlane, 340.

The first marginal comment, for example, comments on the accusation that, in order to bring the naïve Darnley into disrepute, Mary offers to find him a 'yong gentlewoman' whom he can enjoy during Mary's pregnancy. This anecdote receives the marginal gloss, 'The Quene offreth to be baude to hir owne husband' (Aiiii[r]). The argument in the margin of the book begins thus, alleging the Queen's loose behaviour, and from this point forward, more than half of the marginal comments point directly to a marital issue. The infamous Craigmillar conference, in which Mary and several of her nobles discussed the growing problem of Darnley and the possibility of divorce, is glossed with the phrase 'Cosin germanes' (Ci[v]), emphasising her earlier disregard for the laws of marriage and her present treachery. On two different occasions, the reader's attention is directed to the fact of Bothwell's other wife, Jane Gordon, from whom he obtained a divorce on the grounds of his adultery with a maid servant – just in time to marry Mary (Tiiii[v], Xi[v]). All of the marginal comments form a paratextual narrative about Mary: after marrying Darnley unadvisedly, she tries to initiate illicit sexual activities in her desperation for a divorce, engages in an adulterous affair with Bothwell, and, after Darnley's murder, prepares to marry a man who already has a wife. Finally – and most worrisome for Elizabeth – is the possibility of a union between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk. The marriage contract between Mary and Bothwell, which states that she promised 'neuer marry none vther husband' ('none vther' in Roman type for emphasis), bears the marginal gloss, 'Item to the Duke of Norfolke, &c.' (Oiiii[r]). The sarcastic marginal voice directs Norfolk's attention to Mary's empty promises, promises similar to the ones she had recently been making to him. At the same time, the marginal comment also conveniently reminds all other readers of Norfolk's treasonous association with Mary – and, because of her false oath to Bothwell, his foolishness as well. These are the issues

that get pulled from the text and identified in the margins, the ones by which the English government could destroy the reputation of Mary.

The *Detectioun* sets the other important precedent of supplementing the two principal narratives with copious evidence – an editorial decision that radically transforms its meaning.[37] This bibliographical apparatus – comprised of those documents conveniently supplied by the Scottish delegation in December 1568 – finds its way into the *Detectioun* with little alteration in content or arrangement. Not only does the order in which these documents are printed correspond to the records of their Westminster presentation, even the introductory phrasing remains the same: the *Detectioun*'s 'Memorandum' is literally lifted from the commissioners' minutes (7 and 8 December 1568). Although previously unnoticed, this correspondence between the conference minutes and the *Detectioun*'s supplementary documents conclusively proves English sponsorship of this publication, and draws Cecil himself even closer to its conception and production.[38] (See Appendix 2.7.) No longer a self-contained indictment, the 1571 *Detectioun*, with its large collection of assorted but interlocking pieces, readily reveals the methods of those who crafted this influential piece of propaganda. By ostensibly providing detailed textual and material support for the narrative of Mary's misdeeds, this copious documentary evidence transforms the *Detectioun* into a pre-packaged legal proceeding, one that slyly professes fairness by claiming to give 'Mary's' side of the story through the sonnets and letters.

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[37] Mahon does not believe the supplementary material was originally included in the *Detectioun*, nor does he believe the 'Actio' was first published in the *De Maria* (24-5). His evidence is scanty, and I think his hypothesis unnecessarily complicates an already difficult textual history. In any case, the only surviving versions we have of these books include this material, and the contemporary *Copie of a Letter* tells us that in the second part of the *Detectioun* the reader will find 'Contractes, Songes, Letters, Iudiciall Procedynges, Protestations, Examinations, and Confessions' (Aii^{v}). That the supplementary material forms a 'piece' with the 'detection' and 'oration' can hardly be denied.

[38] Hosack, who prints the minutes for the proceedings at Westminster on 7 December 1568 (1:549-53), notes 'the order in which the letters and other documents were exhibited to the Commissioners of Elizabeth' (1:xiii). He doesn't, however, remark on the subsequent reproduction of these items in the *Detectioun*.

All of these tricks of bibliography result in the most compelling fiction of the *Detectioun*, that the reader observes and participates in an impartial trial, that he can rule justly and competently in Mary's case: 'ech man may plainely perceiue' her guilt by listening to the 'oration' and perusing the evidence (Ciiii^{r}). The contemporary *Copie of a Letter* confirms this design:

> in the same one Booke, are both Parties to be heard, the one in the former Parte, both in the Declaration and Oration of Euidence; the other in the latter Parte, in the Parties owne Contractes, Songes, Letters, Iudiciall Procedynges, Protestations, Examinations, and Confessions. (Aii^{v})

This design places a great deal of trust in individual judgment, an implicitly populist suggestion. This strategy of appealing to the individual is historically complicated for two reasons. First, although the volume creates the impression of a widely diverse reading audience, we must ask just what the *Detectioun* means by 'eche man'. The *Detectioun* would have reached and appealed to the upper echelons of English society, since it was a plot against their sovereign which had precipitated its publication. We know that Gabriel Harvey, for example, owned both the Latin and English editions.[39] Even the condemned Duke of Norfolk was expected to leaf through the volume, as the marginal note 'Item to the Duke of Norfolke, &c.' suggests. Yet, with its several versions and many surviving copies, the volume must have been popular and widely available, not only for its contemporary political relevance but also for its scandalous content.[40] As F. J. Levy has posited, in the latter decades of the sixteenth century even gentry far removed from London had speedy access to news from the capital. And a publication like *The Copie of*

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[39] McFarlane, 348. Also see James E. Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 12 (1948-9): 23-55, for English interest in the *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus* and *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*.

[40] See Durkan's *Bibliography*, for a survey of its editions.

a Letter, though possibly sponsored by Secretary Cecil, models the way in which news passed through the realm by private correspondence.[41]

Yet, as we saw with the early anti-Marian propaganda and satirical poems, the suggestion of individual engagement in the political life of the state – down to the most common subject – can be a convincing argument of its own, creating a powerful sense of popular consensus. The combination of Scottish content and English presentation in the *Detectioun* generates ironies, however, at least when considered against the political attitudes of the Elizabethan government. By emphasising and appealing to the judgment of the common people against Mary, the argument of the *Detectioun*'s narrative reflects the exigencies of the Scottish political situation in 1567 and 1568 – the need to make Mary look universally condemned by her subjects – and the political theories of George Buchanan. The argument might be characterised as an outgrowth of the Protestant conviction in individual understanding and revelation, and as the seedling of popular sovereignty. While the former concept might have been acceptable to Elizabeth, the latter she would have found potentially threatening to her authority. The addition to the printed *Detectioun* of the evidence supplied by Moray's party intensified this risky political argument by calling all readers to uncover the 'truth' about Mary and to judge her accordingly. Nevertheless, the English government, angry and alarmed after the discovery of the Ridolfi plot, moved forward with the covert publication of the *De Maria* and the *Detectioun*. Even if the political implications of both content and form could have been construed as disruptive to Elizabethan arts of rule, the foreign and domestic threats posed by Mary called for desperate measures to safeguard the English throne.

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[41] F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread Among the Gentry, 1550-1640', *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982): 11-34.

'Feigned Devotion', or the Theatre of Politics

Jenny Wormald has quipped that the *Detectioun* is 'copy for the *Sun* in the style of *The Times*'.[42] While undoubtedly clever, her assessment risks dismissing Buchanan's narrative as mere sensationalism (albeit well written), with no more enduring value than the tabloids which fill our own newsstands. Biased and inaccurate though it may be, the *Detectioun* is still a savvy piece of propaganda, worthy of close study for its rhetorical sophistication, literary sensibility, political strategy, and, as published by the English, its design and printing history. This is not to suggest that the *Detectioun* needs to be added to the sixteenth-century literary canon; but to see it only as sensationalism does not bring us any closer to an understanding of how literary and political discourses – to name only two – could be strategic partners in the sixteenth century. Although companion to Buchanan's other writings of the period – the *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (1579) and the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) – the *Detectioun* has not invited the same critical attention as these works, probably because it lacks the proto-democratic appeal of the *De iure* and the monumental sweep of the *Historia*. Nevertheless, all three texts share the similar purpose of justifying Mary's deposition and, in this way, can be seen to work together toward that end: the *De iure* sketching the political theory, the *Detectioun* detailing the specific tyranny of Mary, and the *Historia* contextualising the entire episode in the patterns of Scottish history. Yet, the *Detectioun* can hold its own: its distinct drama and artistry make the lurid tale of a morally degenerate queen into a legal fiction, which implicitly argues for individual authority in political matters. In doing this, the *Detectioun* relies on the same political ideas that inform – and are advocated by – the *De iure* and the *Historia*. This section, then, will provide a context for understanding the *Detectioun* by outlining some of these ideas as Buchanan inherits and adapts them.

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[42] *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), 14.

George Buchanan is perhaps best known as a proponent of elective, limited monarchy, 'the herald of popular sovereignty and modern constitutionalism'.[43] Admittedly, the idea of the accountability of monarchs had an impressive classical and medieval pedigree, but Buchanan gave the concept his own distinctive mark. His political ideas probably took root early in his academic career – the conciliarism of his teacher John Mair surely no trivial influence – and they thrived in his disgust with Mary's behaviour in spring 1567.[44] Moray may have solicited his services for building the case against Mary, but Buchanan, indignant on his own accord, outlined his radical ideas that justified her overthrow in the *De iure regni*, a tract that circulated in manuscript and whose publication was eagerly anticipated by those on the political left.[45] This Socratic dialogue, in which enlightened Buchanan instructs naïve Thomas Maitland, considers how kings are created through consent of the people, how they must be subject to the law, and what happens when kings disregard that law. When the monarch refuses to rule according to and be restrained by the law, the people, with whom sovereignty resides, can legitimately resist his (or her) rule, even to the extent of committing tyrannicide.[46]

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[43] Roger A. Mason, '*Rex Stoicus*: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, eds. John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 9.

[44] For comments on Buchanan and Mair, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2:339-40; J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 191-3; and Roger Mason, *Kingship*, 74-5. Space does not allow for an extensive biography of Buchanan here. See McFarlane for the most recent and thorough account of Buchanan's life and career. Mason also offers helpful sketches in his works cited in this chapter, especially in 'George Buchanan and Mary Queen of Scots', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 30 (2000): 1-27.

[45] For an important illumination of Buchanan's ties with the political left and intellectual élite in England, see Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle'. The newest edition is *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship Among the Scots: A Critical Edition and Translation of George Buchanan's* De Jure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus, eds. Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[46] Although space does not permit a full examination of the *De iure regni*, those interested should consult the work done, most recently, by Roger Mason (cited throughout); J. H. Burns, op. cit. (especially pages 203-9 on this point); Rebecca W. Bushnell, 'George Buchanan, James VI and neo-classicism', in *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603*, ed. Roger A. Mason, 91-111 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Their thorough bibliographies are indispensable for earlier work on Buchanan. David Norbrook brings Buchanan to bear interestingly on *Macbeth* in '*Macbeth* and the Politics of Historiography', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, 78-116 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Essential to this radical formulation is a definition of kingship which distinguishes a good king from a bad tyrant. And from the *De iure*'s 'extended commentary on the nature and function of kingship' emerges an 'imposing (albeit conventional) portrait of an ideal prince', one who is himself ruled by reason, virtue, and, of course, the law.

This portrait is conventional because of its long lineage in *speculum principis* literature, originating with classical writers, perpetuated by medieval thinkers, and greatly revived by Renaissance humanist figures like Desiderius Erasmus, Guillaume Budé, and Sir Thomas Elyot.[47] Whether writing about the best educational regime for a prince or the importance of good counsel, these humanist philosophers shared a 'confidence in the value of ancient philosophy as a guide to modern life' and conceived of themselves as advisors to states and princes.[48] For both his political ideas and his image of the ideal prince, Buchanan looked to classical models, those provided by philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, and Seneca.[49] Buchanan's philosophy relies heavily on the antithesis of reason and passion, a classical concept which can itself be traced to Plato and Aristotle.[50] Applied to political theory, the battle between reason and passion results in a moral conception of kingship, 'opposing the irrational tyrant to the rational king';[51] accordingly, the health of the state largely depends on the moral character of the prince. Stoicism embraced and amplified this model, insofar as the Stoic regard for self-mastery would insist even more firmly on the good king's incorruptibility and restraint.[52] As

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[47] Their most important publications respectively are *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1516), *The Education of the Prince* (1519), and *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (1531). See Skinner, vol. 1, chapter 8, for a helpful overview of the *speculum principis* and 'advice to princes' traditions. I cover this genre in more detail in chapter 4.

[48] Skinner, 1:220.

[49] For much of what follows, I am indebted to Mason, '*Rex Stoicus*' and 'George Buchanan'.

[50] Rebecca Bushnell gives a helpful survey of classical theories of kingship and tyranny in *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 9-36 especially. All citations of Bushnell, unless otherwise noted, refer to this book.

[51] Ibid., 10.

[52] On the revival of Stoicism in Scotland, see David Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press,

Rebecca Bushnell summarises the Stoic view, 'Freedom from slavery to the pleasures gives one personal autonomy, but it also grants one the right to rule over others'.[53] Buchanan attributes his own conception of the ideal king to *Rex Stoicus*, the Senecan king who is unshakeably temperate, disciplined, and prudent.[54] Like Livy and Cicero, Buchanan venerated 'the civic values of the [Roman] republic – the willingness, above all, to sacrifice private advantage to the public good – which are held up as worthy of every true citizen's emulation'.[55]

As an advocate of such stern civic morality, Buchanan above all feared moral tyranny in a ruler.[56] In contrast to the Stoic, philosopher king – whose moral traits an aging, curmudgeonly Buchanan would attempt to inculcate into the young James VI – the character of his unattractive opposite can be easily imagined: the tyrant was cruel, bestial, hypocritical, self-serving, wracked with passion. Buchanan abhorred uncontrolled passion, and it is crucial to recognise that for him, as for his classical sources and for many of his contemporaries, passion was invariably associated with women. Thus, tyranny itself is gendered feminine, insofar as a ruler who lacks the masculine qualities of reason and restraint, who succumbs to base passions like lust and greed, becomes a tyrant, a 'monster[s] of effeminacy'. Applied to Mary, a *female* ruler, this equation gains even greater power: 'Women...possessed of weaker powers of reason, much more prone to be swayed by their passions, rash, inconstant, capricious, duplicitous and licentious, were ill-equipped for any form of political participation'.[57] As a woman, Mary naturally inclines toward this behaviour; as a ruler, she exhibits all the worst effeminate qualities of the

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2000). Chapter 2 treats Buchanan's Latin poetry, especially as he grapples with the Stoic tension between public and private life.

[53] Bushnell, 15.

[54] Mason, '*Rex Stoicus*', 18-19; Burns, 199.

[55] Mason, 'George Buchanan', 19.

[56] Burns, 203.

[57] Mason, 'George Buchanan', 20. One of Mason's controlling theses is that Buchanan's conviction in the link between femininity and unrestrained passion fundamentally shapes his portrait of Mary. Norbrook also discusses Buchanan's dislike of female irrationality, especially as exemplified in Mary.

tyrant. Mary's brand of tyranny, as characterised by Buchanan in the *Detectioun* and elsewhere, grows out of her fickle affections and overpowering lust for Bothwell, which not only turns her into a murderer but also makes her willing to sacrifice the public good for the sake of her private desire. Mary had no place in Buchanan's 'austere and thoroughly masculine Scottish political world'.[58]

What, then, to do with a ruler like Mary, who fails to represent – let alone achieve – the ideal? Perhaps more than ever before, sixteenth-century contributors to *speculum principis* literature were obliged to deal with this question. As Lutheranism and other brands of Protestantism spread during the period, as European princes tried to quash these movements, the Reformers seriously contemplated what measure of loyalty a citizen owed to a secular superior who refused to accept the new faith. Increasingly, both Lutherans and Calvinists began to advocate forcible resistance to an 'inferior magistrate', to that ruler who did not meet their definition of the godly prince.[59] Buchanan, therefore, expressed his theory of just tyrannicide during a period in which resistance theory was widely debated. And he had ample reason to be concerned about 'inferior magistrates', Mary Stewart serving as his local and most apt example. Buchanan's political conclusions and convictions must be understood in the context of this immediate experience. Undoubtedly, his views had evolved over the course of a lifetime of scholarship, but in the 1570s he had the pragmatic task of defending the actions his party had taken against the Queen of Scots. That is, in contrast to his fellow Protestants, Buchanan was writing to defend a revolt *after the fact*, which inevitably affects his argument. Moreover, his political writings needed to sway a particular audience: the European powers, especially the French. This, to some degree, also accounts for his reliance on a classical model for the *De iure regni*. As J. H. Burns notes, the eminent members of Buchanan's desired

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[58] Mason, 'George Buchanan', 22.
[59] See Skinner, vol. 2, chapter 7.

audience 'were not to be satisfied – many of them could only have been repelled – by the biblical rhetoric of a Knox or a Goodman'.[60] Mary, of course, as created by Buchanan, especially in the *Detectioun*, fails to live up to either a classical or Biblical model of a temperate, godly ruler. And as Roger Mason has pointed out, although Buchanan's formulation of the ideal prince may be essentially secular, his Stoic morality would accord well with the puritanical Calvinism which he now professed.[61] Both systems of thought provided grounds on which to condemn Mary for tyranny.

Ideas about tyranny, however, could travel through another, more imaginative conduit than philosophical treatise: the long dramatic tradition – in the Greek, Roman, and, in due course, Renaissance theatres – of representing the hypocrisy and passion of tyrants on stage, a literary form with which Buchanan himself experimented. As far back as Plato and into the anti-theatrical discourse of the Renaissance, the theatre was the haunt of tyrants, both as sponsors of plays and as dramatic figures. Tyranny and theatre, therefore, became strongly associated not only literally but mimetically. Tragedy presented the tyrant on stage, behaving badly like the tyrannical figures of history and legend. In turn, the qualities of the stage tyrant came to epitomise what one could expect from a real-world tyrant, or those described in other genres like *speculum principis* literature. In this way, political prose and drama came to share a common 'language and mode of representation' of tyranny. From this shared symbolic system, the characterisation of the tyrant as hypocrite and actor emerges.[62] Bushnell explains why the connection is so potent and unsettling:

> The tyrant is identified with the tragic actor both because he personifies the violence and cruelty that is tragedy's essence and because his nature is fundamentally histrionic. In contrast to a proper king, the tyrant presents a multitude of different faces, pretending to be good while full of malice.[63]

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[60] Burns,196.
[61] Mason, 'George Buchanan', 19.
[62] Bushnell, xiv.
[63] Ibid., 7.

The Protean nature of the tyrant, the ability to shift shapes and to dissimulate, threatens to dissolve the apparent difference between good and bad kings. For Niccolò Machiavelli, notorious proponent of *realpolitik*, dissembling was simply the way of politics, rather than a source of anxiety. Pointing his prince toward success, he would famously espouse a more pragmatic Aristotelian approach, accepting that ruling a state requires a certain amount of deception: 'For a prince, therefore, it is not necessary to have all the above-mentioned [good] qualities, but it is judged necessary to appear to have them'.[64] For Plato, especially influential for Renaissance ideas about tyranny, 'acting' implies the potential of 'no "real" or single self on which moral or political character can be grounded', a prospect made even more frightening by the state's dependence on the prince's personal bearing.[65] Proper education, it was hoped, could avert this danger: the *speculum* and morally edifying history – replete with examples of good and bad kings – sought to mould a prince's self into something consistent. But even a rigorous educational programme could not entirely assuage the fear that a tyrant might be clever enough to play the role of good prince, while indulging in shocking behaviour behind the scenes. The theatrical trope, then, forges the link between tyranny and acting: a play's familiar figure swaggers through his familiar tyrannical role; the audience can identify him, shudder at his hypocrisy and deception, and observe his destruction (his expected fate in the theatre) in relative safety. The possibility also exists, however, that the tyrant can metaphorically step off the stage and become a destabilising force in the real world, the face and voice of tyranny obscured by the feigned appearance of a proper king.

Buchanan's writings both recognise and take advantage of the link between politics and drama. In the *Detectioun*, he turns his austere political philosophy against

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[64] *The Prince*, trans. and ed. Angelo M. Codevilla (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 66. Aristotle suggests that the tyrant can retain power by pretending to be good, and perhaps in pretending he will become so.
[65] Bushnell, 58.

Mary by using the theatrical trope and, associatively, casting her in the role of tyrant. Before considering her representation more fully, however, we should look at one of Buchanan's original Latin dramas, *Baptistes sive calumnia tragœdia*.[66] This play not only shares shelf space with his political prose of the 1570s, but it also shows Buchanan working through his conception of tyranny and of politics in dramatic form. Buchanan composed *Baptistes* early in his career, probably during his teaching days at Bordeaux in the early 1540s.[67] Like his other early plays – *Medea, Alcestis,* and *Jephtha – Baptistes* was surely designed as a teaching tool, just as surely as it demonstrates his (and his contemporaries') interests in rhetoric, Latin drama, and the reworking of classical tragic models, in this case Senecan and Euripidean.[68] Here can be found humanism's deliberate turn away from the more popular medieval form of morality plays and interludes, which are also filled with tyrants but characterised by a taste for spectacle and violence. As David Norbrook reminds us, 'Many Renaissance humanists were somewhat suspicious of the popular theater of their day, complaining that it appealed to the emotions rather than to the intellect'.[69] Emphasis, then, shifts from spectacle to language in neoclassical plays, putting the tyrant 'in debate with others and himself' and introducing 'the rhetoric of debate about tyranny'.[70] When he writes about *Baptistes* to his pupil James VI in 1576, Buchanan signals his approval of this cultural shift as well as the didactic benefits of this play for the young king:

> ...for, although abortive, it is none the less my first production and calls young persons away from the popular taste for theatrical allegories towards the imitation of antiquity as well as endeavouring vigorously to incite in them a zeal for true religion, which at that time was everywhere persecuted. But what can be seen to be of particular concern to you, is its

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[66] *Baptistes* was printed by Thomas Vautrollier at London in 1577. For its various editions, see Durkan, *Bibliography.*
[67] Sharratt and Walsh survey the debate and put forward this hypothesis in their introduction, op. cit.
[68] Ibid., 9; Reiss, 49.
[69] Norbrook, 112.
[70] Bushnell, 103.

> clear portrayal of the sufferings of tyrants and of their miseries even when they seem to prosper most.[71]

As James's tutor, Buchanan stresses the pedagogical function of this play as moral exemplum; as political theorist, in *Baptistes* Buchanan explores the implications of theatricality in public life.[72] Although *Baptistes*'s use of biblical matter was common in humanist drama, Buchanan takes the subject of his play – the conflict between John the Baptist and Herod – 'in a rather different direction, in that he laicises and politicises it'.[73] The play is animated by Buchanan's argument about the distinction between kingship and tyranny; his loathing for hypocrisy and political actors; and his distrust of the feminine faculty in political life. Although we do not know whether Buchanan revised *Baptistes* for its first publication in 1577, the themes of the play are strikingly germane to his political thought at that time; indeed, it has been regarded as 'part of the pattern that leads to the appearance of the *De iure regni* and the *Historia*' just a few years later.[74] For that reason, *Baptistes* gives insight into Buchanan's political imagination and his conception of how literary and political elements, when combined, can have considerable argumentative force.

The play opens with a debate between two rabbis, Malchus and Gamaliel, in which they argue about the religious and political threat posed by John the Baptist. Malchus assails John for questioning the authority of rabbis and challenging Jewish 'ancestral discipline'. He believes that John's 'appearance of stern sanctity' is a ploy: 'With his shaggy hair, his frame covered with skins, his diet of wild game and deceits of that kind, he has attracted the attention of all. The common folk believe that a new prophet has suddenly been bestowed on the world' (135). Although Malchus despises the

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[71] Qtd. in McFarlane, 386. See Plato's *Republic* Book IX for the idea that tyrants are the unhappiest of men (especially 576a-579e).
[72] McFarlane discusses the pedagogical role of *Baptistes*, that the play could be seen as a *speculum* piece; but he also emphasises its political usefulness for 'militant humanists' (386).
[73] Ibid., 385. Bushnell makes a similar point, 113.
[74] Ibid., 387. See McFarlane, 385, for the possibility of revision.

'stupid crowd', Gamaliel advises caution, reminding him that 'one can often find a man from the ranks of common folk who does not fall behind the wisdom of his leaders': after all, 'Moses was a rustic; so was David' (137). After Malchus exits, Gamaliel meditates on how the Jewish elders themselves practise deception and protect their position by beguiling 'the ordinary folk with the appearance of holiness' (139). He develops the common but important topos of *paraître* and hypocrisy, contrasting the intrigues and flatterers of court life with the rustic truth of the 'lonely crannies of the unfrequented countryside' (135).[75] The Chorus elaborates on this theme, lamenting at length how men conceal the monstrousness of their true selves with feigned modesty and piety; most frightening, 'feigned devotion cloaks the cruelty of tyrants, the fringed robe wicked manners' (141). No one is who he seems, and the prevalence of calumny and gossip further aggravates the possibility of distinguishing between what seems to be true and what is true, between *paraître* and *être*.[76]

Enter Herod, the tyrant, speaking the lines of a wise and prudent king. When his Queen warns him of the danger posed by 'faction[s]' and 'secret gatherings' in support of John, he dismisses the need for state violence: 'Surely this is the difference between the tyrant and the good king, that the king keeps watch on enemies, whereas the tyrant is the enemy of the citizens'. Yet, the Chorus has warned against looking for a king's mind in the 'distorting mirror' of his words. In soliloquy, Herod admits as much, describing the wretched state of kings, required, as they are, to dissimulate and 'don the mask of respectability' (145). Then, in the same speech, he secretly resolves to do away with the Baptist by violence, 'to buttress the king's authority with bloodshed' (146). When he confronts John, however, Herod is once again the consummate politician. He recites the

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[75] McFarlane, 389. Allan discusses how Buchanan negotiates this typically Stoic tension between private virtue and public life (46-65).

[76] McFarlane, 389. Despite our awareness that the Baptist will be martyred by Herod's tyranny, the play first raises the possibility that even John feigns holiness. Malchus defines him as an ambitious demagogue; the Queen warns Herod that 'deceit is to be feared from stern-faced hypocrites' (141).

charges against John but also comments genially on how they two 'share the same country as native land, wet-nurse, and mother'. Herod also offers him an escape: 'I pray that you may dissolve the...charges against you in such a way that your innocence leaves me no occasion to exercise harshness' (144). Use words cleverly, reconstruct the representation of your character, prevaricate. John, however, refuses to play a linguistic game whose rules repulse him. He claims objectivity and candidness for his words: he speaks the 'naked truth'. His words, even when they seem abusive, are uttered in public, subject to the scrutiny of the people, and this grants them authority: 'I am a voice crying on the distant ridges of the mountains', he exclaims, describing himself as the herald for the coming of the Lord (151). His (and his words') authority derives from heaven, a claim, incidentally, very difficult to refute. The conflict between Herod and John ultimately cannot be resolved because in their confrontation two ethical worlds collide: one characterised by secret words and meanings, expediency and prevarication; the other by openness and 'truth', and the conviction that this truth will prevail over the deception of the court, if not in this world then in another. Yet, in this world, John is no match for the hypocrisy of Herod's court; and Buchanan's drama highlights his inability (or unwillingness) to equivocate in the political realm, which will have silenced him at the play's end. But this is a play and a familiar story at that: John is certain to lose his head, and when we witness Herod's Protean shrewdness, it does not exactly occasion surprise. But when political actors in the real world vie for the authenticity of their language, the play seems to ask, who will sort the hypocrites from the authentic?

On the truth about John's character, Gamaliel resolves, 'each man can draw his conclusion as his mind dictates' (140). His suggestion that the individual must bear the burden (or right) of determining the authenticity of language elevates the opinion of that individual as a member of the political community. McFarlane has remarked on the

play's theme that 'truth is more likely to be discovered in or through the people'.[77] While not wishing to dispute this entirely – and certainly Buchanan did put some faith in the common people[78] – I do think that the play's attitude toward the crowd is trickier than that. Nearly all the characters in the play execrate the common people for their ignorance and fickleness. Even John refers to the 'fickle crowd', although he excuses them for the faults of 'the Levite shining afar with gleaming robe' (150): if the people seem foolish, this is only because they become the prey of hypocritical priests and kings, from whom a word, a promise, a secret whim, means life or death. At the same time, political contenders recognise the power of the crowd and seek to absorb that power for themselves. When he meets John, Herod vaunts that the people approve of and follow him: 'You will realise from the witness of the people that I ignore injury to myself, but punish injury to the state' (144). It matters little whether the people can actually discern truth from fiction; what counts is the claim that they recognise and applaud your 'truth' as the authentic one. *Baptistes* thus connects political success with the ability to co-opt the common voice. Discovering truth 'in or through the people' is just a politic fiction.

Baptistes, as critics have noted, becomes a war of words in which both sides struggle to label the other as hypocritical.[79] As a political instrument, language can define and deceive, whether to shape public opinion about an opponent or to disguise one's own secret motivations. As a result, language loses its ability – if it ever existed – 'to express "truth"', caught as it is between rival 'truths'.[80] As Bushnell has pointed out, this 'crisis is not merely epistemological: it is also political, when political distinctions are blurred in

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[77] McFarlane, 407.
[78] For a thorough assessment of the role Buchanan envisioned for the common people, see Roger A. Mason, 'People Power? George Buchanan on Resistance and the Common Man', in *Widerstandsrecht in der frühen Neuzeit: Erträge und Perspektiven der Forschung im deutsch-britischen Vergleich*, ed. Robert von Friedeburg, 163-81 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001).
[79] Both Bushnell and Reiss explore this theme in their readings of the play.
[80] Reiss, 52.

language'.[81] Political hypocrisy and prevarication come in for severe criticism, especially as the audience hears Herod speaking like the proper king and witnesses his actions to the contrary. Yet, Buchanan's loathing for hypocrisy also involves an acute perception of how to survive in the world of politics. The most powerful and destructive propaganda, according to the play, can be calumny, specifically as an act of defining and naming your opponent's character *according to your terms*, staking out your rhetorical territory as it were.[82] The point is that in this play Buchanan reveals his attentiveness to the tricks – calumny, rumour, propaganda – through which political figures may rise or fall. And his portrayal of how propaganda works threatens to undermine his brash criticism of political deceit in other contexts – in the *Detectioun*, that is. The play's observations about politics and propaganda, in other words, reveal more about Buchanan's rhetorical strategy for condemning Mary – and perhaps that of his supporters among the Scottish nobility – than about her actual political behaviour. That the topics reviewed in this section all interact in *Baptistes* – kingship and tyranny, hypocrisy and theatricality – suggests that Buchanan found drama a fitting artistic form in which to work out his ideas on these subjects. It also underscores the shared dramatic qualities of these subjects and the dramatic nature of politics itself.

'ANE ENTERLUDE VPON A STAGE': THE DRAMA OF THE *DETECTIOUN*

In better times, George Buchanan had admired Mary Queen of Scots for her grace and refinement. He composed a poem on the occasion of her marriage to Francis in 1558, wrote masques and commemorative verses during her personal reign in Scotland, and, according to Thomas Randolph, often spent evenings reading Livy with Mary.[83] His

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[81] Bushnell, 114.
[82] For further comment on the significance of this as a political act, see Bushnell, 42-7.
[83] For a note on Buchanan's court entertainments, see Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR* 69 (April 1990): 12.

change of heart for the queen, after the fallout of Darnley's murder, was profound and permanent.[84] Even if his narrative of her misdeeds is utterly biased and inaccurate, one also feels certain of Buchanan's sincere conviction in Mary's corruption. Accurate or not, however, Buchanan's narrative seizes for itself all claims to truth – it is a powerful voice crying out against immorality and injustice. A 'detection', according to the *OED*, promises to expose or reveal something concealed, especially criminal information, and the entire published volume is written and designed in order to lay out the truth. Its assertion of 'openness' becomes the basis for its argument, especially when contrasted with the 'secrecy' of Mary's court. Ironically, the *Detectioun* sheds its 'light of treuth' through shrewd fictions (Ki^{v}). Embellished with colourful and familiar details, stories can be satisfying, memorable, and convincing: this is what Buchanan banks on in the *Detectioun*. Gripped by a tale of passion and intrigue, the reader observes Mary's tragic descent into lust, feminine self-interest, and cruel murder – and, somehow, enjoys believing this version of the story. And then, under the illusion of an open and fair legal proceeding, in which Mary 'speaks' in her letters and sonnets, that same reader passes judgment on the Queen's character.

This and the final section of this chapter consider the *Detectioun* as a textual space where various discourses collaborate in the condemnation of Mary: moral, political, legal, and dramatic. I begin by focusing on the characterisation of Mary, especially in terms of how the political argument emerges through literary categories. A closer look at the supplementary material, the sonnets in particular, should clarify how this volume enacts a struggle for the ownership and authenticity of words, a struggle which, in the end, may unravel the fabric of its own argument.

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[84] See Mason, 'George Buchanan', 14-17, for comments on Buchanan's turn against Mary and commitment to Moray.

First, however, a brief review of the narrative. The *Detectioun* begins with Mary's 'first inconstancie' (Aii^{v}), the sudden alteration in her affection for Darnley: with no apparent cause, she begins to neglect him and to exclude him from council business. After the birth of James, she launches in earnest her plan to 'dispatch away the king...and to mary with Bothwell' (Aiii^{r}). This involves creating conflict and suspicion between Darnley and the other nobles, especially Moray. She consorts flagrantly with Bothwell, making him the 'gouerner of all her counsels and all her affaires' (Aiiii^{v}), while Darnley wanders around the Scottish countryside, seeking her love but receiving only coldness from her and her nobles. With the help of two women, Mary and Bothwell enjoy a lovers' tryst at the Exchequer house in Edinburgh. When Bothwell is seriously wounded on the Borders, Mary 'flingeth away in hast like a mad woman' to be at his side (Biii^{v}). Once at Jedburgh, she too falls gravely ill; she and Bothwell convalesce in the same house and manage, despite their poor health, to return 'to thair auld pastime' (Ci^{r}). Later, in the presence of Moray, Huntly, Argyle, and Lethington, Mary expresses her wish to be rid of Darnley; when they advise her against divorce for fear of bastardising James, she settles even more firmly on 'hir intentioun of murdering the king' (Cii^{r}). At Stirling in December, Darnley is excluded from James's baptismal festivities, while Bothwell receives extravagant gifts and greets the foreign ambassadors. At this insult, Darnley departs for Glasgow and, on the way, becomes grievously sick: clearly, Mary has poisoned him. When this plot fails, she sets out for Glasgow to feign reconciliation and bring him to Edinburgh – for another try at murder. The rest of the story is familiar. Darnley is lodged at Kirk O'Field; Mary plays the dutiful wife; Bothwell engineers the explosion which kills Darnley; Mary pretends to grieve. Because Mary fails to seek out the murderers, there is public outcry, and Bothwell is acquitted in a trial that resembles 'ane enterlude vpon a stage' more than a proper legal proceeding (Fi^{r}). Mary and

Bothwell then devise the Queen's 'rape', secure a hasty divorce for him, and, finally, wed in 'vnmatrimoniall matrimonie' (Fiii^{v}). The narrative concludes with a brief statement about Carberry Hill, where Mary sends Bothwell away and comes 'her selfe to the Lordes of the realme', who seek to find and punish the king's murderers (Fiiii^{r}).

This summary, of course, fails to capture the vivid invention of Buchanan's narrative, which brims with spectacle and conspiracy. On the title pages of the Latin and French editions, the tale is called a tragedy, a 'Histoire vrayement tragique', a dramatic motif made even more conspicuous in the *De Maria* with its 'Catastrophe huius Tragœdiæ' ('Epilogve' in the *Histoire*, the final paragraph of the 'oration' in the *Detectioun*). Indeed, the theatrical trope perfectly captures the visual and dramatic qualities of this text. And far from being an imposition of the literary critic, references to the theatre appear often in the narrative as metaphors for Mary's arts of illusion. Theatre, in other words, provides a suitable venue for depicting and explaining her political deceit.

Some examples will clarify. The preparation for and execution of Darnley's murder occasions the more theatrical moments of the story. When Mary departs Glasgow for Edinburgh with the convalescent Darnley, she stages a triumphal procession – she, the conqueror, leading a lamb to the slaughter:

> The Quene gloriously shewyng hir selfe in pompous maner goeth befoir in triumph ouer the yong gentleman vexit with all kynde of iniuries, tormentit with poyson, entrappit with treasons and drawen to execution. There followe after the triumphant carre, the auncient enemies to his fathers house, brought thether for the nones, that thay alswa might fede thair eyes with that woefull spectacle....The pepill, all alang the way lukyng pitiously shewit a foreboding of na gude lucke to come. (Kiii^{v})

Once this procession reaches Edinburgh, Mary 'finely...play[s] hir part' with Darnley (Diii^{v}): she visits him daily, keeping him occupied by torturing him with fair promises and fostering quarrels between him and other nobles. Bothwell, meanwhile, prepares 'the tragical stage for the murder' (Lii^{r}).

The 'oration', especially, emphasises Mary's pleasure with her starring role in this murderous drama. Rather than allow Darnley's enemies to participate, for example, she insists that they be 'but lukers on, and nat pairtplayers in this tragedie: but the glorie of the fact sche reservit to hyr self and Bothwell' (Liii[r]). Mary reacts calmly to the news of Darnley's death – in fact, she lies in until noon the following day – but quickly realises that she must 'counterfeit[eth] a mourning' in order 'to appease the hartes of the grudgying pepill' and, thereby, avoid 'marring the play' (Miii[r]; Eii[v]). All is nearly lost, however, when Sir Henry Killigrew visits the Queen to offer official condolences on behalf of Elizabeth. He arrives suddenly and unmasks Mary's disguised mourning: 'yet he came in sa unseasonably ere the stage wer prepared and furnished, that he found the windowes open, the candeles nat yet lighted, and all the prouision for the play out of order' (Eiii[r]). As already mentioned, the trial of Bothwell is a travesty of legal procedure, compared to 'ane enterlude vpon a stage'; similarly, his divorce from Lady Jane Gordon fails 'to obserue the ceremonies of lawful order, but (as thay vse to do in enterludes) thay prouidit a certain shew or disguisit counterfayting of commoun vsage' (Ni[v]). In the end, Mary becomes the *deus ex machina* of her own play. When Bothwell quails at the prospect of combat at Carberry Hill, she must rescue his valour by giving an 'honest colour' to his refusal to fight: 'the Quene, as it weir some God out of a ginne in a tragedie, had by hir auchoritie taken vp the mattir, and forbidden hir prety venereous pigioun to do battaile' (Iii[r]). These examples should leave no doubt that the theatrical idiom (expressed in references to stage, actor, tragedy, play, interlude, disguise, even props) provides an important metaphorical framework for the *Detectioun*. Presenting this story through the language and conventions of drama makes it more intelligible. Whether through classical or native tradition, this language was familiar in the sixteenth century: the reader would know what to expect from tragedy and would know what was expected

of him as a 'spectator'. Moreover, by creating the sense of a 'performance' of Mary's downfall, the *Detectioun* cleverly adopts the perspective of theatre: all viewpoints may be presented. The reader not only observes activity behind the scenes but feels a more impartial judge for doing so.

While not strictly theatrical, the entertainment of the *Detectioun* can be described as of the lower sort, bawdy and raucous. Sexual escapades and adventure abound in this narrative: Mary seeks another lover for her husband; sails with pirates; summons half-naked men to her room; sneaks through gardens at night; carouses at Seton; and is dramatically abducted by Bothwell. Her brief sojourn at the Exchequer house provides the most colourful action of the narrative. Here, she has convenient access to Bothwell, for he temporarily resides at David Chalmers's house, whose back door abuts the garden of the Exchequer. The encounter between Mary and Bothwell is engineered by Lady Reres, described by Buchanan as 'a woman of maist vile vnchastitie wha had sometime been one of Bothwels harlots', and who has now changed careers, from 'horedome' to 'bawderie'. First, Lady Reres brings Bothwell through the garden to Mary's chamber, where the Queen is 'forced agaynst hir will' (Bii^{r}). An enthusiastic convert to adulterous pleasure, Mary seeks out Bothwell's company a few days later. The ensuing comedy is worth quoting at length:

> The Quene with Margaret Carwod, a woman priuie of all her secretes, dyd let her [Lady Reres] downe by a stryng ouer an auld wall into the next garden. But in sic weirlike affaires, all thynges can not euer be so well foreseen, but that some incommodious chaunce may ouerthwartly happen. Behald, the stryng sodenly brake, and downe with a great noyse fell Dame Rerese, a woman very heauy baith by vnweldy age and massy substance. But sche an auld beaten soldiar, nothyng dismayed with the darkenes of the night, the heighth of the wall nor with the sodennesse of the fall, vp sche getteth, & winneth into Bothwels chamber, sche gyt the dore open, and out of his bed, euen out of his wiues armes, halfe a slepe, halfe naked, sche forceably bringes the man to the Queen. (Bii^{v})

The farcical moment in which the rope breaks and the hefty Lady Reres falls to the ground, regaining her senses quickly enough to yank Bothwell out of his bed, is pure entertainment. This episode as rhetorical strategy, however, is far more sophisticated than its slapstick comedy might suggest. Its garden wall, successfully penetrated to reach the desired and unattainable woman within, recalls a literary motif common to medieval and Renaissance romance. The motif is then comically – and threateningly – inverted, with the women tumbling over the wall to retrieve the man. The description of the women's 'weirlike affaires' – with the Lady Reres an 'auld beaten soldiar' – satirises their tactics of scaling a wall for an illicit sexual encounter. The garden chaos draws attention not only to the frivolous and immoral matters with which women concern themselves, but also to their disorderly and transgressive behaviour.

The women's nocturnal adventure conjures the *fabliau* comedy of stories like Chaucer's 'Miller's Tale'. In terms of a theatrical trope, it might also recall the unruly forces of 'lively and realistic farces'.[85] Whether an allusion to the popular stage or literary farce, the moment's melodrama will surely rouse the reader's imaginative faculty. Because Buchanan privileged humanist drama over the 'popular taste for theatrical allegories', I suspect that this, like other raucous moments in the *Detectioun*, he invents to underscore Mary's common indecency. 'Language over enactment' in drama suits the grave and learned Buchanan. Yet, in a text imbued with theatrical metaphor, he explains Mary's immorality and duplicity by casting her in scenes of coarse comedy.[86] Both form and content contribute to the insulting implication: her tyranny does not even merit the linguistic restraint of neo-classical tyrant tragedy. She is too common for that.

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[85] David Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 9. Bevington traces the development and influence of native drama in England.
[86] See Bushnell, 82-3, for Buchanan's emphasis on language rather than the histrionics of the morality play; and Norbrook, 112.

The decision to base Mary's tale on coarse and common elements has the added benefit of emphasising her female nature. First, as the garden scene is meant to demonstrate, Mary associates with the worst sort of women in her court. In fact, women in the *Detectioun* are invariably disruptive, their interests (usually in sexual matters) wholly antithetical to the serious, male world of politics. A sober, upright man like Moray gets awakened from his honest sleep, merely to be dragged into one of Mary's schemes. Women like Lady Reres and Margaret Carwood fight their sexual battles on garden walls. Even the Earl of Moray's wife participates in one of Mary's plots. Mary, of course, commands the spotlight for disrupting political affairs. Rather than govern her country, she devises illicit sexual encounters, worries with her adulterous lover's wardrobe, plots her husband's death, and still manages to attend a 'masking daunce' on the night of the murder (Mii^{r}). Such frivolity and licentiousness keep a monarch busy. Second, and obviously driving these activities is Mary's womanly passion: '[women] haue vehement affections baith wayes, thay loue with excesse, and hait without measure, and to quhat side sa euer thay bend, thay are not gouerned by aduised reason, but carried by violent motion' (Gi^{v}). It follows, then, that just as Mary married Darnley in a 'hedlang & rash' fit of passion, so her love turns to violent hate (Aii^{v}). When she protests to her nobles that she must be rid of Darnley, she resorts to pure melodrama, claiming that as long as she is burdened with this marriage 'she should neuer haife ane gude day. And if by no vther way she cauld atteine it, rather than she wald abide to liue in sic sorow, she wald slay hir self' (Ci^{r-v}). If the monarch's personal morality shapes the state, then Mary's Scotland suffers under the yoke of her inconsistency, dissoluteness, and lack of reason.

She is also an actor, the embodiment of deceit, the instigator and centrepiece of intrigue. That Mary functions as a 'trope of duplicity' not only gives thematic unity to the

narrative but also serves as political strategy:[87] her hypocrisy – like her femininity – specifically recalls the definition of tyranny. As we have seen, *paraître* is a predominant theme of *Baptistes*. Herod, a king who wears a 'mask of respectability', presides over a court characterised by dissimulation. In such a world, the play asks, how do we determine who is honest and who only appears to be? To an equal if not greater degree, the *Detectioun* shares these concerns. Entirely preoccupied with feigned behaviour, the *Detectioun* asserts that nothing about Mary is authentic – hence, its goal of uncloaking her treachery. Specific instances of intrigue form the backbone of Buchanan's narrative: adultery, secret plans, murder plots, fake mourning, phoney trials, sham rapes. Throughout the *Detectioun*, language reinforces Mary's deceptiveness, returning obsessively to the theme of *paraître*, to the discrepancy between what is seen and unseen. To hide her secret desires and schemes, Mary – as Buchanan variously describes it – feigns, devises, pretends, dissembles, invents, and 'shifts'. On the eve of Darnley's murder, 'feyning an vther cause to depart' from Kirk O'Field, Mary suddenly remembers her promise to attend a servant's wedding masque: 'Alas I haif mikle offendit toward Sebastian this day that I come not in a maske at hys mariage' (Diii^{r}). Her excuse, whether real or invented, fits appropriately with the narrative of secrecy: a lavish celebration – to which Mary will arrive masked – affirms the luxury and deceitfulness of her and her court and, in doing so, offends the stern rectitude of her Protestant opponents.[88] The *Detectioun* thus reminds its readers that the 'fringed robe' hides 'wicked manners'. Behind Mary's title and appearance of nobility lurks an immoral woman, willing to sacrifice the weal of her country to the accomplishment of her own private desires.

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[87] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 21.

[88] Mason, 'George Buchanan', points out Buchanan's alarm at Mary's 'cultivation of monarchical grandeur' (16). Though the example here in the *Detectioun* differs slightly, I do think he would find such frivolity as masking repugnant. The irony, of course, is that Buchanan himself wrote masques for Mary's court entertainment. See note 83.

All of these themes should be familiar. Buchanan's representation of Mary in the *Detectioun* is governed by the unsavoury qualities of the bad ruler that he highlights in *Baptistes*. As a woman, she is the feminised tyrant: rash and histrionic in her passions, subordinating public good to private desire, more common strumpet than dignified queen. As a queen, she is an actor: manipulating the nobles who surround her, delivering the lines of the good wife, engineering schemes to promote her interests – a very Herod. Her tyranny, though interestingly expressed through these categories, does receive more open declaration. For example, Mary tries to cast suspicion on Moray and Morton for Darnley's murder, because they are the 'likely aduersaires to her practise quha entendyt to set vp a tyrannicall regiment' (Di^{v}). Of particular concern to Buchanan is Mary's connection to her Guisean relatives, 'quho thaimselfis practisit to set vp a tyrannous rule in France'. In her early days as queen, Mary was naïve and unschooled in governing a kingdom: suddenly advanced 'to the hiest degree of authoritie', her kinsmen 'furnishit [her] with vntemperate counsels', whereby Mary begins to play the Machiavel, even at Bothwell's expense (Iiii^{r}):

> Sche thairfoir a woman gredily coueting vntemperit authoritie, quho estemit the lawes hir prison, and the bridle of iustice hir bondage, quhen she saw in hir husband nat mettall enough to trouble the state, she piked out a man for hir purpose, quho nouther had in his wealth any thyng left to be lost, nor in his fame any thyng remayning that might be stainit, and yet sic a one as stode nat vpon any sic strength but that he might easily be ouerthrowen agayne quhen she should ones waxe wery of him. (Iiii^{v}-Iiiii^{r})

Her desire for 'vntemperit authoritie', as this book testifies, will be withstood by the political safeguards so cherished by Buchanan: 'the custome of the contrey, the lawes and statutes, and principally the consent of the nobilitie' (Iiii^{r-v}). If the purpose of the *Detectioun* is to defend the rebellion against Mary, its strategy is to expose and characterise her tyranny, to let her strut and fret her way across its pages. As Bushnell notes, the naming of a tyrant is itself a 'political act': in sixteenth-century political

writing, 'the point was to be able to call your enemy a tyrant and on that ground to claim that he or she had forfeited a subject's respect due to a monarch in the natural order'.[89] Quite simply, to make Mary into a tyrant justifies her overthrow. Just as *Baptistes* dramatises how calumny can be used against political rivals,[90] the *Detectioun* uses propaganda to define and demonise an opponent in very specific terms. In both works, the victors are those who can manipulate language – in this case, certainly not Mary.

All parties responsible for the *Detectioun* in its final form – the Scottish nobles, Buchanan, the English government – recognised the importance of controlling the terms of the debate, of making Mary into whatever they needed her to be. When they need her to play conflicting roles, however, the narrative can seem unstable. Like John in *Baptistes*, Buchanan and his sponsors proclaim the 'naked truth' of their words in contrast to Mary's hypocrisy. The success of her hypocrisy, however – whence the need for their words – is arguable. As in the quote with which this chapter began, the narrator frequently admits that describing her misbehaviour in print is unnecessary, as she was flagrantly licentious: why reiterate her wickedness when it 'was openly done in all mens sight, & continueth emprint in all mens memorie' (Bi^{v}). Yet, with its firm insistence on Mary's duplicity, the *Detectioun* gets caught between rival claims: was she a master of deception, or can 'all men' easily recognise and remember her secret malice? In this narrative, even Mary often seems unsure about just how secretive she wants to be. Buchanan characterises her adultery with Bothwell as so flagrant that 'thay semed to feare nathing mair than least thair wickednes should be vnknawen' (Biiii^{v}). As if to underscore this dilemma, in several copies of the *Detectioun* a contemporary hand has amended a similar statement: 'baith she and her company so framed thair speche & countenance, as if thay semed to feare nothing mair than that the king should ^ \ not /

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[89] Bushnell, 46.
[90] Ibid., 113.

perceaue that thay lothed him' (Aiiii^{v}).[91] These contradictions do not suggest a very accomplished hypocrite – she is either stupid or arrogant – and the narrative seems unable to decide between Mary's duplicity and her laughably obvious schemes. The *Detectioun* gets caught in this bind because it needs Mary to be both an expert and a failed dissembler: the expert unquestionably tyrannous, the failure exposed and shamed. This distinction – one of the more important aspects of the *Detectioun* – is largely gendered. Herod's Queen in *Baptistes* displays the tyrannical qualities of rage and passion, but she is not quite up to the political 'acting' of Herod. In fact, in *Baptistes* Buchanan does not really ask the audience to consider the Queen: she is simply female, and politically less interesting and less instructive. The real tyrant in the play is Herod, more calculating, the one who can manipulate language. Women, in other words, simply cannot be politicians because they are weak and incompetent. For his political argument, however, Buchanan needs a cruel tyrant, worthy of deposition. He works through this dilemma by giving us a conniving queen, who stupidly flaunts her deceit: not only is Mary a dissembling tyrant, but her female nature also makes her an inept one.

The 'commoun pepill' also help resolve any contradictions in Mary's behaviour, for in the *Detectioun* they discover her tyranny and become the benchmark for her condemnation. At first, Mary keeps her plans so secret that neither her subjects nor those 'right familiar and present' can be sure of her intentions. Soon, however, she and her lover become 'infamous amang the pepill' (Biiii^{r}). Her mistreatment of Darnley continues to raise 'the pepils suspicioun, vtherwise of it selfe alredy enough inclined to that iudgement, of the vnchast companiyng of the Quene with Bothwell' (Cii^{r-v}). The common people recognise the 'disguising of the court' after Darnley's murder, and finally, despite the contagion of Mary's duplicity, the 'indignatioun of the pepill' prevails: by rumours

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[91] Of the six copies I have consulted, three have this emendation: Bodl., Buchanan f.128 and Wood 255(1); and UM, DA787.A1 B93.

and placards, 'by bukes...& by pictures', the 'hale multitude in generall' can no longer be restrained by the threats of Mary's court (Ei[r], Eii[v]). The *Detectioun* then promises to give the 'testimonie of the hale pepill':

> Quhen at the Quenis going abrode amange the pepill, the greatest pairt of the commons were wont to make acclamations, wishing hir well and happily with sic speches as either luif enforceth or flatterie inuenteth: now at hir going after the kingis slaughter to the castell through the chiefe and maist populous strete of the towne, there was all the way a sad glumming silence. And quhen ane woman alone of the multitude had cryit God saue the Quene, an vther by and by sa cryit out as all men might hear hir, Sa be it to euery ane as thay haif deseruit'. (Nii[r])

This sequence of events, quite explicitly, echoes the tale of a widespread populist movement against Mary – not only the campaign of the satirical broadsides but also another version of Mary's rumoured encounter with the market women. What Sir William Drury believed he was observing with the rash of satirical poems and other placards, Buchanan writes in narrative form here. The power of the story does not dissipate. With regard to *Baptistes*, I argued that while the play suggests that truth will be discovered 'in and through the people', it also appreciates that assuming the common voice as your own, having the people claim your 'truth', can be a political argument of great force. It hardly matters whether you put stock in their opinion or not; it is the illusion of their support that counts. In the *Detectioun*, this tactic, embraced by Buchanan, confirms the authenticity of the narrative, for the common people do not just applaud its truth, they were the first to perceive it.

The common people are not alone in taking the stand against their queen, however. Perhaps, the 'oration' bellows like a prosecutor, a royal witness would have more authority: 'go to, let vs bring forth a royall witnesse. Read her awin letter, her letter (I say) written with her awin hand' (Hiii[r]). And so begins the fiction that the reader observes an impartial legal hearing in which the prosecution speaks in the narrative and Mary confesses in the letters and sonnets. The *Copie of a Letter*, which announces that

both 'Parties' present their cases, draws attention to this ruse and echoes the legal terminology of the *Detectioun*. Like that of theatre and tyranny, the language of law also provides a way of understanding the strategy of this book. That both parties are 'heard' can be associated with the theatrical trope, because to a remarkable degree this is a legal performance, and the 'oration' is a rhetorical exercise that reads like a 'speech for the prosecution'.[92] Although primarily interested in the development of printed drama, Julie Stone Peters makes observations about performance and text useful in the present context. 'Playing and oratory', she remarks about sixteenth-century culture, 'dialogue and narration, representing and reporting has blurred boundaries'.[93] I suggested at the outset of this chapter that the *Detectioun* aims to close the gap between event and retelling, between phenomenon and representation. One of its strategies to accomplish this goal, I think, is to blur these boundaries even further, to make text and performance collapse into one another. As Peters remarks, 'performance could take the form of inscription: the spectacle could "imprint" itself on the spectator's imagination' – something specifically claimed by the *Detectioun*; or, perhaps more pertinent, the *Detectioun* 'could be figured as theatrically performing'.[94] And the voices of this legal proceeding resonate throughout the book, bringing its text to life: the prosecutorial voice, various Scottish nobles, legal officers, Darnley's father, Bothwell's co-conspirators, Mary, even the Scottish people, all speak and argue.

Making the reader an active participant in this legal performance presents the greatest challenge. The opening Chorus of Shakespeare's *Henry V* wonders how players can hope to bring the spectacle of Agincourt to the stage: 'Can this cockpit hold / The vasty fields of France?' he asks.[95] As a solution, he appeals to the imagination of the

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[92] McFarlane, 324.
[93] Peters, 94.
[94] Ibid., 109, 111.
[95] *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), ll. 11-12.

spectators: 'Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them / Printing their proud hoofs i'th' receiving earth; / For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings'.[96] The 'imaginary forces' of the audience must cooperate with the actors to bring the scene to life. In a prose work, the case is more challenging; with the text farther removed from event, even 'the performance...lies in the imagination of the reader'.[97] If the story is to have any persuasive force at all, the author of the *Detectioun* needs the reader to imagine himself in Scotland, observing Mary's misbehaviour and the ensuing tragedy. References to theatre and vivid descriptions of spectacle work toward this end, certainly. But like Shakespeare's Chorus, the *Detectioun* calls directly on the reader's imagination. 'Now I beseche you', the prosecutor says, 'sith you can nat wyth your eyes, yet at the least wyth your mindes behalde, a house quhilome of auld priests, amang grauis, betwene the ruines of twa temples, it selfe also ruinous, neere to the theefis haunt...', and the description of Darnley's place of destruction continues. By direct address to the reader and vivid description, the text struggles against its boundaries. It tries to negotiate a way to transport the reader and recreate the scene, to find an imaginary space which can hold simultaneously past performance and present text.

'QUHAT CERTAINE PROFE': THE RIVAL TRUTHS OF THE *DETECTIOUN*

Centuries of critics have replicated the exegesis of Mary's alleged words modelled by the narrator in the *Detectioun*. Surviving copies of the Casket Letters have been repeatedly collated; details, such as dates and places of travel, meticulously compared with other records; and partisan explanations recommended by opposing camps. The sonnets, as I noted earlier, have also begun to receive attention.[98] Both Rosalind Smith and Sarah

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[96] Ibid., ll. 26-8.
[97] T. H. Howard-Hill, 'The Evolution of the Form of Plays in English During the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43.1 (spring 1990): 112.
[98] See note 7 for recent criticism.

Dunnigan have sought to free the poems from an enslavement to historical narrative as documents that confirm Mary's adulterous affair with Bothwell. As Smith rightly observes, the only surviving manuscript copy of the poems demonstrates their utilitarian possibilities: a detailed marginal gloss acts 'as a key identifying historical figures and biographical events in the text'.[99] (See Appendix 2.8.) Smith laments the neglect of the poems 'as literary texts and as part of the wider genre' and, in recompense, uncovers their indebtedness to the Petrarchan sonnet and complaint traditions.[100] More recently, Sarah Dunnigan has devoted a chapter of her *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* to this sonnet sequence. While acknowledging the historical backdrop – specifically as a moment in which amatory verse helps to justify regime change – Dunnigan attends to the '"genuine" erotic energies' of the poems.[101] She too re-contextualises Mary's erotic verse in a tradition of female lyric poetry, a wider literary framework that highlights the theme of 'feminine martyrdom' and, she argues, makes the poems 'potentially redemptive' for Mary.[102]

At the heart of any inquiry into the sonnets – historical or literary – lies the troubling issue of authorship. Mary always denied these writings as hers; the Scottish nobles always denied forgery. This stalemate traps Mary in yet another, largely gendered double bind: granted authorship, she becomes a ruler willing to sacrifice her state for an adulteress passion; denied authorship, she is merely a poetic construct, silenced by a male forger, refused a 'textual voice of her own'.[103] For critics, as Dunnigan remarks, the authorial impasse 'creates a number of interpretative problems: how can any reading of their [the sonnets'] political, moral or aesthetic content accommodate the dual

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[99] Smith, 91-2. This manuscript copy may be found in CUL, Oo.7.47, fols. 46^{r}-49^{r}. It is a fair copy in neat italic hand, probably copied out of the printed *Detectioun*. Davidson discusses aspects of this MS.
[100] Ibid., 92.
[101] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 2.
[102] Ibid., 42.
[103] Smith, 120.

possibilities of Mary's authorial responsibility and their status as the product of politically intentioned (masculine) forgery?'[104] Because of their interest in re-contextualising the poems within female literary traditions, however, critics like Smith and Dunnigan rely on the likelihood of Mary's authorship, even if this assumption must always be provisional. Smith argues that the 'arguments over materiality...support the authenticity of the sonnet sequence', though she admits the remnants of a 'puzzling unfamiliarity, a sense of wrongness which fuels the attribution debate'.[105] Either way, she concludes, the text 'involves a performance of gender and carries strong implications as to the generic capacities attributed to women writers by their contemporaries'.[106] Dunnigan similarly dodges the authorship question by labelling the poems as '"Marian" utterances: that is,...poetic texts or discursive expressions associated *with* the name of Mary'.[107] Such moves allow these critics to consider how the poems construct subjectivity and gender, especially as projected through generic convention. Presumably, these readings are not accessible when the poems are treated as the 'product of politically intentioned (masculine) forgery'.

While I find these literary approaches to the poems entirely valid, this chapter strives to imagine some element, some new way of thinking about these poems that can account for their contested status and that 'sense of wrongness' noticed but dismissed by Smith. What has not been considered with regard to the sonnets – or the letters, for that matter – is how they speak within the context of the *Detectioun*, their debut in print. This final section briefly explores what happens to Buchanan's narrative, to the pieces

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[104] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 19. Although ultimately unknowable, the solution to the authorship debate most likely lies somewhere in between: letters and sonnets built from Mary's writings, from those of another woman, and from additions and interpolations made by Mary's enemies. See Davison, chapter 12; Smith, 98-9; and note 6, which lists the major contenders in the Casket debate.
[105] Smith, 97. I must admit that I completely fail to see how the sonnets' materiality supports Mary's authorship.
[106] Ibid., 93.
[107] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 20.

themselves, and to the published volume as a whole when we re-contextualise 'Mary's words' in their original situation. I argued earlier that Buchanan's case for Mary's tyranny gets mired, at least momentarily, in the need to have her play both the duplicitous tyrant and the inept ruler. Her gender guides him through this predicament: she is a conniving tyrant, sure enough, but her female weakness dooms her to be a failure, exposed and disgraced. The instability of Buchanan's narrative can certainly be attributed to a conflict within such controlling metaphors, as well as to its blatant inaccuracies. The most threatening tension of the *Detectioun*, however, may lie in the relationship between the narrative and its supplementary material. Although intended to work as partners in the anti-Marian case, these elements, when printed in the same volume, placed in such proximity to one another, do not always behave as expected. The language of the sonnets begins to expose the central and futile debate between the opposing parties: word against word, truth against truth. Rather than living up to its extravagant claims to openness, Buchanan's narrative, when read against the sonnets, betrays itself as just another anxious version of 'truth'. The narrator's self-congratulatory presentation of 'both sides' unsteadies the desired result of the volume.

The sonnets make the reader privy to the intricacies of a love triangle. The female speaker laments her inability to prove her constancy to the beloved, despite her desperate passion and her utter subjection to him. Meanwhile, the beloved's wife receives undeserved honour: her love for him is inauthentic, yet she holds him through feigned affection. The sequence, if it can be considered as such, lacks any real resolution.[108] Rather, the sonnets meditate compulsively on the speaker's faithfulness, the beloved's distrust, the wife's deceit. The roles played by these characters permit the development of several important themes. First, the female speaker chiefly worries about how she can

[108] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 18-19. In four of the eleven sonnets, the speaker addresses her lover directly (numbers I, II, VIII, and IX); in the remaining poems, she speaks of him in the third person (numbers III, IV, V, VI, VII, X, XI, plus the concluding sestet).

prove the authenticity of her love, even though she cannot express her passion publicly. 'O Goddis', she implores, 'haue of me compassioun, / And schew quhat certaine profe / I may geif, which shall nat seem to him vaine, / Of my loue and feruent affectioun' (I.1-4).[109] She claims already to have hazarded her 'fame & conscience' on his behalf, and would willingly 'for his sake renounce the world' (I.11-12). Her love for him forces her to behave inconsistently: she esteems 'al my frends les then nathing' and has 'gude hope of my enemies' (I.8-9). Faced with the beloved's persistent doubt of her 'firme constancie' and his suspicion that her 'wordes be but wind', she asks, 'Quhat remayneth to gief proofe of my constancie?' (VII.2, 11; I.14). Words failing, she promises to give 'sic profe, / That he sall know my constancie without fiction, / Not by weping, or faynit obedience, / As other haue done: but by vther experience' (II.11-14). What that 'experience' will be remains a mystery, though Mary's enemies construed it as confirmation of her involvement in Darnley's murder.

The principal conflict of the sequence is a contest for authenticity between the beloved's wife and the speaker, or, in an alternative formulation, a contest between *paraître* and *être* – a theme already made familiar by both the *Baptistes* and the narrative of the *Detectioun*. The speaker insists on the self-denying truth of her love, made manifest in her devotion and sacrifice, and although she must remain hidden, her love is uncorrupted by feigning or pretence. As Smith argues, the speaker uses her social exclusion 'to conversely prove her love and to shore up her unstable social position as mistress rather than as legal wife'.[110] The wife's love, however, is self-serving: through her socially approved alliance with her husband she has 'restored hyr house vnto honour', thereby using 'constancy for hyr awin profite' (IV.2, III.5). In the past, the speaker observes with sartorial derision, the wife has demonstrated 'in hyr clothing...vnfaynitly'

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[109] Citations of the sonnets refer to poem and line number. I quote from the Scots version in the1571 *Detectioun*, fols. Rii^{v}-Si^{r}.
[110] Smith, 126.

her confidence that nothing 'could deface hyr' in the beloved's heart (V.6, 8). Yet now, in a rare linear development, the wife begins to perceive her mistake and so to profess her love for her husband. Her declarations are accompanied by 'plaintes full of dissimulation', 'hye cryes and lamentations', outward deceptions by which she seems to be true. In contrast to the speaker, the wife can be dutiful and publicly acknowledged, even while her love remains histrionic and empty.

Yet the wife has one important trick up her unfashionable sleeve. Like the rival poet of traditional sonnet sequences, she challenges the speaker with words – 'writinges and paintit learning' meant to deceive her husband (VI.5). The two women thus compete not only to prove the genuineness of their love, but also to outdo one another as authors: here are the rival poets of traditional sonnet sequences. Unsurprisingly, the speaker accuses the wife of using 'payntit wordis' and creating fictions, just as she does with her tearful, dramatic behaviour. According to the speaker, however, the wife's writings are doubly deceptive, for they are plagiarised.[111] Unable to 'breid in hir braine' honest words to express a dishonest love, the wife has 'borrowit from sum feate authour' (VI. 6-7). The wife is incompetent, as well as insincere, her words inauthentic. Nevertheless, the speaker fears that the beloved has succumbed to his wife's tricks. He 'keip[s] in store / Hir letters and writinges', and begins to 'geif trust' to her words: 'You beleue hir (helas) I perceiue it to well, / And callist in doubt my firme constancie' (VI.12-13, VII.1-2). After the revelation of this poetic competition, the speaker returns to her initial theme. She once again swears to 'obay, and serue him truely' (VIII.10), alleging that, for love of him, she has forsaken 'all kin and frendes, / And set aside all vther respectes' (IX.12-13). The eleventh sonnet suggests a prolonged separation, in which the speaker worries that the

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[111] See Smith's discussion of the trope of plagiarism, 123.

beloved has either suffered a 'troublous and new accident' or abandoned her altogether (XI.13). The sequence closes with a sestet:

> Not seing you as you had promisit,
> I put my hand to the paper to write,
> Of ane differens that I haue willit copye.
> I can not tell what shalbe your iugement,
> But I knaw well quho can best loue,
> You may tell who shall winne maist.

These lines – though cryptic and possibly interrupted – convey a sense of resignation. Denied the beloved's company, the speaker is compelled to write. While reminding him that she still knows who loves best, the speaker leaves matters, finally, to the beloved's – or to the reader's – judgment.[112]

The language used to describe the situation of the sonnets closely resembles several passages of the Casket Letters. In Letter II, for example, the writer promises to 'spare nouther honor, conscience, hazarde, nor greitnes quhatsumeuir', like the poet who has willingly 'hazardit gretinees & conscience' (Tiiii^{v}, IX.11); she also complains about 'hir quhaies faynit teares should nat be sa mickle praysit nor esteemit, as the trew and faythfull trauails', like the poet who scorns her rival's 'teares, hyr plaintes full of dissimulation' (Tiiii^{v}, VI.10). Letters III, IV, and V, however, read as if the sonnets have been rendered into prose. The writer refers repeatedly to 'my onely wealth' and 'the onely vphold of my lyfe' (Ui^{v}, Uii^{r-v}), both phrases which appear verbatim in sonnets IV, VII, and X. She ruminates on the pleasures of being 'willyngly subduit' to him, 'bestowit worthylie vnder [his] regiment', and obliged to prove her 'obedience, [her] faithfulnes, constancie & voluntarie subiectioun' (Ui^{v}, Uii^{r}, Uiiii^{v}) – all the same masochistic desires similarly expressed by the poet in sonnets I, II, IX, and X. The depth of passionate commitment felt by the writer is expressed in her willingness to suffer 'suddain daith' on

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[112] Smith notes that the idea that the beloved must judge the women's dispute disturbingly reflects the juridical situation faced by Mary in 1568, which I treat further below (130). For the legal connotations of the genre of complaint, see John Kerrigan, ed., *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and 'Female Complaint'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 7.

behalf of the beloved (Ui^{v}): 'This is my fayth I wyll die in it' (Ti^{v}). The poet makes a similar pledge to him, 'in the subiectioun / Of quhome I wyll without any fictioun, / Liue and die, and this I consent' (X.12-14). These striking correspondences have been noted by only a few critics. In his detailed analysis of the Casket documents, M. H. Armstrong Davison finds that phrases in the poems duplicate passages in the letters, and describes 'the whole emotional content' of the sonnets as 'exactly similar to those affected epistles'.[113] And Dunnigan comments on an 'interesting, tangential relationship' between the letters and sonnets, 'which makes the priority of each text uncertain'.[114] While I have no wish to rehearse the minutiae of the Casket Letter controversy, it is at least intriguing that these correspondences tend to be between the most dubious sonnets and letters (I, II, IX, and III, IV, V, respectively), lending credence to theories about the 'other woman' or clever interpolations by Mary's enemies.[115] That is, it seems likely that those men responsible for compiling – and possibly falsifying – this material against Mary were consciously hammering at the most lurid aspects of the situation: the speaker's all-consuming and adulterous passion.

More telling is how the sonnets align both situationally and thematically with Buchanan's opening narratives. Riddled with legal metaphors about proof and evidence, the sonnets conclude by deferring to the judgment of an arbiter. With a contest of words as its centrepiece, the sequence seeks a way to prove truth through language and, in doing so, it implicitly argues that 'the authenticity of a discourse is always contingent, dependent on reader and context'.[116] In discourse and context, the sonnets re-enact the fiction of the *Detectioun*: the speaker of the sonnets attempts to present her case, to lay out her evidence as straightforwardly as possible, and to cast suspicion on her rival's

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[113] Davison, 206.
[114] Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, 176 n. 19.
[115] See Diggle, chapter 12, 107-13 especially; and Guy, 408-13 and 418-25.
[116] Smith, 131.

words; the narrator of the *Detectioun* presents his case, provides the requisite evidence, and refutes Mary's innocence by using her 'words' against her. Occasionally even his language explicitly echoes the sonnets. The narrator of the 'oration', for example, describes Mary at Carberry Hill as 'a Quene maist fanciefully louing him [Bothwell], a kyngdome, wealth, and honor, for him and his posteritie' (Ii^{v}), which sounds very much like the speaker of the poems who risks 'my honour... / my contry, my subiects, my soule' to win the admiration of her beloved (II.2-3). The narrator could, of course, be taking his cue from Mary's self-incriminating words, but the recycling of language throughout the volume can have the unanticipated effect of drawing into question the methods of the *Detectioun*. Smith observes that the sequence's 'use of legal diction and its presentation of the plainant's case correspond disturbingly to its initial dissemination as material in Mary's trial at the commissions of York and Westminster'. This correspondence, she concedes, could suggest forgery by the Scottish nobles; that is, the content of the sequence 'fits too neatly with the text's initial function...as evidence in Mary's trial'. But she concludes that this reading 'reduces the complexity of the text's generic negotiations, its creation of a space for the erotic female subject'. [117] Admittedly, our approaches to the sonnets differ, but I think to suggest merely a 'disturbing correspondence' vastly understates the issue. Moreover, this correspondence lies not simply between the situations of the sequence and the conferences of 1568. It is, above all else, a textual and thematic correspondence between the objectives of the *Detectioun* and its incriminating supplementary material, and, as such, it creates a damaging tension in the case against Mary. To recognise this 'disturbing correspondence' within the *Detectioun* swivels the spotlight from Mary to the methods of her accusers.

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[117] Ibid., 130.

Although one could argue that such thematic confluences give a strange unity to the volume as a whole, it is a unity always ready to collapse. As this chapter suggested at the outset, the narrator of the *Detectioun* worries about whether mere words can meet the demands of his task: although he has no choice but to recount events for Elizabeth's commissioners, he places far more trust in the 'spectacle noted of all mens eyes' to give proof of Mary's crimes. To the extent possible, then, his discursive report must make her 'duinges' seem real and indisputable, which he attempts through a lengthy description of Mary's deceptive, feigning nature and a careful exegesis of her alleged 'words'. By reprinting her 'words', the narrator means for his rival author, the poet and letter writer, to condemn herself, yet her writings show her to have similar concerns: how to make her 'truth' irrefutable, how to cast doubt on her rival's, how to get beyond 'fictioun' to 'certaine profe'. At the close of the sonnet sequence, resolute in the truth of her love, the poet must nevertheless defer to the judgment of the beloved, who 'may tell who shall winne maist'. The voice of the *Detectioun* similarly calls on its reader – 'eche man', the implied arbiter – to weigh and consider the evidence presented against Mary by her opponents. Even if she incriminates herself with her passionate declarations, Mary-as-poet draws attention to an unscrupulous rival willing not just to devise 'payntit wordis', but to plagiarise, to steal words 'from sum feate authour', in order to be judged as the truthful party. It is a compelling moment: in the context of the *Detectioun*, the poet points a finger back at the narrator, who condemns her for deception and insincerity while weaving a tale full of inaccuracies and embellishments. The narrator's voice – an amalgam of Moray, Lennox, Cecil, Wilson, and especially Buchanan – speaks for the other side in this war of words, a side keenly aware of the linguistic strategies of propaganda. The supplementary material thus threatens to expose the political uses of deceit and implicitly damages the credibility of the authors and compilers of the

Detectioun. Although a remarkably conceived effort at slander, the *Detectioun* might also be characterised as a classic case of overkill. By the time the *Detectioun* was first printed in 1571, Mary's supporters were already organised and issuing polemics of their own. Nowhere, however, is the competition for the 'truth', which characterises the Marian debate, as vigorously played out as in the *Detectioun* itself.

Chapter Three

John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and the Design of Mary's Defence

Threatened with the English rack, in a fit of terror, John Leslie allegedly exclaimed to his interrogator Thomas Wilson that not only was Mary Queen of Scots involved in the murder of Darnley, but she had also poisoned her first husband Francis and then brought Bothwell 'to the Fylde to be murdered'.[1] In response to this, one critic has noted even-handedly that the Bishop was 'subtle and resourceful but not of the stuff of which martyrs are made'.[2] Nevertheless, Leslie's desperate (and vaguely comic) outburst – perhaps excusable under the emotional duress of torture – is completely at odds with our sense of his allegiance to Mary, and so it should be. For all material evidence points to Leslie's sincere and unflagging commitment to the cause of his queen. His literary efforts to resuscitate Mary's reputation and political career – nineteen years' worth – ensured that his name would be irrevocably associated with the defence of Mary. So inescapable is their connection, in fact, that referring to Leslie as Mary's arch-defender has become a platitude, one as ubiquitous as it is blasé. The convenience of this platitude has had two effects. First, it has tended to forestall any detailed study of Leslie's works. D. McN. Lockie, A. C. Southern, James Phillips, Constance Jordan, and Pamela Robinson have each contributed to our understanding of Leslie, but no one – not even Phillips, who like myself is interested in Marian representation – has closely examined Leslie's rhetorical craft and his ideological concerns.[3] The most detailed published study of Leslie is

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[1] Thomas Wilson to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 8 November 1571, in William Murdin, ed., *A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from The Year 1571 to 1596* (London: William Bowyer, 1759), 57.

[2] D. McN. Lockie, 'The Political Career of the Bishop of Ross, 1568-80', *Historical Journal of the University of Birmingham*, 4-5 (1953-6): 104 n. 20.

[3] Ibid.; Phillips, *Images*; A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582* (London: Sands & Co., 1950); Constance Jordan, 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly* 40.3 (1987): 421-51; and Pamela Robinson, 'John Leslie's "Libri duo": Manuscripts belonging to Mary Queen of Scots?', in *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History*, ed. R. C. Alston, 63-75 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997). Other contributions include Leslie's entry in the *DNB* by

Lockie's survey of his political career spanning 1568-80 – but Lockie's essay dates to the 1950s.[4] Second, we have been content to assume that Leslie sought primarily to recover Mary's damaged reputation. To some extent, of course, this is true. But more than 400 years of speculation about Mary's character, fuelled in part by the wickedly clever propaganda of Robert Sempill and George Buchanan, have skewed our perception of the debate in which Leslie was engaged.

For, as this chapter will show, Leslie's project was deeply invested with the political possibility of Mary's restoration, to a degree that has been underestimated and for reasons that have been misunderstood. Certainly, he defended her against charges of immorality, but one of his strategies in doing so was to shift the terms of the Marian debate by breathing new life into the Elizabethan succession issue. Not only does Leslie envision a recovery of Mary's political career, but he also uses her compelling claim to the English throne – as Elizabeth's legitimate heir – to constitute her very defence. More startlingly, when he addresses the charges against her, he uses her femininity as warrant for her innocence and her place in the English succession, as well as a way to characterise the recent defilement of Scotland's political state. That is, Leslie does not merely cope with Mary's gender; he uses it to strengthen his political argument. This chapter brings into sharper focus discursive strategies such as this and the source material which gives them shape. I also demonstrate that Mary's defence does not rely solely on one text. Rather, I shall argue for a strong connection between Leslie's two most important works: *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of*

T. F. Henderson; A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994); Amanda Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-Century England* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994); Kimberly Coles, '"Printed at London anonymous": Was there ever an attempt to publish the first edition of the *Defence* of Mary Queen of Scots in England?', *The Review of English Studies* 49.195 (1998): 273-81; and Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[4] Important work has been done recently by Margaret J. Beckett, *The Political Works of John Lesley, Bishop of Ross (1527-96)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, St. Andrews University (2002); unfortunately, I have not been able to consult Beckett's thesis.

Scotlande (1569) and his vernacular *Historie of Scotland* (c. 1569-70). Both works emerge during the years 1568-71, a period in which Leslie negotiated with Elizabeth for the release and restoration of Mary, coordinated Catholic-inspired plots to free her, and endured frequent imprisonment. The *Defence* and *Historie* share much more than a common historical moment of production, however; they are strategic components in Leslie's campaign on behalf of Mary. While the *Defence* argues for Mary's innocence and prosecutes her title to the English crown, the *Historie* places her in an enduring and legitimate line of monarchs. The modes of apology and history, then, become ideological partners, each taking a pointed stand in debates about rightful succession, political authority, and versions of national history, with the aim of reinstating Mary Queen of Scots.

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John Leslie was born in 1527, the son of Gavin Lesley, rector of Kingussie, Inverness-shire.[5] Although he was the illegitimate son of a priest, Leslie was nevertheless able to take holy orders with a papal dispensation. He studied at King's College, Aberdeen, acquiring an M.A., and at the age of 20 he became a canon of the cathedral church. In 1549, Leslie set off for the continent to study divinity and languages, finally earning a Doctor of Laws in Paris in 1553. Having obtained a broad education in theology, rhetoric, and law, Leslie returned to Scotland in 1554, where he acquired several secular and ecclesiastical offices. He was appointed professor of canon law at the University of Aberdeen, nominated official of that diocese, and invested in the parsonage, canonry, and

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[5] Biographical details are taken from Leslie's entry in the *DNB*. I have also consulted Robert Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, revised and continued by T. Thomson, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971); E. G. Cody, ed., *The Historie of Scotland wrytten first in Latin by the most reuerend and worthy Jhone Leslie bishop of Rosse, and translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple.* 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, STS, 1888-98), hereafter cited as Dalrymple; David Irving, *Lives of Scotish Writers*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1839); Leslie's own account of his life in James Anderson, ed., *Collections Relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh and London: J. Mosman and W. Brown, 1727); and Lockie.

prebend of Oyne. As the spread of Protestantism gained momentum in Scotland, Leslie was summoned to Edinburgh in 1561, along with several other Catholic officials, to debate with Knox and his fellow reformers.

After the death of Mary's first husband Francis II, Leslie was sent by the Earl of Huntly and other Catholic nobles to visit the widowed Queen in France, in part to counteract the mission of James Stewart, Mary's half-brother, who had been sent by the Protestant lords. Leslie 'earnestly recommended to her care and protection the interests of the tottering church'.[6] To this she must have given some assurance, though she chose not to embrace the scheme of landing at Aberdeen and assuming the reins of control with the help of 20,000 Catholic supporters. Leslie did manage, however, to convince Mary of his devotion to her interests, for he was commanded 'to remain near her person', and he accompanied her back to Scotland.[7] Once there, Mary made him an ordinary judge of the court of session and a member of the Privy Council. He was also granted the abbacy of Lindores (1565) and inducted as the Bishop of Ross (1567),[8] both preferments the direct result of Mary's patronage. During the relatively short period of Mary's personal rule, Leslie often attended the Queen: he was present in her rooms the night of David Riccio's murder, he acted as her chief advisor in ecclesiastical policy, and, near the end of her pregnancy, she entrusted him with her list of jewels and other articles of value.[9]

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[6] Irving, 126.
[7] *DNB* entry.
[8] There has been dispute about when the Pope confirmed his appointment to the bishopric of Ross. Henderson claimed April 1566, but Lockie put it later, in 1575 (103). Gordon Donaldson dated Leslie's instalment to 20 April 1566 (*The First Trial of Mary Queen of Scots* [New York: Stein & Day, 1969], 154). See D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray, eds., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638* (Edinburgh, Scottish Record Society, 2003), 351, which records Leslie's induction following papal and crown approval on 21 January 1567, a forfeiture in 1568, and renewed papal approval on 22 April 1575.
[9] William Forbes-Leith, S. J., ed, 'Bishop Leslie's Narrative of the Progress of Events in Scotland –1562-1571', in *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1885), 113. See note 132 below for more detail about this work.

Leslie has been criticised for his close association with Bothwell in the final months of Mary's personal rule.[10] Indeed, Leslie probably signed the Ainslie Bond in support of the Queen's marriage to Bothwell, and after Bothwell seized Mary and carried her off to Dunbar, the new couple was joined there by the Bishop. Leslie strenuously maintains in his own writings, however, that he disapproved of Mary's marriage to Bothwell, describing how she came to him afterwards, weeping and expressing her desire never again to act against her Church.[11] Once Mary was incarcerated in Lochleven, Leslie retired to his diocese and whiled away his time with study and ecclesiastical duties. He was summoned by the Queen when she escaped in 1568, but before he could join her at Hamilton, she had been defeated and was well on her way to a baffled and ultimately unfriendly reception by the English. Shortly thereafter, Mary appointed Leslie to act as one of her commissioners at the conferences at York and Westminster. When these conferences ended at an impasse, Leslie became Mary's ambassador to Elizabeth, 'to travell for the avancement and treatinge of her effairers',[12] bringing the Bishop's career to the historical moment with which this chapter is primarily concerned.

The years 1568-73 were eventful for Leslie: he spent his time as Mary's ambassador at the English court conducting ongoing negotiations with Elizabeth for the release and restoration of Mary; he was, in many ways, a central figure in Catholic-inspired intrigues to free Mary; he communicated often with the Duke of Norfolk about, among other things, a possible marriage with the Queen of Scots; he himself was placed under house arrest several times; when his part in the Ridolfi plot was uncovered, he

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[10] Andrew Lang, in his introduction to James Maitland's *Apologie for William Maitland of Lidington,* in *Miscellany of the Scottish Historical Society*, vol. 2, ed. Andrew Lang (Edinburgh, Scottish Historical Society, 1904), 145. Sir James Melville of Halhill mentions the close association of Leslie, Bothwell, and the Earl of Huntly (*Memoirs of His Own Life*, ed. T. Thomson [Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1827], 154).
[11] Forbes-Leith, 123.
[12] Leslie, *A Discourse, conteyning a perfect Accompt gevin to the moste virtuous and excellent Princesse, Marie Queene of Scots*, 42-3 (in James Anderson, 3:i-225). The *Discourse* is Leslie's exhaustive account of his ambassadorial activities in England from September 1568 through March 1572. See note 62.

complied fully with the Privy Council's demands for information, paving Norfolk's path to the block; and after nearly three years of imprisonment, he was granted permission to depart for the continent, never again to set foot on either English or Scottish soil. Even more important, these years mark the commencement of Leslie's textual campaign on Mary's behalf and his emergence as her foremost adherent.

The peculiar situation in which he found himself in 1568-9 – as ambassador for a queen without a realm – precipitated an outpouring of literature. Unquestionably, Leslie's principal contribution to the body of literature pertaining to Mary Queen of Scots is *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande and dowager of France with a declaration aswell of her right, title and intereste to the succession of the crowne of England, as that the regimente of women ys conformable to the lawe of God*, printed surreptitiously in 1569, revised and reissued in 1571.[13] As the original vindication of the Queen of Scots, the pro-Marian *Defence* corresponds to the anti-Marian *Detectioun* as a 'fountainhead of all subsequent argument'.[14] All future apologies for the Scottish Queen owe a debt to Leslie's *Defence*, but none profited from a commensurate proximity in time and place to the turbulent events of 1567-8, to say nothing of the personal involvement of its author. Also significant in his crusade for Mary's defence is Leslie's vernacular *Historie of Scotland*,

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[13] The *Defence* was first printed by John Fogny at Rheims (STC 15505). In 1571, a second edition of the *Defence* was printed by John Fowler and issued from Louvain as *A Treatise concerning the defence of the honour of the right high, mightie and noble Princesses, Marie Queene of Scotland* (STC 15506). The *Defence* was published again several times. In 1580 at Rheims Leslie published a Latin version of the second and third books – the tracts on Mary's title to the English throne and the defence of female regiment. See J. Scott, 'A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary Queen of Scots: 1544-1700', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 2 (1896): 1-96, items 115 and 116. In 1584, he issued an English translation of the second edition; in 1587 French and Spanish translations were published (Scott, items 123, 137, and 138). All parenthetical quotations are taken from the 1569 edition reprinted in *English Recusant Literature, 1585-1640*, vol. 12, ed. D. M. Rogers (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970). The folios are paginated with both Arabic and signature numerals; I cite signature and folio side.

[14] Phillips, *Images*, 88.

which he composed intermittently during 1569 and 1570.[15] The *Historie* circulated only in manuscript during Leslie's lifetime, and was presented to Mary sometime in 1571. Covering the reigns of James II through Mary's minority, the *Historie* was Leslie's attempt to complete the history of Scotland from 1436 onward – where Hector Boece left off – by documenting the reigns of the Stewart kings. The *Historie*, therefore, enabled the Bishop to emphasise the strength of the Stewart line and validate Mary's place in the English succession. This history was translated into Latin and incorporated as the final three books of his more momentous *De origine moribvs*, published at Rome in 1578.[16] Settled on the continent and increasingly discouraged about Mary's prospects, Leslie dedicated this comprehensive history of Scotland to Pope Gregory XIII, stressing Scotland's enduring loyalty to and the Queen's patient suffering on behalf of the Roman faith.[17]

MOTIVES AND RATIONALE OF THE *DEFENCE*

During the autumn of 1568, the Bishop of Ross – along with the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, the Commendator of Kilwinning, and the lairds of Lochinvar and Skirling – served as one of Mary's commissioners at the conferences called by Elizabeth, first at York and then Westminster.[18] As chapter two indicated, the purpose of the conferences was ambiguous at best, with each party trying to accomplish its own ends: the Earl of

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[15] The *Historie of Scotland* survives in three known manuscripts: NAS, GD 26/13/266; Bodl., Laud. Misc. 583; and Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 530, vol. A. All quotations will be taken from its first printing, *The History of Scotland from the death of King James I in the year M.CCC.XXXVI to the year M.D.LXI.*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1830).

[16] The *De Origine* was translated into the Scottish vernacular by Father James Dalrymple, a monk of St. James's, Ratisbon, and completed in 1596. Dalrymple's manuscript (NLS, Acc. 1121/84) was edited for the STS by E. G. Cody, cited above.

[17] Debate continues about Leslie's authorship of certain texts printed during his stay in England. Key texts of contention not discussed in this chapter include the *Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the Croune of England* (1572), *L'Innocence de la tresillvstre tres-chaste, et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie Royne d'Escosse* (1572), and to a lesser extent *The copie of a letter written out of Scotland* (1572). A. C. Southern attributes both *Treatise of Treasons* and *The Copie of a letter* to Leslie (444-8), though the attribution of the former is rightly questioned by Lockie based on evidence that Leslie was at this time 'still a close prisoner and anxious to prove his political quietism in order to regain his liberty' (Lockie, 111).

[18] Donaldson, 109.

Moray's party justifying the rebellion against Mary; Mary's commissioners fighting for her release and restoration; the English delegation navigating the uncertain waters of their government's political strategy. Initially, Leslie and his fellow commissioners were encouraged by Elizabeth's professions of wishing to restore Mary to her throne in Scotland.[19] As Moray's party began their accusations in earnest, however, it became apparent that the conferences were not all they appeared to be. Mary's commissioners listened to Moray's indictment of Mary and the justifications for their rebellion, and they must have read an early form of George Buchanan's *Detectioun* as well as the Book of Articles, which laid out the Queen's guilt in no uncertain terms.[20] When Mary's request to defend herself in person was repeatedly denied, her commissioners realised that the conferences 'apparently tended to some other end we looked not for', and they departed without waiting for the English delegation's conclusions.[21]

As with George Buchanan's *Detectioun*, these conferences set the stage for the appearance of the first Marian apology, *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande*. The commissioners acting on Mary's behalf felt obligated to prepare a formal response to the arguments put forth by Moray's party. The steady stream of anti-Marian propaganda coming from the press of Robert Lekpreuik must also have fuelled their determination to clear her name. Although authorship of the *Defence* is usually assigned to Leslie, the Lords Herries and Boyd offered assistance during the early stages.[22] Leslie and Herries, in particular, had ample opportunity for collaboration: after walking out of the proceedings at Westminster, they were detained together at Burton-on-Trent from February to April 1569, on suspicion that

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[19] Ibid., 85.
[20] See chapter two for an explanation of these texts. Perhaps the mention of 'no small number of slawnderouse Articles' in the *Defence* (Aiii[r]) alludes to the Book of Articles produced at York.
[21] Leslie, *Discourse*, 31.
[22] Leslie's servant Alexander Hervey confirms the involvement of others: questioned on 14 April 1570 about the publication of the *Defence*, Hervey claimed that 'the book was made twelve month since by the Lord Herries, Lord Boyd, and the Bishop of Ross' (*CSP, Scot. [1569-71]*, item 176.).

they were planning to help Mary escape from English custody.[23] Leslie also used this time to begin work on his vernacular *Historie*.

Even if Leslie benefited from authorial collaboration, there is every reason – and plenty of evidence – to credit him with masterminding the project for Mary's defence. Getting such a defence into print was not easy, even for the 'subtle and resourceful' Bishop. As we saw with the printing history of the *Detectioun*, the English government at this time tightly controlled printed references to Mary, surreptitiously engineering the issue of at least two, probably three, versions of Buchanan's *Detectioun.* With even greater need for anonymity, the pro-Marian *Defence* did not dare betray its true origins. Thus, it bears the false colophon, 'Imprinted at London in Flete street, at the signe of Iustice Royall against the Blacke bell, by Eusebius Dicaeophile'. Except for a few pages which may have been printed in London, the book was printed by John Fogny at Rheims. In a letter of 4 May 1570, Secretary Cecil indicated that English intelligence had foiled an attempt by the Bishop to print a book dealing with Mary's claim to Elizabeth's throne.[24] The *Defence* itself contains a note from 'The printer to the reader', which indicates suppression of the text and, consequently, difficulty in getting it into print: 'if thou diddist knowe with what difficulté the imprinting herof was atchiwed, thou woldest rather curtouslye of frendlye faueur pardon many greate faultes, than curiously with rigorouse censure to condemne one litle' (†vi^{v}). The second edition, printed in Louvain by John Fowler in 1571,[25] was entitled *A Treatise concerning the defence of the honour of the*

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[23] Leslie, *Discourse*, 43.

[24] Noted by Anderson in his preface to the 1571 *Treatise* (1:v). The printing history of the *Defence* has been the cause for some debate. The dispute concerns whether Cecil, in this letter, is referring to the 1569 edition of the *Defence*, or its second edition, the 1571 *Treatise*. Kimberly Coles claims that Cecil must definitely be referring to the 1571 edition. Evidence from state papers, however, suggests that it might be the printing of the 1569 edition which was temporarily interrupted. In a memorandum from January 1570, Cecil quotes from a book that has been seized; the excerpts are unquestionably taken from the 1569 edition, *not* the later *Treatise* (*CSP, Scot. [1569-71]*, item 104). For the various arguments, see Scott, items 62 and 73; Southern, 438-44; Allison and Rogers, 2:98; Phillips, *Images*, 89, 100-1, and corresponding notes; and Coles.

[25] The state of the *Treatise* can be confusing. It seems to have been issued in three parts, each with a different title page and separately paginated. The three title pages are cancels printed by Morberius at Liège,

right high, mightie and noble Princesse, Marie Queene of Scotland and published under the pseudonym 'Morgan Philippes, Bachelar of Diuinitie'.[26] This second edition is closely associated with the discovery of the Ridolfi plot against Elizabeth, for when Charles Bailly was arrested at Dover in April 1571, he was carrying copies of the *Treatise* back into England for the Bishop of Ross.

For the sake of clarity, I shall briefly describe the *Defence* in its final published form. As its full title indicates, the *Defence* sets out to accomplish three tasks and, accordingly, is divided into three separate books. The 'firste Booke' has the unenviable task of accounting for the shocking events of 1567: it attempts to clear Mary of all criminal charges by dismantling the allegations against her, arguing that she is not a depraved murderess but rather the victim of cruel slander by rebellious subjects. Leslie places the blame for Darnley's murder squarely on the shoulders of those men now wielding power in Mary's stead. The 'seconde Booke' – usually referred to as the 'book of the title' in contemporary documents – turns to the issue of the English succession, presenting a complex argument, rich in legal and historical precedent, that proclaims Mary's right to the throne if Elizabeth should die childless. This book engages with other tracts written about the Elizabethan succession; therefore, it must justify Mary's claim to the English crown despite her Scottish birth and argue for the invalidity of Henry VIII's will, which had allegedly disinherited the descendants of Margaret Tudor. Finally, in the 'thirde' book, Leslie defends the idea of female regiment, a debate with roots in Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) and one which had not entirely died away. Leslie acknowledges that this third book, 'maye seme

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but the rest of the book was printed by Fowler (Allison and Rogers, 2:98). In the Bodleian Library, for example, the three books which make up the *Treatise* are bound under two shelfmarks, Wood 255 (2-3) and 80 D 26(2) Art.

[26] The real Morgan Philippes was the Oxford tutor of Cardinal William Allen, founder of the college at Douai and prominent supporter of the Catholic cause in England. After Elizabeth came to power, Philippes settled on the continent in Louvain and died in 1570. Leslie's choice of a pseudonym is apt and, given Philippes recent demise, convenient.

perchance to some as superfluous'(†ii^{v}), but he feels the proliferation of treatises on this topic, as well as their gross manipulation of scripture, must be answered.[27]

Given the seriousness of the moral charges against Mary – adultery and murder – a reader of the *Defence* might expect Leslie to follow more strictly the declaration of the title page, that this is chiefly a 'defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande'. Yet, the prefatory letter of the 1569 *Defence* begins thus:[28]

> It ys not vnknowen to the (gentle Reader) beinge an Englishe man what greate contention hathe of late risen in Englande…towchinge the right heire apparente of the crowne of Englande….Neither hathe this sturre stode with in the liste of ernest and feruente talke of eche side, but men haue gone on farther, and haue aswell by printed as vnprinted bookes, done theire indeuour to disgrace, blemishe and deface…the iuste title claime and intereste of the noble and excellente Ladie Marie Quene of Scotlande, to the foresaide crowne. (†ii^{r})

This opening passage recollects to a pointedly English audience the fiery succession debate, which has grown into a battle of the books, and laments, in particular, the harsh treatment of Mary Stewart's just claim to the English crown. From there, the letter recounts how Mary's opponents have become so carried away with their malicious attacks that they have tumbled headlong into a denial of 'all womanlye gouernement' (†ii^{v}). Only then is the audience reminded of the 'false fained and forged reportes and opprobriouse slaunders' recently disseminated by Mary's 'rebelliouse subiectes' with regard to the 'slawghter of her late deare husbande' (†ii^{v}). Leslie notes the *Defence*'s arrangement into three books, each designed to touch on one of 'theys poinctes' – the title, female regiment, Mary's honour – though not in that order (†iii^{r}). The reader is

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[27] Although Leslie often mentions Knox by name and must have the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) in mind, he also seems to address the arguments of another pamphleteer. See Shephard, especially pages 32-4, for a discussion of Leslie's possible targets. By the time the *Defence* was published, the debate about female sovereignty seems to have been waning; and according to his answers to the Council's interrogatories of 26 October 1571, Edmund Plowden – possibly one of Leslie's collaborators – questioned whether 'this section should be included in the published volume at all' (Murdin, 29). Jordan is an excellent resource on the topic of female rule.

[28] This letter is not prefixed to the 1571 *Treatise*.

shortly made to understand that the 'defence of her honour shoulde forgoe the other two bookes', but no specific reason is given for such an editorial choice – merely that 'yt ys thowght good' (†iii[r]). Thus, the prefatory letter promptly emphasises the issue of Mary's title, presenting the defence of gynecocracy and of Mary's reputation as secondary concerns. The overall sense of the *Defence* is that book one – the defence of Mary's honour – exists only as a means to an end, an obligatory detour on the journey to the more important issue of the English crown.[29]

Despite its political agenda, the 1569 *Defence* is notable for its deference to Elizabeth as the rightful queen of England, arguing that Mary can claim her throne only if Elizabeth should die without an heir. This attitude undergoes a significant alteration in the 1571 *Treatise*, however. The second edition of the *Defence* reflects the changing political situation: in 1571 Elizabethan policy toward Mary was hardening, and Leslie was deeply involved in intrigues with Ridolfi to put Mary on the English throne. As a result, flattering epithets for Elizabeth disappear: she is no longer 'our gratiouse Prince' but merely 'the present Gouernour'; she is demoted from 'Quene' to 'Princesse'. More brazenly, the *Treatise* treats Mary as the only rightful heir to the English crown. No longer must the Scottish Queen wait demurely for God to 'call our Souereigne owte of this transitory life, hauinge no issues of her maiesties bodye'– because such conciliatory phrases do not find their way into the 1571 *Treatise*. Indeed, an entire passage extolling the peace and quietness, the 'singuler fruite & benefit', of Elizabeth's reign simply vanishes.[30] This is not to suggest that the 1569 *Defence*, with its obsequious references to Elizabeth, would have been entirely acceptable to the English government, as Kimberly

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[29] In later editions of the *Defence* and *Treatise*, Leslie dropped the defence of her honour altogether, choosing to focus his energies on the issue of the title. See Phillips, *Images*, 104.
[30] Compare fol. Aiii[r] of the *Treatise*'s second book (each book is paginated separately) with page Giv[v] of the *Defence*.

Coles maintains in her article on its publishing history.[31] The *Defence* boldly proclaims, for example, that, after hearing evidence at the York and Westminster conferences, prominent English nobles have come to support Mary and are, in fact, urging the marriage with Norfolk. No such assertion would have been countenanced by Elizabeth and her council, at least not in so public a context. Contemporary evidence supports this view: in a memorandum of January 1570, in his obsessively painstaking way, Cecil records relevant passages from the *Defence*, noting in particular the book's claim that English nobles have found Mary 'innocent and guiltless', urged her 'to accept and "like of" the noblest man of England', and acknowledged her as the 'very true and right heir apparent of this realm'.[32] That Cecil found these declarations noteworthy testifies to his – and his sovereign's – disapproval.[33]

Cecil's anxiety that Mary might be acknowledged as the 'true and right heir apparent' calls attention to the principal strategy of the *Defence*. As suggested above, the conferences at York and Westminster provided incentive for the compilation of the *Defence*. But if a defence of Mary's honour had become necessary in 1569, the idea of putting together a treatise on her behalf was far from new. The *Defence*, in fact, derives from the hotly debated, more far-reaching issue of Mary's claim to the English throne. The arguments of book two – the 'book of the title' – actually originate in the preceding decade, before Darnley's demise was plotted, the Scottish political scene turned upside down, and the material for book one became necessary. Tracing the conception of the *Defence* to the mid-1560s has two important effects: its robust engagement with the

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[31] 'It is hard to believe that the original *Defence* would have been regarded as deeply offensive to the Crown' (277).

[32] *CSP, Scot. (1569-71)*, item 104. It appears that the book had been sent to Mary for review and intercepted by English agents. The entry concludes with the following note: 'Extract out of the booke that was sent by the Earl of Huntyngton from Coventry conteaning matter for the Q. of Scotts'. Also see note 24 for the relevance of this entry to the debate about the printing of the *Defence*.

[33] See Stephen Alford's study of Cecil's involvement with the succession debate throughout the 1560s, especially chapter 8 in which he discusses the complexities of the proposed match between Mary and Norfolk. *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Elizabethan succession issue confirms the collaborative and protean nature of Leslie's project and lays bare the political dimensions of Mary's situation, so cleverly brought to the fore by Leslie. The following section, then, surveys the major players and texts that influenced Leslie as he assembled the *Defence*, especially its most critical component, the 'book of the title'. Reviewing tracts written by English lawyers in the 1560s and sorting through the tangled testimonies that emerge from the Ridolfi plot should clarify how the *Defence* came into being and properly contextualise it as a political argument in conversation with other texts.[34] Although the *Defence* is primarily concerned with asserting the Stewart claim to the English throne, it must also deal with the problems presented by the person in whom that claim rests, Mary Queen of Scots. Working backwards, then, the subsequent section will turn to book one – the 'defence of her honour' – to elucidate how Leslie copes with the alleged crimes of Mary in order to get on with the more worthy business of sixteenth-century politics.

The 'Book of the Title' and Its Context

Given Elizabeth's reluctance to marry or proclaim an heir, the Elizabethan succession was, in its own right, a tricky domestic question; however, the situation was exacerbated from the day of Elizabeth's coronation by Mary Stewart's assumption of the royal arms of England, with not a little encouragement from her father-in-law Henri II of France and her uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise.[35] The issue of Mary's claim to the English throne became even more contentious in 1565 after her marriage to Henry,

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[34] I can hardly profess, however, to sort out all the inconsistencies in the production of the *Defence*. But at least two critics – both worthy participants in this discussion – simply refer the interested reader to James Anderson's 'most complete account of the authorship of the *Defence*', and Coles relies almost wholly on this same source. (Phillips, *Images*, 268 n. 13; Marie Axton, 'The Influence of Edmund Plowden's Succession Treatise', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 37 [1974], 213.) Without seeking to diminish the stature of Anderson's work, I would venture the reminder that his impressive tomes were published in 1727. Surely, nearly three centuries later, more remains to be said.

[35] John Guy gives a helpful explanation of this issue. See chapter 6, 'A Dynastic Marriage', in *'My Heart is My Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004). Thwarting the resolution of this problem was Mary's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh.

Lord Darnley, who had a strong claim to the same crown.[36] As a result, the mid-1560s saw the proliferation of succession tracts, many produced by able English lawyers eager to resolve the question once and for all. The authorship of and connections between these various tracts has been carefully traced by three critics – Mortimer Levine, Marie Axton, and Geoffrey de C. Parmiter.[37] Their arguments are too detailed to recount in full, but I shall provide brief summaries as well as an overview of the relevant texts.

During the parliamentary session of 1563 John Hales composed a tract usually entitled *A declaration of the succession of the crown imperial of England*, which circulated widely in manuscript.[38] This tract defended the claim of the Suffolk line in Lady Catherine Grey, whom, as the daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk and by the terms of Henry VIII's will, Hales declared the lawful heir to Elizabeth's throne.[39] Mary Queen of Scots, according to Hales, could not inherit the English crown because English common law prohibited aliens from inheriting property, and being Scottish, she fell into this category. Not only did Hales's tract create quite a political stir – he was imprisoned by an indignant Elizabeth, and even Nicholas Bacon and Cecil 'did not escape suspicion'

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[36] See Alford, chapter 2; and Phillips, *Images*, 28-32. Darnley's claim derived from his grandmother, Margaret Tudor, whose second marriage to the Earl of Angus produced Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, mother of Darnley.

[37] Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558-1568* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966); Marie Axton, 'The Influence of Edmund Plowden's Succession Treatise', cited above, and *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); and Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, 'Edmund Plowden as Advocate for Mary Queen of Scots', *The Innes Review* 30 (1979): 35-53. Unless otherwise noted, all citations to Axton are from 'The Influence of Edmund Plowden's Succession Treatise'. Alford's monograph deals with the succession issue as it evolved throughout the 1560s.

[38] See Appendix 3.1 for a list of the surviving manuscripts discussed throughout this section. Hales's manuscript was finally printed in Georg Harbin, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England* (London: Richard Smith, 1713).

[39] Through the Acts of 1536 and 1543 Parliament had granted Henry VIII the right to designate the succession of his crown, provided he did so by letters patent or by a will signed with his own hand. Failing the success of his own line, his will declared that the offspring of his younger sister Mary Tudor should inherit the crown, *not* the line of his elder sister Margaret. (Mary first married Louis XII of France, then Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; her second match produced Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, mother of Lady Jane and Lady Catherine Grey.) For an explanation of the debate about the authenticity of this will, see Levine, chapter 9.

for involvement in such flagrant dialogue about the succession issue[40] – but its appearance also precipitated a rash of responses, both refuting and endorsing the unfortunate Hales.[41]

Two of these responses pertain to the making of Leslie's *Defence*. Edmund Plowden, a respected Catholic lawyer of the Middle Temple, wrote a lengthy and sophisticated response to Hales, one grounded solidly in legal and historical precedent.[42] His *Treatise proveing that if our soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth...should die without issue, that the Queene of Scotts...is not disabled by the law of England to receave the crowne of England by discent*, written in January 1567, just after the close of Parliament, consists of two parts: the first part is concerned with proving that Mary is not barred from the succession because of her foreign birth, and the second part, written separately but only a short time later, is devoted to disproving the validity of Henry VIII's will.[43] In his preface, Plowden expresses wonder at the 'audacity' and 'insufficient…learneing of the lawe of this Realm' demonstrated by Hales and his followers; he explains that, having

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[40] Parmiter, 36. As Parmiter's article responds to Levine and Axton, I often follow his outline of these documents; however, as will become apparent, some of his conclusions are unsound.

[41] For example, an anonymous MS. answer to Hales's *Declaration* began to circulate in 1565 with the title *Allegacions in behalf of the high and mightie princess the Ladie Marie now Quene of Scots, against thopinions and bookes set forth in the parte and favour of the Ladie Katherin, and the rest of thissues of the French Quene, towchinge the succession of the realm*. Bodl., Ashmolean MS. 829 is dated 20 March 1565 (i.e. 1566), but describes itself as an argument 'put forth a yere ago' (12^{v}), which would put it in circulation in 1565. The MS. copies of this tract contain a preface from the 'printer', but no printed copies survive. *Allegacions in behalf* was, however, printed in 1690, with authorship ascribed to 'Thomas Morgan, of Oxford'. Thomas Morgan was a Welshman and Catholic who spent some time at Oxford (see Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* [London: J. Rivington, 1813-20]). He served Mary Queen of Scots in various surreptitious matters, finally settling in Paris and ultimately participating in the Babington conspiracy (see his entry in the *DNB* for more details). Morgan is an unlikely candidate for author of *Allegacions in behalf*. Although this tract does repudiate the Suffolk claim, it neither defends Mary's title nor mentions her name, and often has anti-Catholic overtones; this does not suggest a man attached to Mary's cause.

A short time later, another anonymous tract entered the fray, this one a printed book entitled *Allegations against the surmisid title of the Quine of Scotts and the fauorers of the same* (STC 17564). Published in December 1565 in the wake of Mary's marriage to Darnley, *Allegations against the surmisid title* follows Hales's argument against Mary's claim and survives in several manuscript copies.

[42] Only relatively recently has Plowden been identified as the author of the *Treatise proveing* (see Axton, 209 and corresponding note). Three manuscript copies survive, none of which mentions Plowden as author. Plowden is identified as author, however, in a much later copy (Bodl., Don.c.43), which was prepared by his son Francis for presentation to James VI and I.

[43] Plowden's tract is also notable for its use of the theory of the king's two bodies. See Parmiter, 37-8, for a succinct explanation of this important legal principle, which was adapted and usefully employed by Tudor lawyers. The seminal work on this topic is, of course, Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

read the various tracts in circulation, he thought the matter should be addressed by 'some temporall lawyer sithence the matter is a pointe of the lawe of the Realme'.[44] Fortuitously, one of Plowden's acquaintances – whom he does not name – has simultaneously requested him 'to shewe vnto you myne opinion in the said pointe and that my knowledge might helpe you to conceave the right waye in this darke miste'.[45]

It has often been assumed that Plowden wrote at the behest of his good friend Sir Anthony Browne, another eminent Catholic lawyer and fellow member of the Middle Temple. Whether or not Browne influenced the production of Plowden's tract, his name is also traditionally associated with another – and, in this context, more important – succession tract. What I shall call the 'Browne tract' exists in three known manuscript copies, two in the British Library and one in the Bodleian Library. Its text differs substantially from Plowden's, but it does make a strong case for Mary's claim using many of the same legal and historical arguments. Browne's association with this tract derives from several sources: the manuscript titles refer to 'Sir Anthonie Browne';[46] he receives honourable mention in the Ridolfi Plot examinations as author of a tract in Mary's favour; and book two of Leslie's 1571 *Treatise* claims that it was 'assisted with the aduise of Antonie Broune Knight, one of the Iustices of the Common Place. An. 1567'. Nevertheless, Browne's authorship is dubious. Levine, who believes in Browne's authorship, dates the tract's composition to early 1565, before Plowden writes;[47] both Axton and Parmiter disagree.[48] This sequence does seem unlikely: in his preface, Plowden gives a cursory review of recent tracts and does not mention one by Browne

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[44] Bodl., Rawlinson A.124, fol. 1[r].
[45] Ibid., fol. 1[v].
[46] It is probable, however, that these titles were tacked on by scribes working much later. Parmiter points out that 'the identification of Sir Anthony Browne as the person for whom Plowden wrote his *Treatise proveing* appears to rest principally upon a marginal note in a single manuscript' (42) – in BL, Harleian 849. Parmiter ably dismantles this attribution (see especially 42 ff.), and, interestingly, posits his candidate for Plowden's unnamed friend, the man who partly inspired Plowden's work of legal wizardry: the Duke of Norfolk.
[47] Levine, 94.
[48] Axton, 213-5; Parmiter, 48.

refuting Hales; considering that Plowden and Browne were friends, one would suppose that Plowden would have been aware of such a tract, had it ever existed. Committed to Browne's authorship nonetheless, Axton suggests that Browne wrote his tract in the spring of 1567 as a summary of Plowden's work, as something more accessible to a less-scholarly public. Parmiter justifiably takes issue with this: Plowden's *Treatise proveing* is detailed enough to have required some time to compose (he began in January 1567), and, significantly, Browne died on 16 May 1567. In any case, the frequent association of Browne's name with this tract does not prove his authorship. It is also critical to bear in mind that when Leslie was compiling the *Defence* Browne was dead and 'beyond the reach of the privy council'.[49] Leslie most likely used his name to protect other lawyers who had provided assistance and could not afford to attract Cecil's attention – a technique the Bishop employs elsewhere.[50]

The reason that any of this matters at all is that the Browne tract is nearly word-for-word the second book of Leslie's 1571 *Treatise* – his 'book of the title'. This remarkable fact has led critics to see Browne as author of a tract which mysteriously found its way into Leslie's hands, only to be adapted for his *Defence* of Mary. All quite routine. With odd indifference to textual issues, Levine calls Leslie's book two 'little more than an enlargement of Browne's tract', and determines to say 'no more about Browne's tract; henceforth we shall use Leslie's *Defense of Mary*, which is fuller, easier to obtain, and barely removed from our period'.[51] Axton concurs in Browne's (and Plowden's) influence on Leslie, but she does not attempt to flesh out how and when Leslie and Browne might have collaborated. Yet since Browne had died before Leslie even arrived in England in late summer 1568, their connection, if it existed at all, would have been through intermediaries. For his part, Parmiter acknowledges Leslie's

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[49] Axton, 213.
[50] See note 26 above.
[51] Levine, 95.

connection to Plowden, but then concludes abruptly that Browne never wrote a tract and that the one ascribed to him is simply a draft of Leslie's book two. This scenario has Leslie working on his tract independently though concurrently with Plowden, while somehow drawing on the advice of Browne and others, which seems farfetched indeed.[52]

In calling the Browne tract a 'draft', Parmiter also ignores a crucial point: it categorically matches book two of Leslie's 1571 *Treatise*, *not* the 1569 *Defence*, with its flattering references to Elizabeth. Manuscript evidence suggests that Browne tract is more likely to be a copy rather than a draft of Leslie's printed *Treatise*. The hands in surviving manuscripts all appear to be English and from the late sixteenth century, something critics have not observed.[53] Moreover, the Browne tract is much shorter than Leslie's book two (by nearly 40 pages) and ends on a loyal and admonitory note: all men are exhorted to leave the succession 'to the providence of the Almightie' and 'rest dutifull to the present state without curious serch of future accidente in the misteries of princes callinge to mynde that who soo seeketh a cloude, (as the parable ys) may be stricken with the thunderbolt'[54] – odd, considering the entire tract is concerned with exploring this issue. This language does not sound like Leslie, and, rather, points to an English scribe copying out a portion of Leslie's book and tacking on a pro-Elizabeth ending. The safest conclusion to be reached from this textual muddle is a recognition of the Bishop's ingenuity in fingering Anthony Browne, a capable but dead English lawyer.

But Leslie's authorship of the tract, sometime between 1566 and 1568, remains equally unlikely. During this time he was occupied with his own affairs in Scotland and had not yet assumed the role of Mary's arch-defender. Even more important, the tract's content argues against Leslie's authorship: although Leslie had expertise in both canon

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[52] Parmiter, 53.
[53] BL Rawlinson B.7 and Lansdowne 254, for example, both have watermarks of a two-armed pot, which appear to be of a family of marks common in the 1590s.
[54] BL, Lansdowne 254, fol. 198^{v}.

and Scottish civil law, the evidence collected and assembled for this tract strongly suggests the pen of an *English* lawyer. The likelihood, then, is that Leslie obtained a legal document written in Mary's favour by someone else and edited it into its present form. Two scenarios are possible. First, as Ridolfi plot testimony reveals, Leslie's London connections could have provided him with the relevant arguments in Mary's favour. He had a strong network of Marian sympathisers, mostly Catholics but some Protestants as well. Second, plenty of Scots interested in Mary's title visited the English court in the mid-1560s, men who could have made contact with lawyers sympathetic to the Scottish Queen's cause. Clearly, legal arguments in Mary's favour – based on English common law – found their way to Scotland before Leslie contemplated following his queen into exile.

William Maitland of Lethington, Mary's secretary, is the most obvious candidate for importing these arguments into Scotland.[55] Shortly after Mary's arrival back in Scotland in 1561, she dispatched Lethington to Elizabeth on a mission to propose an agreement through which Mary would be designated heir apparent.[56] The mission was unsuccessful but Lethington was hopeful enough to continue campaigning on Mary's behalf. He wrote to Cecil in October 1561, arguing the injustice of Henry VIII's will and the primacy of Henry VII's opinion in marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV: 'by your own histories it doth appear that he [Henry VII] meant not by the same marriage to debar her [Margaret], nor the issue of her body, from the succession of his crown perpetually, but rather the plain contrary'.[57] The English history to which Lethington refers is Polydore Vergil's, which recounts an apocryphal story about how Henry VII

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[55] Sir James Melville is another example of a Scot visiting the English court and engaging in discussions about Mary's title, even if he was not as influential as he might have supposed. See chapter four.
[56] Levine's chapter 3 talks about this mission in some detail.
[57] Samuel Haynes and William Murdin, eds. *A Collection of State Papers, relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1542 to 1570* (London: William Bowyer, 1740), 373. See Levine, 36-8, for more information about this letter.

convinced his council that a Scottish marriage for his daughter would not jeopardise English sovereignty – a story, incidentally, retold not only in the *Defence*'s second book, but also in Leslie's *Historie*. On 4 January 1567, years later, Lethington wrote to Cecil again; this letter, a more involved argument in Mary's favour, outlined the 'prouffes and reasons as may declare and fortifie the Q. my sovereigns title to the crowne next to the Q. your sovereign'.[58] Levine describes this letter as 'a sort of private tract written to win Mary the support of Elizabeth's leading minister'.[59] Though a letter, and thus necessarily abbreviated, Lethington's 'tract' uses the same arguments that appear in the Browne tract – and, hence, in Leslie's book two – to assert that neither Mary's foreign birth nor Henry VIII's will bars her from the English crown. The similarities between Lethington's and Leslie's arguments are suggestive, though not surprising: they demonstrate the currency of these ideas during the 1560s and, at this point, Lethington's – more than Leslie's – participation in and familiarity with the main arguments of the succession debate. Years later, in May 1571, when he was interrogated about the sources of the 'book of the title',

Leslie said he did not know

> quha was author thairof for the same was maide at the last parliament, and that leidthingtovne & Robert Melving brought copies thairof in Scotland, befoir the coming of the Q. in to ingland and thay saie that Iustice brovne & ane carrel was in the cosell of the making thairof quhilk is ane anser to the alleagions that the Q. of Sc^{t} was foren borne.[60]

Thus, Leslie claims that a tract defending Mary's claim was brought into Scotland by

Lethington and Robert Melville before her flight to England – that is, before summer 1568.[61] As a member of Mary's Privy Council, Leslie might, therefore, have seen the

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[58] Sir Wm. Maitland to Sir Wm Cecill, in *The Egerton Papers*, ed. J. P. Collier, Camden Society, vol. 12. (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1840), 42.
[59] Levine, 95.
[60] BL, Cotton Calig. C.iii, fol. 78^{r}. John Caryll, a Catholic and member of the Inner Temple, died in March 1566. No book in Mary's defence written by him has been identified, but his name also appears in Leslie's depositions.
[61] Sir James Melville of Halhill frequently mentions his brother Robert as someone working on behalf of Mary's title to the English throne (147, especially).

Browne tract (or a similar document) before he began the *Defence* project, despite the fact that his later statements suggest that the relevant texts came into his hands during the conferences at York and Westminster.

Elsewhere, Leslie provides more detail about the progress of his project once he was installed in London. According to his ambassadorial report, *A Discourse, conteyning a perfect Accompt gevin to the moste virtuous and excellent Princesse, Marie Queene of Scots*,[62] after the dissolution of the conferences in 1568 certain men opposed to a marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and Mary began a crusade to discredit her claim: 'And therefore they collected their arguments in a shorte pamphlet and treatie, wherof they sett forth divers copyes in the citty of London, tendinge to the dishonor of the Q. my Mistres'.[63] Leslie refers to a pamphlet entitled *A Discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Queene of Scottes* (1569),[64] which assesses the characters of both Mary and Norfolk (neither favourably, of course) and argues that a domestic match for Mary (with Norfolk) could be more harmful than one with a foreign prince. By his own account, Leslie reacted quickly to the appearance of this pamphlet:

> And assoone as one of the copies therof was brought to my hands, I presented the same, by the advice of the Nobilitie, to the Q. of England, desiringe, that the authors therof might be tried and punished, and that in the meane time it might be lesum to anie of her subiects, who was skilfull in the Lawes to make answere therto, *principally for the defence of the Q. my Mistres Title,* consideringe there was a treatie sett forth against the

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[62] Intended for Mary and the Scottish nobility still loyal to her cause, the *Discourse* was written during Leslie's confinement in the Tower in 1571-2. In it he explains the failure of the negotiations with Elizabeth, provides background on the Ridolfi conspiracy, and describes his actions and tribulations. The *Discourse* survives in several manuscript versions and was printed by Anderson (vol. 3) using NLS, Advocates MS. 35/4/1. Also of interest are Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 538 vol. A, fols.1-38; and BL, Additional MS. 48027, fols. 45-70.

[63] Leslie, *Discourse*, 65.

[64] STC 13869, n.d., n.p., but probably printed by John Day in London, printer of the *Detectioun*. Leslie assigns this text to 'Sampson a preacher' (*Discourse*, 65), but it has been attributed to Walsingham by Phillips, who follows Conyers Read. (See Phillips, *Images*, 252 n. 23.) Scott conjectures that Cecil was responsible for its publication (item 61). For more on 'Sampson', see note 76.

> same, in time of the laste Parliament holden in England 1565, by some evill advised persons, enemies to all justice and right.[65] (emphasis mine)

Elizabeth granted Leslie permission to formulate a response, provided he would not publish his tract until she had seen the first copy. Pleased with his assignment, he began by gathering material: all the treatises written against Mary's title, along with some in her defence, especially one written by 'one of the best learned judgs that was in England, called Justice Brown, and by another as well learned and experimented, called Mr. Carrell' – the same men credited by Lethington and Melville.[66] Having given careful consideration to the existing arguments, Leslie began to 'sett forth a treatie for defence of the Q. my Mistres title'.[67] According to Leslie's *Discourse*, after his defence was completed and printed, it 'came to the Q. and Councells hands; although I had presented a perfect copie therof longe before to the Q. at which time the Councell said unto me it was very learnedly collected and sett forth'.[68] Notwithstanding Elizabeth's licensing of Leslie's efforts and the praise of her council, the book caused Leslie some trouble: 'I sustained divers wayes trouble and injuries, by imprisonment of my self, my servants and others, upon the occasioun of the publyshinge therof', which probably refers to the arrest of his servant Alexander Hervey and of Leslie in spring 1570.[69] Leslie's narration is notable for its absence of references to the subject matter of book one – that is, of the need to defend Mary against the charges of murder and adultery. Certainly, he is concerned that certain pamphlets have tended 'to the dishonor' of his queen, but the purpose of the treatise he sets out to compile is the 'defence of the Q. my Mistres Title' –

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[65] *Discourse*, 65. The pamphlet of 1565 to which Leslie refers is the anonymous *Allegations against the surmisid title of the Quine of Scotts and the fauorers of the same*, printed in the wake of Mary's marriage to Darnley, as mentioned in note 41.
[66] Ibid., 66.
[67] Ibid., 67.
[68] Ibid., 68.
[69] Ibid. See note 22 above. Contrary to what Kimberly Coles argues, the contradiction between allowing Leslie to write a defence only to censor it later, would not be particularly unusual for Elizabethan policy at this time. Leslie's complaint of 'trouble and injuries' does not definitively clear up the confusion, but it does seem to point to difficulties with printing the 1569 *Defence*, rather than the 1571 *Treatise*.

a point clearly reiterated in the prefatory letter to the 1569 *Defence*. By reviving the succession debate in this context, he deftly moves to answer political not moral questions.

The issue of the 'title' also concerned Cecil and the other English ministers, and the revelation of the Ridolfi Plot in 1571 intensified their interest in the history of the *Defence*, especially its book two. Thus, the depositions taken from various players in the Ridolfi Plot are littered with explanations about the origins of the 'book of the title'. On 13 May 1571, about a month after Charles Bailly's arrest at Dover, members of Elizabeth's Privy Council first came to Leslie's lodging to question him. His written responses from 14 May, in his own hand, have survived.[70] Leslie reports, as above, that Lethington and Melville brought into Scotland a tract supporting Mary's claim, one perhaps penned by 'Iustice brovne & ane carrel'. Later, William Baker, a servant of the Duke of Norfolk, confirmed the Bishop's testimony, adding that Leslie also 'had the Advise of Mr. Plowden, and of Mr. Harpsfeld, whome, as he thinkethe, did see and reade the Bokes'.[71] Finally, Leslie was brought to the Tower in late October and threatened with the rack. Feeling more loquacious, he substantially expanded his original testimony concerning the *Defence*, which deserves to be quoted at length:

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[70] BL, Cotton Calig. C.iii, fol. 78[r]. Leslie's diary is also of interest, as the only real account of his activities and communications during the summer of 1571 when he was in protective custody, leading up to his interrogation by the Privy Council. Covering the period between 11 April to 16 October 1571, the diary is the first item in BL, Cotton Calig. C.iii, fols. 4-40, entitled, 'Commentaria diurna Joannis Leslie, episcopi Rossensis, legati serenissimi Marie Scotorum Regine in Anglia'. Though it only covers a period of six months, it is probably complete in its present condition. Certain aspects of the manuscript – entries that refer to events months later, changes in ink and entry form, conflicts with second part of the *Discourse*, etc. – indicate that Leslie purposely kept this journal from 11 April (two days before he learned of Bailly's arrest at Dover) until 16 October (three days before he was taken to London for interrogation concerning the Ridofi plot). Undoubtedly, this diary merits further critical work. Printed as *The Diary of John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, April 11-October 16, M.D.LXXI*, in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, eds. W. Scott, D. Laing, and T. Thomson, vol. 3, 117-56 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1855).

[71] Murdin, 122. 'Mr Harpsfeld' is probably Nicholas Harpesfield, an English Catholic theologian and student of civil and canon law. During the reign of Edward VI he left for Louvain, but returned at the accession of Mary Tudor. When Elizabeth came to the throne, he was prolocutor of the lower house and protested against religious change. He was committed to the Tower in 1559, where he remained until his death. He wrote a treatise that criticised the divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, which was never published because of Mary Tudor's death. Harpesfield must have been one of a number of Leslie's Catholic contacts.

The Book of the Defence of the Quene's Honour, Thomas Busshop[72] made, by the Information of the Lord Harris, before this Examinate's coming into England; and that Booke was reformed and encreased by Thomas Busshopp, this Examinate, the Lord Harris, and others at the Conference at Westmynster. The Book of the Scots Quene's Title, the furst that this Examinate had, was a pryntid Boke, which he had of the sayd Busshop, which Boke was most agaynst the Lady Katherine's Title and Mariage.[73] He gave also with it an other Boke in writing against the Quene of Scots,[74] and an Answer to that same Booke, and that Booke runyth most upon the Common Lawe; and he hath also an other litle Booke, which was made by one Mr. Carrell, a Lawyer, now dede.[75] Then was ther a Booke made against the Quene of Scots, of six Heds, which was estemid to be made by one Sampson a Precher.[76] This Boke this Examinate shewid the Quene's Majesty, and offrid to make an Answer to it.[77] Then after, the said Busshop said he wold fyend an honest and lerned Man, who should make Answer to it, which was Mr. Harpesfeld, and brought him to this Examinate. Harpesfeld joined to hym one Weston, now in the Fleete: And so he took Harpesfeld the Books, which being perfitid and brought back again to hym, this Examinate delivered them to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton,[78] who desirid this Examinate to send them to Mr. Plowden, to whom, he said, he had all redy spoken, who was a great lernid Man, and favored well the Cawse; and had most of eny confirmed his Judgement in this Mater, five or six Years before…Plowden answered, he wold not dele in it, yf the Duke of Norfolk were privie to it, for bycawse the Duke had procured hym Displeasure of the Counsell, by cawse he had declared his Opynion in this Mater to the Duke;[79] and yet notwithstanding, he red them, thought them to long toward the End, and wishid the latter Part, towchyng the Defense of Women, to be cut away, saying he wold not subscribe it with his Hand, for rather he wold write a Book of it himself; and said, that

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[72] Thomas Bishop was a Scot living in England who performed various services on Mary's behalf. He was examined by Elizabeth's ministers in March 1569. See George Chalmers, *The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1818), 2:449-50. He is also mentioned by Sir James Melville as an agent working for Mary's title to the English succession (175-6).

[73] Possibly *Allegacions in behalf of…the Lady Mary*, if indeed this was ever printed. The reference is unclear.

[74] Hales's *Declaration*.

[75] These are also difficult to identify, especially the reference to a tract by Caryll. Perhaps one of these might be the Browne tract, or even Plowden's *Treatise proveing*.

[76] Parmiter conjectures that Leslie refers to a manuscript by Thomas Sampson entitled *The common cry of Englishmen made to the most noble lady Queen Elizabeth and the High Court of Parliament…the Eight Year of her most happy reign*. Given Leslie's reference to 'Sampson a preacher' in the *Discourse*, I believe he refers to *A Discourse touching the pretended match*. See note 64 above. Sampson was a Puritan divine, who spent time in Geneva during Mary Tudor's reign. He was disciplined in 1565 for nonconformity during the Vestiarian Controversy.

[77] This echoes Leslie's scenario of events as outlined in the *Discourse*.

[78] Parmiter comments that 'Throckmorton's involvement in the business is not as surprising as it appears at first sight; although a staunch Protestant, he had established friendly relations with Mary Queen of Scots when she was Queen of France and he was English ambassador there' (52). See Sir James Melville, who also mentions Throckmorton as a 'devot frend to the Quen my mestres, and to hir richt and title to the succession of the crown of England' (115). This would not be the only case in which religious does not equal political preference.

[79] This statement leads Parmiter to believe that it was the Duke of Norfolk for whom Plowden wrote, a suggestion with merit.

> Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, with his Importunitie, had made hym loke more in to that Mater then ever he thought to do…Henry Cockayn[80] brought on Talbott, Servaunt of the Arche Bishop of Canterbury, a Corrector to the Prynters, which brought to hym the Paper of the six Articles, with Maters towchyng the Recognition of the Quene's Majesty Elizabeth, to be true Quene of England by Act of Parlament; these he had either of hym, or of Thomas Busshop…This Talbot brought to hym George Ferries, and he was a great Doer with Ro. Melvyn and Lydington, and in considering of the Books.[81]

This sequence of events is not so complicated as it first appears and, indeed, much of it is familiar. Book one – the book defending Mary's honour – was a collaborative effort, under development at the Westminster conference. Leslie undertook the 'book of the title', as he claims in his *Discourse*, by referring to several previously written tracts, both for and against Mary's claim. Thomas Bishop helped Leslie find the men who could provide assistance with his argument, namely Nicholas Harpesfield and Plowden, both Catholic lawyers. Having incurred trouble because of the Duke Norfolk in the past, Plowden hesitated to look at Leslie's work, but finally did so, and suggested that the book on female regiment was not wholly necessary, or that he could make this argument more convincingly himself. This confirms that Plowden is far more closely connected to Leslie than the elusive figure of Browne. Again, the names Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melville appear, both of whom had been involved for several years in promoting Mary's claim. And, most intriguing of all, the intimation that Norfolk – not Browne – requested Plowden to write his *Treatise* means that the Duke, indeed, could also have supplied

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[80] Henry Cockyn was a bookseller (and eventually a printer) in Fleet Street. In a manuscript copy of the *Discourse* (BL, Additional MS. 48027, fols. 45-70^{v}), Robert Beale, clerk of the Privy Council, notes that 'the originall herof was found in the study of the L. Henry Howard brother to the late Duke of Norfolk'. Howard confessed that 'appon the departure of the B of Rosse out of England, he sent this booke unto him by a fellowe that sumtimes was servant to a stationer dwelling at the signe of the Olifant in Flete Streete' (fol. 70^{v}) This stationer was Cockyn, with whom Leslie obviously had some dealings. Specifically, Cockyn, along with a Dr. Good, may have assisted Leslie with changing the orthography of book one from Scottish to English (Anderson, 1:xi). Cockyn's name appear several times in Ridolfi-related examinations (see *CSP Scot. (1571-4),* item 23, for example). For more about Cockyn, see H. G. Aldis, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), 72. 'Dr. Good' may be William Good, an English Catholic who left for Louvain during Elizabeth's reign. There, in 1562, he became a Jesuit. Although there is no clear indication that he was in London with Leslie, he spent several years in Ireland before leaving for the continent, so their connection is possible.

[81] Entire quote from Murdin, 29.

Leslie with arguments in favour of Mary's claim to the English throne, perhaps at the York conference in 1568.

One might justly question the trustworthiness of Leslie's confessions, but even if he were waffling on certain details, these testimonies are still strong indicators of the protean nature of the *Defence*. Lethington and Melville's involvement with the succession debate is well known and can be independently confirmed. Lethington, Melville, even Norfolk and the host of other men named in these depositions – anyone who had access to the English court in the 1560s – could have assisted Leslie with the development of his 'book of the title' by providing access to the legal arguments being constructed on Mary's behalf. Levine finds it remarkable that 'Mary's most important minister (Maitland), the Bishop who had the most influence over her (Leslie), and two of England's most prominent Catholic lawyers (Plowden and Browne) all found it necessary to write answers to Hales's tract'.[82] These men shared common concerns, however, and the coincidences of their texts – and their connections to one another – merely indicate the magnitude and import of the issue under discussion. Viewed as participants in this textual conversation, Leslie and his *Defence* should look a bit different. The preponderant evidence outlined in the preceding pages indicates that, far from working alone, Leslie placed himself at the helm of this project for the *Defence* during the 1568-9 conferences; then, methodically and efficiently, he set about collecting, conferring, and composing. Just because Leslie – himself a capable scholar and lawyer – was not solely responsible for the content of the *Defence*, he should not fall in our estimation. Rather, it is more interesting and illuminating to imagine him moving nimbly through a world of shadowy connections, ably drawing together a decade of controversy – about succession, female monarchy, not to mention murder and rebellion – into a single volume.

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[82] Levine, 95.

Perhaps Leslie's obsession with the English title testifies to his conviction in Mary's innocence, to his sincere belief that Moray's charges were absurd fabrications. I believe this to be true. I also believe, however, that Leslie can be disingenuous about his motives and rhetorical strategies. For reviving the succession debate in 1569 in this way, while Mary remained incarcerated in England, was extraordinarily clever.[83] In my opinion, Leslie saw Mary's title as the ideal way both to deflect attention away from the unsavoury accusations against her and to emphasise her position as a reigning monarch. That is, by turning once again to the succession issue, to arguments made on Mary's behalf, Leslie could raise the debate to the higher level of hereditary politics; he could act as if her innocence were a foregone conclusion. Using (and citing) tracts conveniently written by eminent English lawyers would not only give the sense of a range of voices, but would also lend the *Defence* an air of independent authority, making it more palatable to an English audience as it corroborated Mary's political entitlements. And Leslie clearly marks this target audience: 'the (gentle Reader) beinge an Englishe man'. He had little need to convince the Scots about the merits of Mary's claim to Elizabeth's throne. Despite their mutual animosity, members of the Queen's and the King's Parties shared a conviction in the claims of the Stewart line.[84] Convincing Englishmen of Mary's 'iuste title' was the real challenge, and the obvious way to do so was to marshal a battalion of arguments based on English history and common law. The rest of the solution entailed creating the illusion that this work was an entirely English production: The false 'Flete strete' colophon set the ruse in motion; the consistently English orthography carried it

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[83] I do not mean to suggest that the issue of Mary's title had faded away altogether – quite the contrary. But I do believe Leslie quite pointedly made the issue of the title central to his *Defence*.

[84] Sir Nicholas Throckmorton had written to Mary in 1565 that supporters of her title even in England included both Catholics and Protestants: 'Of thir some ar papistis and some protestantis; and yet how euer they differ amangest them selues, in religion or vther particulariteis, they ar baith of a mynd for the aduancement of that propos that tueches your Maieste' (reported by Sir James Melville, 141). He concedes, however, that she 'has also many ennemys'.

along.[85] Despite the effort to cloak the source of the *Defence*, however, few men in London could have had any doubt about the Bishop's involvement. Through Leslie's guidance, the *Defence* became not merely a plea for Mary's innocence, but a shrewd instigator of a political discussion designed to free and restore his ousted queen.

Mercy, Motherhood, and Monarchy

The argument for Mary's title to the English crown serves as the centre of the *Defence*, both literally and symbolically. But before Leslie can give this issue his full attention, he needs to convince his audience of Mary's innocence. Book one – which I shall distinguish as the 'defence' – uses several approaches to refute the charges against her: it argues for her inherent nobility, the treachery of her rebels, and the irregularity of their judicial procedure. This section will evaluate each of these arguments and then consider some of Leslie's governing themes. For example, the book of the 'defence' is largely an expression of his indignation about disregard for divinely instituted authority, hence for order and tradition. Conspicuously absent from this formulation, however, is patriarchy. Rather, with regard to monarchical right – especially Mary's – Leslie concerns himself with gratitude, legitimacy, and propriety, which for him share a common source: her feminine nature, as it is expressed in her roles as daughter, wife, mother, and queen. In this unexpected move, Leslie uses Mary's gender to her advantage by making it a key component to her political value.

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[85] However clever Leslie's argument, coming from a Scot, expressed in Scots, it was not likely to be taken seriously by an English audience. For the 'defence of her honour', then, Leslie called on the services of one of his innumerable London connections to 'turn into English any Scottish words in it', ensuring that his audience's reception of the arguments in favour of Mary's innocence would not be disturbed with Scotticisms. (See note 80, and Anderson's preface to the *Treatise*, 1:xi.) In much the same way, Buchanan's *Detectioun* was altered for political reasons to imply a Scottish origin. That the 'defence of her honour' required the help of others to make it appear English proves that book two was originally written by an English lawyer – and therefore required fewer orthographic changes – and that book one was written by Mary's commissioners following the conferences at York and Westminster.

The 'defence' opens with a denunciation of gossip and loose talk, reminding the reader that with good reason God furnished men 'with two eyes, two eares, and butt withe one mowthe, and one tongue' (Ai[r]). Considering the wisdom of this design, Leslie calls for prudence in all observation and talk:

> Then shoulde we sone learne and practise a good lesson,...to talke within a compasse, and to referre all our talke to a temperancie and sobrietie and to a knoven tryed trevthe: especiallie where the sayde talke maye sownde, to the blemishinge and disgracinge of anie mans good name and estimation. (Ai[r]-ii[v])

No doubt this little homily responds directly to the smear campaign conducted by Mary's rebels and their supporters in London – to their 'pretensed proclamations' (Ciiii[r]). For no one has cause to complain of such 'vnbrydeled talke' as does the 'excellente Princesse ladie Marie Quene of Scotlande: whose honour manie haue gone abowte to blotte and deface' (Aii[v]). Having made this point, Leslie sets about defending Mary deliberately and methodically. Broadly speaking, the 'defence' is organised in the following way.

1) Because the rebels have based their case on presumptions, Leslie offers a few of his own, such as Mary's past virtuous life and her natural inclination to mercy. People, he argues, do not suddenly 'fall to extreame lewdenes' – or become murderers (Aiiii[r]). Moreover, Mary had lawful means to be rid of Darnley, if she so chose, so what would she gain by his murder?
2) Next, he summarises the charges and evidence presented by her accusers, carefully considering and refuting each 'prouf' offered against her. He gives most time, of course, to their star witness, their 'singulier Iewhell, whereby they sett muche store', the Casket Letters, so-called evidence which he impugns for barefaced speciousness.
3) Leslie then examines the terms by which the nobles defend their rebellion against Mary, exposing the inconsistencies and hypocrisies in their so-called 'iust quarrell'.

4) Leslie forthrightly proclaims the rebels to be 'the deuisers and procurers of the shamefull, vile vilaynouse murther of the noble younge lorde, the lorde Darley' (Dv[r]).

5) Pages are then devoted to excoriating the villainy and ingratitude of the Earl of Moray, above all others. *Cui bono?* Leslie asks repeatedly, citing Cicero, 'for whose advantage is it?'[86] Moray, the arch-villain of book one, has gained most by Mary's removal from the political scene.

6) Throughout the 'defence', Leslie digresses occasionally or pauses to meditate on one of his favourite themes, the precarious estate of princes, for example.

It is worth noting that his characterisation of the aftermath of Darnley's murder diverges from Buchanan's not simply in its radically different interpretation of events and people. Unlike the *Detectioun*, 'narrative' does not quite describe Leslie's 'defence'. He is far more concerned with legal (and hereditary) procedure, and his account lacks the lurid, colourful drama of the *Detectioun.* His disciplined – and mostly restrained – approach obviously harmonises with the strategy of shifting the debate away from scandal, but it is still to his credit, considering the outrageous claims and splenetic attack produced by Buchanan for the opposing side. Certainly Leslie makes his own subjective arguments, citing Mary's 'noble byrthe, her honorable state, and princelye education' as reasons to 'repell and drive awaye, all suche suspition and coniecturall presumptions' (Aiiii[r]). That a noble queen so willing to show mercy to her subjects would kill her own husband, he simply describes as 'vnlikelie…incredible' (Aiiii[v]). But his main line of attack is to call attention to the vindictive and illegal means by which her enemies have brought her down by questioning the authenticity of their evidence and the contradictions apparent in their case.

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[86] See Av[v], for example. The Cicero reference is from *Pro Milone*, 12.32. Cicero refers to 'illud Cassianum', that is, the 'cui bono' rule. The Cassius in question was a tribune in 137 B.C.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, legal discourse is one of the structural and thematic devices of the *Detectioun*: the volume creates the impression that 'eche man' can become a participant in trial of Mary – a hearing in which she herself serves as a witness for the prosecution. The *Detectioun* also criticises the validity of Bothwell's acquittal, calling it 'ane enterlude vpon a stage', rather than a proper legal proceeding. Taking his cue, Leslie picks up this riff, and, as canon and civil lawyer, expertly plays it to his advantage, charging that Moray's party have acted against the principles of justice (Dvii^{v}). Leslie argues persuasively. The Casket Letters are treated as spurious evidence, as a 'blinde, a deaf, and a dome testimonie' (Bi^{v}), for they bear 'neither subscription of the writer, nor superscription vnto whome they were directed, they are neither sealed nor signed' (Biii^{r}). Mary's enemies have interpreted these documents with 'vnsure and vncertaine ghesses aymes, and coniecturall supposings', which constitute no 'good & substanstiall prouf' – not even against the 'porest woman or sympliest wretched crature in all Scotlande', much less the Queen (Bii^{v}). Moreover, contrary to the precepts of civil law, the letters have been collated by these same enemies – 'O perfecte and worthie collation' (Biiii^{r}), he exclaims sardonically – who had not only the opportunity but also the expertise 'to imitate & counterfaite any character' (Biii^{v}). Most of the key witnesses who could have testified about these matters have been conveniently executed: 'for as muche as the verie self saide dowgleishe, whom amonge other ye haue executed and ridd owte of the waye, hathe saide and sufficientlie declared, for the Queenes innocencie' (Bv^{v}).[87] Whereas all suits brought against a defendant require three 'seuerall and distincte

[87] 'Dowgleishe' refers to George Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant, who turned over the silver casket to the Earl of Morton after Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven. Leslie also takes a jibe at Moray in this passage. According to Lethington, at the Craigmillar conference where Darnley's murder was first conceived, Moray had promised to 'look through his fingers' at anything that might be done to rid Mary of Darnley (Donaldson, 35). Leslie tells Mary's enemies that they 'haue bene verie fowlie and meruelousely ouerseen in the close and cleane conueiance of your fingers (Bv^{v}).

persons' – judge, accuser, and witness – Mary's accusers have unlawfully merged these roles:

> For they haue in all theis theire worshipfull proceedings against her, made…suche a confuse and disordered chaos against iustice and nature, that they them selues were the accusers, they them selues the witnesse, they them selues the Iudges and examiners of her cause.

In short, Leslie criticises the King's Party for failing to comply with the laws of a 'well ordered common wealthe[s]', dismissing the whole action against Mary as having no 'effecte or purpose' (Dvii^{r}-Dviii^{r}).

Leslie's legal arguments, in contrast to Buchanan's, are thorough and, for the most part, well substantiated. This is not to suggest that he is never rhetorical, but he often lends credibility to his arguments by quoting ancient authorities (Aristotle, Terence, even Homer) or by finding biblical or historical analogues (the Israelites and the tribe of Benjamin, Absalom and Ahithophel, Simon of Maccabees).[88] Even more persuasively, he frequently cites specific legal statutes, clarifying their meaning and application.[89] As a result, the 'defence' reads as a scholarly and well-reasoned legal argument. Despite the

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[88] See, respectively, Judges 20; 2 Samuel 15-17; 1 Maccabees 15-16. Each of these analogues is suggestive and merits further consideration. Although Leslie occasionally stretches his points, his analogues almost always hold more authoritative weight than Sempill's hysterical references to Clytemnestra or Medea. Interestingly, Leslie cites the Old Testament Apocrypha at least four times: 1 Esdras, Susanna, and 1 and 2 Maccabees. In 1546, the Council of Trent declared the books of Susanna and Maccabees, among others, to be canonical (Esdras remained outside the 'Catholic books'), partly in answer to the Reformers who rejected all Old Testament Apocrypha as non-canonical. (Many Reformers did admit, however, that some of these books could be instructive, even if they were inferior to canonical texts [Metzger, cited below, 185].) It is interesting to speculate on the reaction Leslie expected from his Protestant audience by quoting non-authoritative books of the Bible. Although space does not allow, Leslie's conspicuous use of Catholic writings and references is worth more investigation, especially as Mary's faith plays virtually no role in the *Defence*. For concise and informative discussions of Old Testament Apocrypha, see R. H. Malden, *The Apocrypha* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); and especially Bruce M. Metzger, *An Introduction to The Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957). Also useful is the account of the Apocrypha presented in Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Leslie finds in Scottish history an analogue to exemplify Moray's treachery. Moray is compared to 'Duke Robert, brother to the kinge of Scotlande, and gouernour of the realme', who 'procured the Prince his nephewe to be made awaye and murthered' in order to have political control (Fi^{v}). I believe Leslie refers to Robert, Duke of Albany, and Robert III's son, David. See Dalrymple 2:30, and Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood, 1306-1469* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), chapter 7, section iv.

[89] For example, he might cite what kind of proof criminal cases require, or note the irregularity of allowing the testimony of an accuser who is indebted to the defendant. See Biii^{r} and Dvii^{v}.

copious 'legal' documents appended to the 1571 *Detectioun*, Leslie's response seems far more grounded in order, tradition, and precedent, which is unsurprising given the political views of these opposing parties. Whereas the *Detectioun* derives its authority from a ostensibly populist stance, the *Defence* looks to convention and hierarchy. Arguably, this is the fundamental difference between the cases for and against the Queen of Scots.

For Leslie, one of the most shocking elements of the nobles' rebellion is their flagrant disregard for a hierarchical system from which they have benefited – or, to be more precise, their ingratitude to a clement and generous Queen. Indeed, these are the very men who are 'most deapelie bownde, aswel for highe prefermente vndeserued, as for diuers pardons of deathe' (Dviii^{r}). Leslie himself was beholden to Mary, whose patronage granted him both the abbacy of Lindores and the bishopric of Ross; perhaps as a result, he feels keenly the obligations of loyalty. Although all of the traitors are guilty of ingratitude, the Earl of Moray bears the brunt of Leslie's indignation: he ruminates almost obsessively on Moray's ungratefulness for the honours bestowed on him by Mary. She has taken him into her confidence, relied on his advice, pardoned his conspiracies, given him preferments, even at the expense of her other nobles;[90] and, still, his 'machiuells practizes' have led him to plot Darnley's murder, contrive the marriage to Bothwell, vacate the court to avoid suspicion, secure the regency, and accuse his 'deare sister...bountefull maistresse and Souereigne' of his own dastardly deeds (Evi^{r}, Eiii^{r}). Tellingly, Leslie remarks on Moray's illegitimate birth again and again, ascribing his treachery to 'his base natiuitie, his baser conditions' (Eiii^{r}). Whereas Mary possesses an 'ouer good and vertuouse' nature which desires only to protect the honour of her 'self and state', Moray's illegitimacy means he has no comparable 'state' to sully: 'the Erle of Murraye, his birthe and naturall inclination were moste apte and mete to woorke suche

[90] See Guy, 163-6. When Huntly challenged Mary during her northern progress in 1562, he was defeated and subsequently died; both of his sons were captured and one was executed. Mary gave her brother James the earldom of Moray, which Huntly had been administering.

naughetie practises' (Fiii[r]). Leslie imagines Moray, like *King Lear*'s Edmund, as bound to serve his base nature, at the expense of his legitimate and innocent half-sister.[91] It may be stating the obvious to say that Mary's legitimacy as James V's true heir entitles her to the English crown, but, here, Leslie implies that it is also the source and proof of her innocence.

Interestingly, Mary's femininity also corroborates her virtue. Whereas some of his contemporaries eagerly ascribe murderous tendencies to women, Leslie takes the opposite view: 'Thys sexe naturallye abhorrethe suche butcherlye practyzes: surely rare yt ys to heare suche fowle practizes in women' (Aiii[v]).[92] Moving into the particular, Leslie explores his queen's feminine and domestic roles – as daughter, wife, mother – softening her and emphasising her tenderness and benevolence. Beyond answering criminal charges or verifying temperament, however, Mary's gender actually becomes an advantageous and flexible way for Leslie to support his argument about her legitimate authority. He uses her feminine roles as a measure of her political power – not as a reason to deprive her of authority. Although Elizabeth and Mary are often referred to as sister queens in contemporary texts, for example, in the 'defence' Mary becomes Elizabeth's 'dawghter, bothe by dawghterlye reuerence she bearethe her maiestie, and by reason she ys of God called to the daughters place in the succession of the crowne' (†v[v]). Obviously, Leslie invokes such an intimate family tie with an eye, as ever, on the succession, but it also reinforces a sense of mutual duty between the two queens. Leslie finds many examples in the 'monumentes of antiquitie, as well prophane as Ecclesiasticall' of one noble person

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[91] Leslie's little obsession with Moray's bastardy is made all the more curious by the fact of his own illegitimate birth.

[92] At the same time, he is no feminist. See Shephard on the hazards of making the defenders of female regiment into proto-feminists (9). Leslie invokes Mary's gender for other ends when considering her marriage to Bothwell. He grants that Bothwell had served her faithfully and that the nobility treacherously promoted the match, and he scolds her enemies for their duplicity. But his parenthetical concession that '(thowghe verie circumspecte and naturallie prudente in all her other doings) yet neuer thelesse a woman' does not compensate for his view of the Bothwell marriage as imprudent, if inevitable, given that Mary is a woman (Bviii[v]).

assisting another in a time of need: Abraham helped Lot, Cyrus delivered the Jews, Cordelia aided Lear, and, more to the point, Scotland herself offered succour to Henry VI of England (†iv^{v}-v^{r}).[93] Elizabeth's munificence in helping Mary in her 'distresse and extremitie' – a natural obligation between fellow princes – is rendered even more obligatory when she is represented as Mary's mother. Elizabeth not only has made 'fayre and princelye promises' to Mary, which she should uphold, but she also, quite simply, owes this 'motherlye benefitt' to her 'dawghter' (†v^{v}).

This 'maternal logic' is grafted even more strangely onto Mary's relationship with Darnley.[94] She remains 'his owne deare wife, and dreade Souereigne' (Avi^{r}), yet 'besides all other respects, thowghe they were not farre differente in yeares, she was to him not onlie a loyall Prince, a louinge and deare wife, but a most carefull and tender mother with all' (Avi^{v}-vii^{r}). To account for Mary's estrangement from Darnley after his participation in Riccio's murder, Leslie resorts to an analogy of parental discipline:

> …for a time she did dissemble and forebeare owtewardelie to shewe and vtter, her inwarde harte and affectionate loue, vpon moste iuste and good respects: As the manner and practise of prouidente and moste louinge parents oftentimes ys, towarde theire deare children, for the better reclaiminge of the wanderinge minde, and waueringe will of the yowthfull vnaduised gentleman. (Avii^{r})

Once Darnley repents his betrayal, Mary rushes to 'renewe, quicken and refreshe his sprites, and to comforte his harte, to the amendement and reparinge of his healthe lateli by sicknes sore impaired'. In other words, Leslie manages to turn the entire episode into a domestic squabble in which a wayward child returns to the forgiving arms of his mother and nurse. The happy conclusion is that Mary 'most tenderlie cherisshed him euer, eauen to the verie laste howre, that euer she sawe him' (Avii^{r}). Building on the respect due to a mother, Leslie also insists on Mary's other source of superiority over Darnley: he may be

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[93] For the first two examples, Leslie cites Genesis 14 and 1 Esdras 1. The passage includes several other examples of noble acts, such as those by Alexander the Great and Charles the Emperor. Once again, Leslie shows his fondness for citing precedent.
[94] Lewis, 35.

her husband, yet he is still 'but a membre of the Scottishe comon wealthe, subiecte to her, as to his principall and supreme governesse, and to her lawes' (Aiiii^{v}). Not only is he subject to her, but as a mere 'priuate man' he loses any claim to the title of king. After denying the charge that Mary observed an abbreviated mourning period following Darnley's murder, Leslie maintains that, even were this true, she was not bound by the usual conventions: although queens commonly 'mourne theire husbands who were kings, her grace mournethe after an other sorte: she a prince, her husbande a priuate man and her subiecte' (Bvi^{r}). Whereas wives usually receive 'honour and cheif dignitie' from their husbands, Darnley's 'encrease of aduancemente' came only through Mary – his 'deare wife', 'dreade Souereigne', and 'tender mother'.

Mary's maternal nature is invoked again later in the 'defence', this time with respect to her real son, the infant James. Used as a figurehead for the Lords' rebellion against Mary, James is now called forth by Leslie as a witness against her enemies. James's reaction is narrated across several folios. This 'good swete babe', had he years and understanding, would castigate Moray and his followers for their insubordination and conspiracy. Leslie imagines the infant as full of criticisms: he would cast doubt on Mary's enforced demission of the crown, condemn the legality of his 'own vnnaturall coronation', grieve over the weak foundation of his rule, lament the state of his 'poore ragged, and rent realme', and extol the generosity of his dear mother (Diii^{v}). Above all, James would resent being made to intrude 'against his good mother, vnto the crowne and gouernement of the realme' in order to 'colour' Moray's rise to power (Di^{v}). Leslie also imagines James in a more sinister role, as being used against his will to prey savagely upon his mother: 'neyther wolde be [*sic*] bye yt so deare, nor come forthe to be a king so vnnaturallie, as the vipers enter into the worlde by eatinge and gnawinge owte the

mothers wombe' (Dii[v]).[95] Aside from a strange prefiguring of Spenser's Errour and her ungrateful spawn in the *Faerie Queene*, this passage simultaneously characterises James as Mary's advocate and her destroyer, invoking the power of the maternal bond, only violently to undo it again. Leslie here betrays his own ambivalence about James as a political replacement for Mary: to recognise James in 1569 would be to repudiate Mary's sovereignty, yet Leslie would also want to avoid insulting or casting doubt on Mary's legitimate heir.[96]

In response to these passages about Mary's maternal nature, Jayne Elizabeth Lewis remarks that Leslie leans toward a 'fundamentally matriarchal vision of sovereignty'.[97] Her reading of Leslie's *Defence* – and this remark especially – is instructive. Elsewhere, however, Lewis over-sentimentalises the case. Her broader study traces how the Scottish Queen becomes a necessary sacrifice in the Freudian process of rejecting 'parental love in the quest for autonomous and coherent identity' – namely, the identity of the emerging English nation-state.[98] Lewis's argument about an 'intimate and conflicted' British attachment to Mary the political mother is intriguing,[99] and her observations about Leslie's 'defence' – that he becomes narcissistically involved with his

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[95] A similar image appears at the end of a ballad inserted in Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* (268-74). In the ballad, dame Scotland laments the factiousness of her subjects. Stanza 20 reads thus:

> 'When vipers gendres togither in ther kynd,
> The maill in femelis mouth putis in his head;
> Then sche again, maist crewell and vnkynd,
> Bytis aff the same, wherthrow he getis his dead:
> Syn an slap throw the mothers syd is maid
> Be her awen candred kitlins sche is keild,
> And they euen sa ar used in ther eild' (273).

Transparently mapped onto Darnley, Mary, and James, the viper family metaphor neatly epitomises what must have seemed like a cycle of violence.

[96] In 1569, Leslie was not prepared to deal with the claim of the newly crowned King of Scots. This tightrope Leslie continued to walk for many years. In 1584, when James was flirting with Catholicism, Leslie included his name in the title to an English edition of the *Treatise*: *A Treatise Towching the right, title, and interest of the most excellent Princesse Marie, Queene of Scotland, and of the most noble king James, her Graces sonne, to the succession of the Croune of England* ([Rheims]: n.p., 1584); Scott, item 123. When it became clear that James would remain steadfastly Protestant, 'Leslie withdrew his support of the Scottish King's right to succeed his mother' (Phillips, *Images*, 104-5). That Leslie continued to insist on Mary's right testifies to his loyalty to *her*, not just to a Stewart succession.

[97] Lewis, 35.

[98] Ibid., 6-7.

[99] Ibid., 9.

own argument, for example – are often insightful. Nevertheless, Lewis's strictly psychoanalytic approach leads her to underestimate the historical and political underpinnings of his text. To categorise the *Defence* as a 'profession[s] of love', or to suggest that Leslie must 'summon the specter of [Mary's] death' in order to keep loving her, absurdly distorts the immediate and pragmatic goals of his rhetorical strategies, and thus misapprehends his larger political argument.[100] The problem, of course, is that Lewis's argument is predetermined by hindsight: her reading of Mary as Britain's rejected mother depends wholly on Mary's deposition, imprisonment, and execution, on her complete political failure. Leslie's *Defence*, however, accounts persistently for an altogether different outcome.

In other words, Leslie's interest in Mary's motherhood – as well as her other domestic and gendered roles – cannot be fully explained if abstracted from his political objectives. Rather than being on the verge of plunging into a 'gulf of motherly love', he is using her gender far more cleverly – and surprisingly – to accentuate her political value.[101] Moments involving Mary's gender argue for her rightful authority by merging feminine with political role, whether as Elizabeth's 'daughter' and heir, Darnley's 'mother' and sovereign, or James's wronged progenitor. Embedded are Mary's political past, present, and future, as reigning monarch, betrayed queen, and rightful heir; all moments exist simultaneously on Leslie's page, and all insist on Mary's uninterrupted and enduring authority. By using gender as a rhetorical tool in this way, Leslie also tries to undo traditional fears about female regiment, so often associated with the female body, by making that same body a source for legitimate and natural government. Clearly, Leslie is drawn to the idea of Mary as mother. Far from threatening or undermining her

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[100] Ibid., 34, 37.
[101] Ibid., 35.

authority, however, Mary's motherhood signals the hereditary nature of monarchical politics in which her place is assured.

Even more complexly, motherhood also serves as a metaphor to signify what has happened to her and to Scotland. The image of Mary's violated womb being 'gnawed out' by her own son adds graphic and visual force to the abnormality of the rebellion against her. Just as her body natural – the fertile womb of motherhood – has been metaphorically despoiled, her body politic – the realm of Scotland – has been rent by 'robberies and spoiles' committed against her subjects. In other words, Leslie stages the rape of Mary and of her country. Moray's bastardy, already noted as one of Leslie's preoccupations, can now be understood as an instigating and illustrative factor in this political rape. Because of Moray's baleful influence, James is forced to displace his mother in the natural order of succession, thereby desecrating the womb that nourished him. Though barred from the crown of Scotland and 'vncapable...to the name and bloud of the Stewards' (Eiii^{v}), Moray secures the Regency for himself, becoming the usurping and illegitimate ruler of Scotland. Figuratively and literally, the body politic of Scotland has become unnatural.

Leslie emphasises the link between the violation of Mary and of her realm by alluding to the Old Testament Apocryphal story of Susanna. The wife of a prominent Jew of Babylon, Susanna was spied upon by two elders (or judges) as she bathed in her garden. Having been discovered, the elders threatened to accuse her of adultery unless she agreed to sleep with them both. Consulting her conscience, she opted to preserve her chastity. Publicly accused and sentenced to death by the elders, Susanna was reprieved at the last moment by some clever detective work on the part of Daniel.[102] Leslie would have found this story illustrative on several levels. As one scholar explains, the story

[102] The book of Susanna is an addition to the canonical book of Daniel. One might see in the use of Susanna in the *Defence* as prefiguring a later emphasis on Mary's undying devotion to and martyrdom for the Catholic faith.

satirises the judicial procedure of its time, which the writer found 'careless, if not corrupt'.[103] Like the 'olde wicked gouernours' of Susanna's story, Moray and his co-conspirators present false testimony against Mary, building a case founded on fabricated evidence and improper legal procedure. Mary becomes the 'good Susanna', who maintains her innocence in the face of slander, refusing to 'consent and yelde to the olde lustie lecherouse Rebelles' (Fv^{v}). In response, God delivers Mary by ensuring her escape from the 'stronge fortresse and castle' within which her rebels have imprisoned her. Susanna's story offers Leslie an *exemplum* of a dignified and innocent woman, wrongly accused of adultery, her chastity assailed by her own accusers. In Mary's case, the 'lustie lecherouse Rebelles' succeed, at least, in ravaging her political body.

It would be only fair to point out that Leslie's argument does have its weaknesses. By highlighting and manipulating Mary's gender, he finds himself trapped in a conventional female dichotomy: to refute the accusations against Mary, he must reiterate her passivity, even make her into the victim of 'suche a Tragedie' scripted by her rebels, which, in turn, casts a shadow on her political effectiveness.[104] Leslie's prevailing concern with her right and title also leads him to speculate awkwardly about Mary's guilt. For example, he says that even if Mary were guilty of 'one simple murther' (Ei^{r}) – not his choicest turn of phrase – the rebels have acted illegally because 'she remainethe still theire Quene and in her full auctoritie' (Dvii^{r}). Here, the lingering and unsettling possibility of Mary's guilt infects his text. To underscore his opposition to the overthrow of an anointed prince, Leslie also draws an 'unhappy' analogy between Mary and the biblical King David.[105] Although David was 'bothe an adoulterer, and also a murtherer',

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[103] Malden, 56.

[104] As Mary's captivity and the campaign on her behalf wears on, she becomes an increasingly passive figure, and is finally transformed into a political and religious martyr. See Phillips, *Images*, for a discussion of how the theme of her religious martyrdom becomes a prominent feature of her defence.

[105] Phillips, *Images*, 91. Elsewhere King David is used more effectively, in Leslie's reference to the rebellion of Absalom. See Bvi^{r} of the *Defence*.

his subjects respected his authority; it would have been God's place – not theirs – to discipline and depose him.

Here Leslie has stumbled into what for him is the heart of the matter: Mary's subjects have rebelled against an anointed prince, and regardless of what she may or may not have done, they have impugned her innate authority. As Phillips has argued, Leslie regarded Mary's deposition 'as a blow to royal sovereignty everywhere',[106] as giving 'to the subiects of other Princes suche a wicked presidente'. Leslie scolds Moray and Morton that 'eauen adioyninge the Quene were culpable', which 'she ys not in this matter', even then would it not have been 'muche better and more auaileable to your comon welthe, and to the state therof, prudentlie to haue dissembled the matter, (as your forefathers haue heretofore done in a greater cause then this…)'? Whatever their behaviour, he firmly believes in making allowances for the 'kings and Princes in christenedome' (Ei^{v}). Leslie's concern for order, tradition, and precedent makes him fear the consequences of Mary's overthrow, even beyond the irreparable damage done to the state of Scotland. His conviction is that the upshot of this little Scottish matter will reverberate perilously across the courts of Europe, calling into question the surety of all monarchs who bear 'scepter and royall dignitie' (Ei^{v}). If the rebels' actions against Mary are allowed to stand, then 'princes shall haue and enioye lesse benefits and praeminences in theire owne defence, then other priuate persons' (Eii^{r}). And all of this could have been easily avoided if they had 'reserued the punishemente therof to Gods owne rodd and iustice' (Ei^{v}).

Even in its occasional moments of instability, when Leslie's personal indignation at the affront to royal sovereignty detracts from his more pressing purpose, the 'defence' still supports his view that the charges against Mary are an annoying contrivance to justify her deposition at the hands of criminals. His ripostes to the arguments of her

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[106] Ibid.

enemies are convincing: the executions of important witnesses (Bv^{v}), Moray's well-timed absences from the court (Evi^{v}), and Mary's looming act of revocation (Fiii^{r}). And his citation of civil law and precedent gives weight and authority to his argument, far more than Buchanan's salacious gossip gives to the *Detectioun*. More interesting, however, is how Leslie makes Mary's sex an essential element to the argument for her innocence and for her title. All of her female roles reify her princely estate – in Scotland and in England – and thus merge abstract notions of rights and titles with a dispossessed yet worthy queen. Gender, in fact, becomes the unifying force for the three books of the *Defence*. Book one binds gender to legitimacy and political authority; book three defends female rule as natural and legal. Situated at the centre, the case for Mary's title to the English crown relies implicitly on these other arguments. The *Defence*, as an independent volume, coherently asserts Mary's innocence, authority, and monarchical right. Yet Leslie undertakes one more task, which he envisions as completing his larger political project for Mary's defence: the history and hereditary succession of the Stewart line.

The Competition for History

While the *Defence* was being assembled and ushered off to the printer, Leslie busied himself with another major work, his *Historie of Scotland*. Of no less importance to the Marian debate, the *Historie* has never been given its rightful place in a string of Scottish chronicle histories. Compared with other Scottish historians – Bower, Mair, Boece, Knox, Pitscottie, Buchanan, for example – Leslie has received short shrift; only the odd reference gives any indication of his method as a writer of history. Although space here does not permit a much-needed comprehensive analysis of Leslie's *Historie*, I would like to consider some of its more prominent concerns, especially as they dovetail with Leslie's

objectives for the *Defence*.[107] It may be tempting to view the *Historie* and the *Defence* as separate projects, as, indeed, the generic categories of apology and history would seem to declare. In truth, these two texts share much more than a common moment of production: in different ways, they are both wrapped up in larger conversations involving the English succession, legitimate kingship versus the right to resist, and versions of national history – all for which Mary becomes the pivotal and disputed figure. As Roger Mason has pointed out, the birth of Mary Queen of Scots 'inaugurated a prolonged period of political, religious and social upheaval which was to test severely the Scottish community's sense of collective identity and to call into question many of the myths and memories enshrined in the "matter of Scotland"'.[108] As Mason would probably agree, her birth pales in comparison with her deposition, which fanned these flames of national insecurity and discord; and in its wake Leslie felt compelled not only to build her defence but also to reconstitute a version of Scottish history sympathetic to her cause.

Leslie's original, vernacular *Historie of Scotland* was composed intermittently during 1569-70 and dedicated to 'the right high, right virtuous and excellent Princes Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots and Dowager of France'. Leslie possibly had the project in mind even before he left Scotland in 1568. Leslie's deep connections to Aberdeen meant that William Elphinstone and Hector Boece would have been influential figures, and both are celebrated for their interest in the antiquities and history of Scotland.[109] Unsurprisingly, Leslie refers to Boece favourably in several texts.[110] Yet, despite the 'cuning and eloquent' historiography of Boece, the *Scotorum Historiae* (1527)

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[107] One brief but interesting discussion of Leslie's *Historie* deserves mention: Ronald D. S. Jack, ed., *Scottish Prose 1550-1700* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1971), 11-17. He compares Leslie's method and style usefully with Pitscottie's.

[108] Mason, *Kingship*, 99.

[109] See Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985); and Mason, *Kingship*, especially 93-5.

[110] In the Petyt MS., Inner Temple Library, discussed below, Leslie appears to have made the effort to squeeze into the text additional notes about Boece's history of Scotland, written 'in so eloquent style so trewlie and diligentlie colletted' (86^{v}).

ends at the death of James I, and Leslie was concerned that 'nevir ane hes preassed to gif further any thing in wreitt' about the history of Scotland from 1436 onward.[111] So, the project undertaken by Leslie, apparently in earnest in early 1569, was to write the history of Scotland from the death of James I through the minority of Mary.[112] Following the prefatory epistle to Mary, the text is organised in typical fashion with each section devoted to the reign of a ruling monarch – James II-V and Mary. Translated into Latin, these sections make up Books VIII-X of Leslie's larger work, *De origine moribvs, et rebvs gestis scotorvm libri decem*, published at Rome in 1578.[113] For his Latin history, Leslie added an extensive opening description of the various regions of Scotland ('founded on independent observation and information'), Books I-VII covering the early history of Scotland ('an epitome of Major and Boece'), and, of course, the *Historie* translated into Latin and appended as Books VIII-X. [114] Thomas Thomson, editor of the 1830 Bannatyne Club edition of the *Historie*, points out that the Latin history is not simply a 'correction and enlargement' of the original Scots text. Rather, Leslie's Latin version required him 'to suppress or generalize those more minute details and domestic occurrences which he may have found less susceptible of that classic attire in which he was naturally ambitious of exhibiting historical work' (vi).[115] Yet, Leslie's goals for *De origine* differed from those for his *Historie*. Written 'largely to impress upon the Pope

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[111] 'Preface' to the *Historie*, 7. All citations to the *Historie*, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the 1830 Bannatyne Club edition edited by T. Thomson, and hereafter will be noted parenthetically. For a study of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*, see Nicola Royan, *The* Scotorum Historiae *of Hector Boece: A Study*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1996).

[112] Leslie was not so alone in this project as he might have thought. The Italian Giovanni Ferreri brought out a newly supplemented edition of Boece's *Historiae* in 1574, and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's vernacular chronicle also offers a continuation of Boece and Bellenden. *The History and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. AE. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1899-1911). For the possibility of interaction between Leslie and Ferreri, see Norman Macdougall, '"It is I, the Earle of Mar": In Search of Thomas Cochrane'. In *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout*, ed. Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall, 28-49 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992), 35-6.

[113] Subsequently, this Latin history was translated into Scots by Father James Dalrymple in 1596. See note 16 above.

[114] *DNB* entry.

[115] Thomson asserts that the Scots version contributes 'some few particulars to the materials of our national history', but even more important is its status 'as a specimen of pure and vigorous composition, in his native language, by one of the most able and accomplished Scotchmen of the sixteenth century' (vi-vii).

and others the past constancy of the Scottish nation to the Catholic Faith',[116] the *De origine* marks Leslie's increasing emphasis on Mary's Catholic martyrdom and, hence, an adjustment in his role as a Scottish historian.

The vernacular *Historie* exists in at least three manuscripts,[117] and these, along with the epistle to Mary, give some indication about the timing and purpose of Leslie's original project. For the Bannatyne Club edition of the *Historie*, Thomson relied on a manuscript copy owned by the Earls of Leven and Melville, now in the National Archives of Scotland,[118] with areas of damage supplied by a copy of later date and preserved in the Bodleian Library as MS. Laud Misc. 583. He does not claim to have seen another manuscript of interest, now housed in the Inner Temple Library, London, as Petyt MS. 530, volume A, which may be the earliest surviving copy of the *Historie*. Although the Petyt MS. has obviously been copied by amanuenses, Leslie has made additions and corrections to the draft in his own hand: his note on the flyleaf states that 'This Copie is not perfyte and therfore is to be reformed in dyuers places conforme to the principall quhilk is in the Quenis Majesties handes'.[119] If Thomson is correct in suggesting that Mary received a copy of the *Historie* in 1571, Leslie's note would seem to indicate that

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[116] Lockie, 121. See Lockie for the Bishop's political activities during his time in Rome.

[117] NAS, GD 26/13/266; Bodl., Laud Misc. 583; and Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 530, vol. A. BL, Additional MS. 48048 (formerly Yelverton 53) also contains an imperfect copy of Leslie's *Historie* dating from the late sixteenth century. The BL manuscript also has part of Fordun's Latin chronicle, which is given the title 'Scotichronicon'.

[118] GD 26/13/266, containing 122 folios. According to Thomson, this manuscript is the earliest extant manuscript of the *Historie*, but see the following note about the Petyt MS., Inner Temple Library. Despite the fact that it derives from the Melville family (Sir Andrew Melville was Master of Mary's household), Thomson believes it cannot be the one presented to Mary because it was transcribed by an English scribe whose difficulty with Scots orthography is quite apparent. The manuscript is in a confused state, alternating between the folios transcribed by the English scribe and the folios transcribed by 'another hand about a century later'. The later folios only use the recto side.

[119] Two hands have copied the Petyt MS. The hand changes at fol. 103, the beginning of the section on Mary's reign. Perhaps the epistle and early chapters date from a time prior to the completion of the *Historie* in 1570, which would explain the addition to the epistle. This long addition is incorporated into the Leven and Laud MSS. and, likewise, into the Bannatyne Club edition, suggesting that at least part of the Petyt MS. could precede the other manuscripts, and that Leslie has returned to it to make it consistent with the manuscript given to Mary. It is also worth noting that there are a few minor changes to the text in what appears to be Leslie's hand, as well as several marginal notes that have been added (especially in the section devoted to Mary's reign).

he is making adjustments to this manuscript sometime thereafter.[120] A long addition to the epistle to Mary in the Petyt MS. – incorporated into the Leven and Laud manuscripts – offers further clues about the date of the *Historie*, as well as about Leslie's process of preparation and writing. In the epistle, he follows the convention of praising the benefits of reading history, observing that when he has not been able to carry out his civil and diplomatic assignments (that is, when he has been under house arrest), his enforced leisure has allowed him to read history, compose his own, and thereby continue his service to the commonwealth.[121] Leslie seems to be referring specifically to his restraint in February-April 1569, with Lord Herries at Burton-on-Trent, especially as the epistle in the Petyt MS. is signed 'at [Burtoun] the day of Apryle 1569'.[122] The addition expunges 'Burtoun' and presents a revised version of the epistle, offering more recent information about the place and process of composition. He explains to Mary that, being occupied with her affairs at the English court 'the hole symer in the 1569', he decided 'to lat the present work rest till farder oportunite'. Unfortunately for him, this opportunity came in the form of another arrest in February 1570, when he was warded at the Bishop of London's house on suspicion of his involvement with the rising of the northern earls.[123] Once again at 'leisure', he 'entered agane to reid our and revise these thingis

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[120] Both Thomson and Henderson (in his entry for the *DNB*) state that Mary received her copy of the *Historie* in 1571. A marginal note in the epistle to Mary in the Latin version gives a date of 1570 (Dalyrymple, 2:53; 1578 Latin edition, 286), which could, of course, simply be a discrepancy of old style dating. I have found no concrete evidence of the precise date when Mary received her copy.

[121] See David Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), chapter 2, which treats the tension between public and private life, though it deals more specifically with the poetry George Buchanan.

[122] All quotations from the addition to the Petyt MS. are taken from folio 6^{r}. The addition is found on pages 8-9 in the Bannatyne Club edition.

[123] Though the original place and date on the epistle (Burton-on-Trent, 1569) and the absence of information about his stay at the Bishop of London's house indicate that at least part of the Petyt MS. may be a very early copy, it remains unclear when Leslie might have made these changes. If, as he states on the flyleaf, he simply wants to make this manuscript consistent with the copy in Mary's hands, he could be doing this as late as 1573, before he leaves England for good. Much of this must remain speculation; however, the changes to the Petyt MS. do signal the Bishop's desire for an accurate record of how this history came to be written. As Lockie notes, Leslie was 'a man much given to publishing a number of revised or translated versions of his earlier works' (134), and it would be perfectly in keeping with this trait for him to fuss over manuscript copies of his *Historie*.

quhilk I had collected [of] in my first restraniett' – that is, at Burton-on-Trent. His stay at the Bishop of London's house in 1570 provided him with 'more aboundance of histories because I was so nere the libraires', and so he 'corrected and refomit ane part conforme to the verities of the historie and proceidit in the historie so lang as lesare was gevin to me'.[124]

Leslie's vernacular *Historie* was born from far more than the tedium and convenience of his periodic imprisonment in 1569 and 1570. On a personal level, Leslie's career in the mid- to late-1560s was enjoying an upward trend, despite the troubles of his most steady patron, Mary. As her newly appointed ambassador to Elizabeth, he was gaining a higher profile in her political affairs, and perhaps he considered it a wise bit of 'self-advertisement' to cast himself in the role of the next eminent Scottish historian.[125] As he notes, being located in London gave him access to books which might have encouraged him in this pursuit. But even the Bishop of Ross could find less superficial and selfish motivation to write a history of Scotland. Figuring much more prominently on his list of concerns in 1569 would have been the watershed in Scottish political affairs and the resulting plight of his queen. An anointed Catholic monarch had been forced to abdicate by Protestant members of the nobility and replaced with her infant son, a royal figure more easily dominated. Moreover, Scotland's new Protestant government had a cosy if slightly wary relationship with its neighbour to the south, who was keeping this deposed monarch with a solid claim to its throne under house arrest. The diplomat in Leslie, ever cognizant of Mary's title to the English succession, must have seen an

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[124] In the Bannatyne Club edition, the end of the *Historie* is dated 25 March 1570, which is in line with what Leslie claims in the addition to the Petyt MS. – that he revised and probably completed the *Historie* while under house arrest in the spring of 1570. His diary, though it covers the middle months of 1571, gives an indication of Leslie's range of reading during these years: he refers to Polydore Vergil, St. Augustine, Henry Bullinger, and Roger Ascham, to name only a few authors. (Respectively, the entries for 31 May, 17 June, 2 September, and 9 September.) See note 70 for more about the diary. Norman Macdougall discusses Leslie's chronicle reading in '"It is I, the Earle of Mar": In Search of Thomas Cochrane', op. cit.; and in 'The sources: a reappraisal of the legend', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Jennifer M. Brown, 10-32 (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

[125] Lockie, 102.

opportunity to present Scotland's history in such a way as to flatter Mary with her impressive lineage, while also asserting the dynastic claims of the Stewart line. For this reason, Mary's personal appearances in the *Historie* are few and not particularly compelling. Yet even in her absence, she remains the figure in the text, the *raison d'etre* of the *Historie*.[126] The *Historie*'s epistle reminds Mary of her 'progenitours, of quhom ye are be line and grees lauchfully descendit, they being your fader, gudeschire, grandschire, and forgrandschire, and to whom your Heighnes most justly be inheritaunce succedes' (8). This moment of genealogy, asserting Mary's legitimate place in the Stewart line, not only remarks on the strength of the Scottish monarchy, but also nods slyly at the English crown.

There is no indication that Leslie intended his *Historie* for publication, yet the difficulties of getting the *Defence* into print suggest that finding a publisher might have been a challenge. Even if the *Historie* was destined only to circulate in manuscript during his lifetime, however, Leslie commenced his project with a strong sense of purpose as well as of audience. In dedicating the *Historie* to his queen, he surely hoped to curry her continued favour, if not to give her pleasure as well. Years later, in the 1578 *De origine*, Leslie explains his former intention: he tells Mary that he 'wrott in our mother toung, and dedicat to your Ma:' the *Historie*, not only for her profit, but also for her 'comforte and consolatioun'.[127] In the 1570 epistle to Mary, however, he provides other reasons for writing 'this sempill treatise'. Above all, this history is done 'for the commodite of my countrey', as a way in which to contribute to the commonwealth (7).[128] As already noted,

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[126] She is, of course, the 'most civile and verteous princes of the hoill world' (264), but her arrival in Scotland heralds the almost immediate intrusion of Moray. Because Mary is not entirely familiar with the people, laws, and customs of her native country, 'sho did cheis the said Lord James, apoun quhome as hir broder (albeit unlauchfull) sho did repose hir self holelie' (300). Even though Leslie implies that she mistakenly surrenders the reins of control to her brother, Moray is still the villain, Mary the innocent, generous, and legitimate princess.

[127] Dalrymple, 2:53. (In 1578 Latin edition, 286.)

[128] The importance of contributing to the commonwealth is a theme that also figures prominently in Leslie's *Discourse*, especially in its prefatory epistle to Mary.

he believes his contribution is necessary because prior histories of Scotland have ended with the reign of James I, and, interestingly, his concern with the failure of writers to continue Scottish chronicle history is that it will allow 'uder nationis to wreitt of the estait of our countrey at thair plesoure, albeit oftymes beside the treuth' (8). For in his perusal of other historians – he lists Bede, Polydore Vergil, Robert Fabyan, Edward Hall, and John Stow, to name a few – he has discovered inconsistencies with the record of Scotland: 'I consider mony and sundry thingis sett forth by this aucthouris, of the deedis and proceedingis betuix Scotland and England, far contrar to our annals, registeris and trew proceedingis collectit in Scotland (7). His contribution to the commonwealth also has a didactic benefit – and, here, he cannot escape the reference to the gravity of recent events in Scotland:

> …be perpetuall observing in histories, the subjectis are admonischeit to obey thair prince and magistrate; for that rebellioun hes always brocht gryt harme to the comone weill, and never ony gude to the authoris tharof, bot utter ruine to thame, and decay in the end. (6)

His *Historie* may be ostensibly written for his queen, but he is concerned less with educating his prince – one of the traditional functions of history – than with instructing the troublesome nobility of Scotland about the dangers of rebellion. These pointed comments imply that Leslie expected – or hoped – that Mary's rebels would gain access to his circulating manuscript and feel duly reproached.

The subject of rebellion provides a case study for how the Marian controversy leads to competing historical interpretations. In the context of Mary's overthrow, one of the most contested points in Scottish history became the rebellion against James III in 1488. Although by the mid-sixteenth century James III had already became an historical and legendary *exemplum* of immorality and irresponsible kingship, his overthrow

provided an ideal pattern by which to consider the deposition of Mary Queen of Scots.[129] Instrumental in shaping the early anti-Marian propaganda, Robert Sempill alludes to this event in his satirical poetry to suggest Mary's corruption and to prove the justice of her enforced abdication.[130] (Buchanan, of course, does the same.) Thus, for Sempill, the infant James becomes associated with James IV, who participated in the rebellion against his father. James VI was too young for such things in 1567, but Leslie recognises that Mary's son serves her rebels similarly as a convenient figurehead for their cause. The incident is, therefore, also instructive for Leslie. Although he is willing to admit that James III relied on bad counsel and took 'his plesour of wemen', he also accuses the rebels of taking his son into battle against him to lend credibility to their action: so that 'it suld nocht appeir that thay did ony thing aganis the weill of thair cuntrey' (55). Having compelled James IV to support their rebellion, they 'publisand be proclamacionis, that thair purpose wes not to truble the realme nor guide subjectis thairof, bot to reforme ane evill King and remove his wicked counsall' (56) – a clear echo of the method and logic of the self-justification put forth by Moray's party. Leslie still manages to redeem James IV, however. Although before battle he requested that no harm come to his father, when James III is slain, the young king does penance: 'thereftir he become ane nobill prince and of greit repentance, and in takin thairof he [weir] ane chenye of iron about his middill all his dayis. He was mekill gevin to devotione and prayer, vissieting religious places, and dotinge thame with divers giftis' (59). In this way, Leslie wags a disapproving finger at rebellion against a lawful prince and preserves the integrity of Mary's progenitors, who represent a royal history which confirms her place in the Scottish and English succession.

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[129] See the conclusion of Norman Macdougall, *James III, A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), for a fascinating survey of the James III legend. Pages 282-5 cover the histories of Buchanan and Leslie. Also see id., 'The sources: a reappraisal of the legend', cited above.
[130] See my discussion of 'Ane Ballet declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', pp. 58-9 above.

Leslie's treatment of this episode illustrates how contemporary political analysis, by the Queen's or the King's Party, relied on staking a claim to Scottish history.

To set about writing this kind of history in 1569, while serving as Mary's ambassador to Elizabeth, was necessarily to walk a political tightrope. Leslie knew his *Historie* would circulate, that its presentation of Scottish history, especially when considered vis-à-vis contemporary politics, would come under careful scrutiny. In places Leslie reveals his anxiety about engaging in religious controversy: he acknowledges that in reporting the history of his country he 'must of necessitie speak of alteration of religioun', though he hopes to do so 'witheowte reprochfull wordes…leaving to the reader to juge of thingis as he sall thincke gude' (9).[131] And, in spite of his lofty professions of wishing to complete Scotland's history and to offer reminders about the necessity of loyalty to princes, Leslie's text ends just after Mary's return to Scotland in 1561.[132] Though one could hardly blame him for bowing out at this point, the final pages of the *Historie* reveal Leslie's awareness that he must excuse the abrupt end to his narrative. He cites historical custom, which dictates that an author not 'wreit the historye of the governement of any prince during thair awin tyme, for advoiding of the vice of flatterie, or ellis the peril of disdane and displeasour of that prince' (301).[133] By ending the *Historie* at the beginning of Mary's personal rule, he is, in fact, emphasising the

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[131] Lockie speaks of Leslie's 'sense of discretion' in the last pages of the *Historie*, of his avoidance of anything overly controversial. Although the *Historie* is critical of Moray, for example, the *De origine* has an additional paragraph that elaborates on his deeds against Mary: 'ffor he ceased not first to truble the Realme, afore the Quene, quha had gyuen him al the grace he had, he caist in prisone, casting her out of the Kingdome, and by that did her monie iniuries vnworthilie' (Dalrymple, 2:473).

[132] In 1580 Leslie did write a continuation of his history in Latin, which ends with Mary's flight into England. The manuscript, 'Paralipomena ad historiam…Scotiae, Joannis Leslaei, Episcopie Rossensis, eodem auctore', survives in the Vatican Archives, Politicorum Variorum, vol. xvi, 297. It does not appear to have been printed until 1885, when it was translated by Forbes-Leith. Leslie's narrative of Mary's personal rule is marked most strongly by the conniving ambitions of Moray. By 1580 Leslie had even fewer qualms about making Mary's bastard brother the consummate villain of the tale.

[133] While this custom enables Leslie to avoid dealing at length with the events of the last decade, he also uses it as a weapon to take a swipe at Mary's enemies, particularly the Earl of Moray. Citing this custom, he says, is really superfluous in this situation because 'this most gracious lady and verteous Princesses Quene Mary, did not governe the realme be hir selfe, during the most part of hir residence in Scotland, bot onlye be the said Lord James' (301).

continuity of Mary's reign: in his view, she is *still* the Queen of Scotland, her throne usurped by ungrateful and wicked subjects. According to the historical custom of not writing about the reigns of princes currently in power, to discuss Mary's rule in Scotland would be to repudiate her sovereignty.

His reasons for writing the *Historie* – to complete the Scottish annals before another historian does so inaccurately and to illustrate the harm rebellion brings to the commonwealth – place Leslie at the centre of a wider historical controversy as well, even if his influence has hardly been acknowledged. In his scepticism about English chronicles, Leslie alludes to long-standing discrepancies between English and Scottish annals. Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* had propounded a myth of the origins of the British people which became the basis for an enduring – and, for the Scottish, infuriating – English historiographical tradition. According to this tradition, Brutus the Trojan had, on his death, divided the island between his three sons: Albanactus, his second son, had been given Scotland, thus demonstrating 'England's seniority among the British monarchies' and, hence, its feudal claim to Scotland.[134] The consequence of Geoffrey's foundation history was to ensure, as Mason explains, that 'the idea of Britain as a single geopolitical entity with a single royal overlord became not just a commonplace, but a commonplace founded on massive historical evidence'.[135] Later English chroniclers adhered slavishly to Geoffrey's work, perpetuating the idea of English superiority and providing a great store of ideological

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[134] Roger Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987), 62. In the same passage, Mason outlines other reasons why the Brut myth asserted England's historical superiority over Scotland. Both Mason's 'Scotching the Brut' and *Kingship* (chapters 3 and 6 especially) discuss English and Scottish origin myths. His arguments have informed my discussion here.
[135] Mason, *Kingship*, 82.

material with which English kings – Edward I and Henry VIII leap to mind, though other examples exist – could validate their bullying of Scotland.[136]

Unsurprisingly, the Scots began developing an alternative version of their own past, with which they could assert their historical independence and longevity as a kingdom. The first full statement of the Scottish myth came with John Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, dating from the 1360s and 1370s. According to Fordun, the Greek prince Gathelus and his wife Scota, daughter of the pharaoh, were forced to flee Egypt; they settled in Spain, and their descendants colonised Ireland and Dalraida, the latter becoming an independent kingdom in 330 B.C. under Fergus I. His descendants ruled this kingdom for seven centuries, though their names and deeds remained shrouded in anonymity. After a minor historical hiccup in the fourth century, in which the Scots were driven into exile, Fergus II regained control of the kingdom; in the eighth century the Picts were absorbed, resulting in the present Scottish kingdom. Fordun's tale describes an enduring and independent Scottish kingdom, ruled by a continuous line of more than one hundred kings. Through a clever manipulation of chronological sequence, Fordun adds 'seven wholly spurious centuries to the kingdom's existence', in effect doubling the 'number of kings who had reigned over the northern realm'.[137] Scotland had found her rejoinder to English pretensions of superiority.

Fordun's work was equally as influential among Scottish historians as Geoffrey's was among English chroniclers.[138] Walter Bower in the 1440s, Boece in the 1520s, Buchanan in the 1570s – all relied on Fordun's line of mythical Scottish kings. True, John

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[136] Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', 62-3.
[137] Mason, *Kingship*, 85.
[138] Other important sources related to this discussion include Norman Macdougall, 'The sources'; J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, eds. John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch, 34-58 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, [1982]). I have not included John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* in my discussion here because in form and intent it differs from those histories mentioned above. But see Mason, *Kingship*, chapter 6, for a useful analysis of Knox's thought and guiding principles.

Mair found the Scottish origin myth as absurd as the Brut tradition,[139] but, for the most part, Fordun's version of history prevailed. Boece, for example, shaped the tale into its 'most elaborate and exotic form', filling the more obscure periods with 'an astonishing wealth of circumstantial detail'. The loftier purpose of his *Scotorum Historiae*, however, was to reinforce the antiquity of Scotland, to justify her place on a European stage as a kingdom of unparalleled integrity. In short, Boece set out to reaffirm 'Scotland's status and identity as a nation'.[140] Buchanan, in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582), also asserted the autonomy of the Scottish nation, though he needed the royal line of mythical kings for a different reason: to justify the revolt against Mary Queen of Scots and establish an historical basis on which 'to build a distinctively Scottish Protestant identity'.[141] Buchanan's history was designed to reveal the enduring constitutional principle of an elective Scottish monarchy, an institution in which the people had always been willing to oust tyrannous kings for the good of the commonwealth.

Leslie, too, draws on the Fordun/Bower/Boece version of Scottish history in his 1578 *De origine*. His objectives for the vernacular *Historie* and the *De Origine* reflect the state of Mary's political fortunes. In 1569 Mary's situation was not yet so dire, and Leslie could pursue his project of defending Mary, with his sights set on her Scottish restoration and, perhaps to a greater extent, on her English triumph. By 1578, however, circumstances had changed – or, rather, not at all. Hopes for Mary's release and restoration, if not shattered, had faded considerably. As Phillips has argued, over the course of the 1570s Leslie's propaganda began to emphasise more strongly Mary's courage in the face of persecution, and these sentiments eventually gave way to a 'theme of religious martyrdom'.[142] When Leslie decided to translate his vernacular *Historie* into

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[139]Mason, *Kingship*, 45-6.
[140] Ibid., 95.
[141] Ibid., 181.
[142] Phillips, *Images*, 103; see 102-6 for his entire explanation.

Latin and expand the work to incorporate the entire line of mythical kings, his intent was to present this traditional version of Scottish history to a wider European audience with a new religious twist: until recent lamentable events, Scotland had been steadfastly Catholic, her kings suffering for the faith and reaping God's blessings in return.[143] For this project, Mary became the ideal focal point. Leslie rededicated the last three books to her, writing in his dedicatory letter that

> Quhen mony, Maist Jllustir, knew be me in how gret miserie was your grace…thay war, suirlie, sair commouet. Bot quhen tha vndirstude all your truble cheiflie thairfor to be, that in the catholic Religioun euer ye remaynet sa constant…nocht only your kais lamented tha nocht, bot setting asyd al dolour, reioyset of your pietie, your constance, your corage.[144]

In contrast to his earlier propaganda, Leslie now declares that Mary suffers 'cheiflie' on account of her faith. The religious content of his *De origine* can also provide solace to Mary in her adversity.[145] He has filled his history with stories of the 'mony haly and deuote men' of Scotland,[146] how they sought continually to spread virtue in other lands, and he directs his queen to choose 'examples quhilkes to pietie and to the studie of Religioun may inflame yow mair and mair'.[147]

Leslie is invariably excluded from discussions about the ideological discrepancies between Scottish and English chronicles. Perhaps his neglect can be attributed to the Catholic bias of his history: its contribution to historical thought in an increasingly

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[143] Leslie was not entirely breaking new ground here, just adjusting the religious emphasis for his own ends. As Mason notes, 'The Scottish chronicle tradition…contained a wealth of information relating to the Christianisation of Scotland under King Donald I, the conflict between the Culdaic and the Roman church, the ecclesiastical "reforms" of the twelfth century, and much else of a religious nature besides' (*Kingship*, 176). He also points to the critical neglect of religious material in the chronicles. Leslie's *De origine* would be an ideal text for comparison to those of his predecessors. On the subject of Leslie's Catholicism in the *De Origine*, also see Thomas McCrie, 'Dr McCrie's Account of the Leven MS.', in *Notices relative to the Bannatyne Club* (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1836), 167-77, especially 176-7.

[144] Dalrymple, 2:51.

[145] Leslie also composed two volumes of Latin prose meditations and prayers for the consolation of Mary – and presumably himself. The first, 'Piae afflicti animi meditations, diuinaque remedia', was written from the Tower, and the second while he was in the Bishop of Winchester's custody after June 1572. The two volumes were published together in Paris as *Libri duo* (1574). For a fascinating discussion of the manuscript history, see Pamela Robinson, cited above.

[146] Dalrymple, 1:297.

[147] Dalrymple, 2:54.

Protestant Scotland was probably slight.[148] Although Leslie's *De origine* was printed first, of more interest would have been Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. Buchanan's presentation of Scotland's ancient history suggested 'not only that the Scots had always really been Protestant, but that they had always really been presbyterian'.[149] Buchanan's interest in the discipline and purity of the early Scottish kirk served his consuming pursuit of illustrating a 'vision of a classical Scottish republic'.[150] Yet Leslie certainly seems to have seen himself as an equally worthy participant in the historical tradition. We know from his prefatory epistle to the *Historie* that Leslie had an interest in English and Scottish claims to history: he recorded the books he consulted, took advantage of the libraries near the Bishop of London's house, and noted how 'far contrar' his English sources were to the annals of Scotland. In 1569 Leslie set out to record the deeds of the Stewart kings, dedicating his history to Mary and writing, importantly, in his native Scots, his 'mother toung'; in 1578 he published a Catholic version of Scottish history, composing the entire work in Latin and adding to it the mythical line of kings. For him, the line of kings underscored the longevity, autonomy, and Catholicism of the Scottish monarchy; he included but did not dwell upon instances of deposition. Here is a Scot publishing a history of the kingdom four years before the appearance of Buchanan's monumental work – even if Buchanan had been writing in the preceding years. In 1579, one of Buchanan's friends even urged him to finish quickly, as Leslie's history had

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[148] A brief survey has indicated at least nine copies of the *De Origine* extant in Scotland: three at the NLS, two at the University of Aberdeen, two at St. Andrews University, and one at both Glasgow University and at EUL. The provenance of two NLS copies is clearly St. Mary's College Library, Blairs, Aberdeen, which closed in 1986. One surprising possibility is that the young James VI was exposed to Leslie's history. See G. F. Warner, ed., 'The Library of James VI', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, 1st series, vol. 15, xxxi-lxxv (Edinburgh, SHS, 1893), which records the *Historia Scotiae per Leslaeum*, 4o – the 1578 *De Origine* (xxxvi). Although copies of the *De Origine* found their way to Scotland, I still doubt that Leslie's history had much influence.

[149] Mason, *Kingship*, 181.

[150] Ibid., 182.

already beaten his to the press.[151] Buchanan was not responding to Leslie, of course, nor writing a strictly alternative religious history of Scotland. But it is worth noting that these two Latin histories of Scotland, published only four years apart, represent two versions of the Scottish religious and political tradition.

At least one consequence of Mary's overthrow, then, was the emergence of competing histories of Scotland. Although they might agree on the longevity of the Scottish kingdom, perhaps even on her record of independence, these histories diverged drastically in their political understanding of the events of 1567. Buchanan's Protestant history, with its radical views, sought to justify the rebellion against Mary; Leslie's history, more Catholic in 1578 than in 1569, sought to preserve the sanctity of monarchy which had been violated. Until Leslie and his collaborators began work on Mary's defence, the prevailing story had been one of a queen who neglected her duties and jeopardised the safety of her realm, all because of an adulterous and murderous passion. If Sempill's poetry and Buchanan's works had been the last words on Mary, our view of her would be far simpler. John Leslie's works – though not the page-turners of his opponents, to be sure – helped to elevate and clearly delineate the implications of the Marian controversy. Leslie insisted that the real issue was greed for control over religious decisions, political alliances, and historical explanations, not the questionable morality of the Scottish Queen. This is not to suggest that he did not have his own biases and objectives, but he did substantially alter the discourses being used to discuss Mary's past, present, and future. In the process, he revealed the extent to which she stood at the centre of a Scottish identity crisis and the lengths to which men would go to own her representation.

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[151] Daniel Rogers, an English diplomat, in a letter to Buchanan. Cited in James E. Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 12 (1948-9): 50. Ian McFarlane notes the concern among Buchanan's friends for the delayed appearance of the *Historia*. (*Buchanan* [London: Duckworth, 1981], 424.) McFarlane also provides evidence of the hope Catholic supporters placed in the writings of Leslie (423-4).

Chapter Four

'The quen my souerane': Mary and the *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville of Halhill

He reulis weill *ya*t weill in court can gyde.[1]

During an audience with Queen Elizabeth in 1564, Sir James Melville of Halhill had to answer some pointed and uncomfortable questions. As an emissary from the court of Mary Queen of Scots, Melville could satisfy Elizabeth's womanly curiosity, so she asked about Mary's hair colour, musing about which colour was 'reputed best', hers or Mary's, and then inquired persistently whom he considered to be the more beautiful queen. In an ably diplomatic moment, Melville replied that Elizabeth 'was the fairest Quen in England, and [Mary] the fairest Quen in Scotland'.[2] This exchange established Melville's career – if not as a courtier, then at least with students of early modern English and Scottish history. One can hardly avoid Melville's eyewitness accounts of the courts of Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and James VI, thanks to historians who have quoted *ad infinitum* from his *Memoirs* – especially from his famous interviews with Elizabeth.[3] This gives the impression that Melville's *Memoirs* have mostly to do with Elizabeth; moreover, the most popular anecdotes, like the one just described, foster the image of the duelling queens of Britain, which even today provides an engaging, if simplistic, narrative for the BBC. But Melville was Mary's, then James's, courtier, and, in truth, the *Memoirs* respond particularly to the political scene of late sixteenth-century Scotland. The conflicts of Mary's reign dominate the heart of the *Memoirs* – literally and

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[1] Sir Richard Maitland, 'The Laird of Lethingtounis Counsale to his Sone beand in the court', in W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1919), 1:21-4.
[2] Sir James Melville of Halhill, *Memoirs of His Own Life*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1827), 123-4. All citations are taken from the Bannatyne Club edition and are noted parenthetically.
[3] A representative sample includes J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934); Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (London: Edward Arnold, 1993); and Alison Weir, *Elizabeth the Queen* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1998). Historians often comment on the apocryphal nature of Melville's stories, but many continue to employ him in their studies, especially in 'personality' histories well served by his interviews with Elizabeth.

figuratively – and cast a long shadow over the reign of her son. Melville's proximity to and personal knowledge of Mary's court enable him to construct a vivid portrait of her, one often riddled with irresolution.

Composed after Melville's retirement from court in 1603, the *Memoirs* are commonly dismissed (despite their apparent usefulness) as either 'splendidly entertaining reading',[4] or as 'not, in general, very reliable'.[5] When Chapman and Dodd issued a new edition of the *Memoirs* in 1922, the *Scottish Historical Review* offered a revealing assessment: the reviewer congratulates the publishers on providing a tool for 'historical students', but characterises that tool as giving 'side by side with the tragedy of Queen Mary, and with many intrigues,…humorous insights into the court of Elizabeth'.[6] More seriously, critics have scorned Melville's unique perspective as nothing more than a minor courtier's biased account, hopelessly skewed by his own self-importance, and patently not the business of 'serious history'[7] – and this attitude, despite the persistent use of the *Memoirs* as a source of historical evidence.[8] I argue, however, that Melville's subjective view of his world foregrounds a set of generic and narrative patterns which demand attention and study – not because they are necessarily unique to him but because they provide a vocabulary for discussing how Melville and his contemporaries imagined or rationalised political and religious change.

This chapter focuses on how these textual patterns intersect with and shape his view of the Scottish Queen. This focus requires casting a wide critical net, for one can hardly evaluate his depiction of Mary without attending closely to the *Memoirs* in several

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[4] Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), 192. Considering Melville's extensive discussion of Mary – and long career at the Scottish court – it is striking that Scottish historians have shown little interest in *Memoirs*. Although his image of Mary is far from one-sided, Antonia Fraser employs Melville, predictably enough, to support her sympathetic view of the queen. Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969).
[5] Johnson, 110-11.
[6] *SHR* 20 (1923): 164.
[7] Gordon Donaldson, ed., *The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill* (London, The Folio Society, 1969), 27.
[8] Melville's own work, for example, forms the basis for almost all of his entry in the *DNB*.

important ways. First, the question of Melville's historical practice needs to be reassessed briefly, to consider his awareness of historical method, however one might regard his success as its practitioner. Second, departing from purely historical issues, I wish to re-evaluate the *Memoirs* in terms of their genre and purpose. Such an inquiry establishes a basis for Melville's political and ethical attitudes – about monarchical authority, the role of counsellors, and the issue of female rule. These concerns provide a framework for monarchy – for kingship, really – against which Mary inevitably will be judged. My third task, therefore, is to examine Melville's presentation of Mary, paying heed to where she falls in relation to his informing principles. Sempill, Buchanan, and Leslie each contributed to the evolving portrait of Mary; Melville has not been counted as one of their party, and no attention has been given to his treatment of the Queen. Yet, arguably, having weathered Scottish politics to serve Mary's son for another 36 years after her deposition, Melville can respond with more continuity and a greater sense of perspective to the conflicts of her reign. Finally, I shall turn to Melville's holograph manuscript in order to assess the substantive alterations made to his presentation of Mary.[9] Though his insertions, expunctions, and interlineations have never before been remarked on, they reveal not only Melville's cautious desire to recover Mary's reputation, but also his inability to settle the disagreements about her reign, even in the wake of James's accession to the English crown. Mary's estrangement from the *Memoirs'* political narrative as well as the alterations made to her textual portrait testify to Melville's struggle to construct a history dominated by a figure as controversial yet politically necessary as the Queen of Scots.

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[9] BL, Additional MS. 37977.

SIR JAMES'S 'LITLE PARENTESIS' TO HISTORY

If James Melville had a calling, it was undoubtedly to be a courtier: his loyal service to a series of princes, above all to Mary and her son James VI, marks his career.[10] The son of the fourth Sir John Melville of Raith, he was born in 1535 and at the age of fourteen was appointed page to the young Queen of Scots. He lived for several years on the continent, serving as a solder, courtier, and diplomat; his most notable patrons included Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France, and the Elector Palatine. Melville returned to Scotland in 1564 and received appointments from Mary as both privy counsellor and gentleman of the bedchamber. She granted him pensions for life and entrusted him with diplomatic missions to Elizabeth, the details of which comprise the oft-quoted portion of the *Memoirs*. Following the debacle of 1567, and in the early years of James's minority, Melville continued to serve in various diplomatic capacities, though he retired from court during the latter part of the Earl of Morton's regency. When James began his personal rule, Melville once again served as a court counsellor. He was knighted after James's marriage and was made a gentleman of the bedchamber to the new queen. When James attained the English crown in 1603, Melville declined to join the court, choosing instead to enjoy the remainder of his life in leisure at his family home at Halhill.

Having entered the retirement due to 'rype age', Melville sets out to write the story of his life 'during my perigrination throw the maist part of Europe, from the age of 14. yeares vntill this present day, together with the prosperous succes and hard accidentis happenit vnto me in the mean tym' (3). In his prefatory letter, he claims to undertake this project for the edification of his son, who will be given 'an exempler of lyf and better behauour', thereby learning to avoid the pitfalls of court life through his father's 'faltis'–

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[10] The biographical details I take generally from the *DNB* entry by Henry Paton. Also see Sir James Balfour Paul's account of the Melville family: 'Melville, Earls of Leven and Melville', in *Scots Peerage*, 6:75-123.

which, rather humorously, rarely appear in the narrative.[11] Melville relies on two kinds of source material: personal experience and eyewitness observation. Evidence from both have been preserved in 'certane auld wreten memorialis that wer lying besyd me in sindrie pieces, specefeing of matters wherintill I haue bene employed my self be sindrie princes, or has seen and vnderstand being in ther courtis or contrees' (4). The diplomatic documents and items of correspondence accumulated by Melville during his fifty years of service not only substantiate the narrative but also account for its subjective character. A more comprehensive treatment of Scottish sixteenth-century history, Melville concedes, must be found elsewhere:

> I leaue all the procedingis vpon the warres in Scotland to sic as wer present, and will wret that haill history; only I tueche sic litle as I was employed intill my self, or wher I wes present, and saw with my eyn and hard with my eares; quhilk may serue for litle parentesis to the history wreters that parchance wanted the knawlege therof. (88)

Thus, he does not reject outright his participation in a tradition of history writing; rather, he envisions himself as offering a 'parentesis', leaving the whole history of sixteenth-century Scotland to be compiled by other writers.[12] Melville does imply, however, that a competent historian needs personal knowledge of the times about which he writes. His own claim to parenthetical history insists on his proximity to and personal knowledge of the events he describes. Melville's implicit criticism of other historians may be directed at Buchanan: as this chapter makes clear, Melville's ideas about kingship are antithetical to the Buchanan's, and the *Memoirs* often respond accordingly. More importantly, although Buchanan may have been notable for 'his learnyng and knawlege in Latin poesie',

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[11] Melville had two sons, James and Robert (*Scots Peerage*, 6:92). The prefatory letter is addressed to one 'sone', but he later refers to 'the and thy brether' (4). For consistency, I refer only to one son.

[12] One supposes that Melville has in mind George Buchanan or perhaps Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Dominating the latter part of the sixteenth century were religious histories, whether episcopal or presbyterian accounts of Scotland's Reformation. Examples include John Knox, John Spottiswoode, David Calderwood, and even James Melville, nephew of Andrew Melville. See David Reid in 'Prose after Knox', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1, ed. R. S. D. Jack, 183-97 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

politically, he was dangerously impressionable, to Melville: Buchanan 'was easely abused, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his auld dayes; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourmed him....and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion' (262). With this biting assessment, Melville according not only throws into question Buchanan's influential version of Mary's overthrow but also distinguishes himself as the impartial witness to Scottish affairs.

Because Melville's historical method depends on his privy knowledge, the nature and validity of that enterprise have been subject to speculation. George Scott, Melville's grandson and editor in 1683, felt that the *Memoirs* fulfilled the essential criteria for any history because their author is a 'man of impartial Veracity and firm Resolution', one with the knowledge of 'full Circumstances of those Affairs, whereof he undertakes to Treat'.[13] Critics further removed in time and lacking family ties have been more sceptical of Melville's reliability to report events accurately. In his introduction to the 1969 abridged edition of the *Memoirs*, for example, Gordon Donaldson faults Melville's historical method, accusing him of emerging 'as a courtier rather than a statesman or even a politician'.[14] Of course, that is precisely what Melville was and his *Memoirs* reflect his particular vantage point. Donaldson continues: Melville preoccupied himself with 'personal rivalries' rather than 'any conflict of principles'; 'when [his] personal knowledge comes in the serious history is apt to go out'; and, most significantly, 'he was not the man to appreciate some of the more profound history of his time, and his *Memoirs* have little to say about some of the matters which occupy the attention of most

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[13] George Scott, 'The Epistle to the Reader', in *The Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-Hill* (Edinburgh: Ruddimans, 1735), A3[r].
[14] Donaldson, 25.

historians'.[15] As Melville himself professes, however, he has no pretensions of competing with his contemporary historians. From the outset, his *Memoirs* stake out a parenthetical and subjective perspective, but one no less worthy to serve as a reflection of Melville's culture and experience. Writing about the historical treatment of Margaret Tudor, Louise Fradenburg criticises this privileging of one kind of historical evidence over another – documents, or 'products of statist administration', over accounts of chroniclers, for instance. Whereas some scholars see these chronicle narratives as 'providing "dramatic tableaux" rather than "serious history"', Fradenburg insists that 'all sources, and all methodological positions, benefit from scrutiny'.[16] As long as one acknowledges Melville's purpose and perspective, his own 'imagined constructs', then the 'dramatic tableaux' of the *Memoirs*, at the very least, can be a fruitful place to consider the intrigues of the Scottish court from one insider's perspective.[17]

Nevertheless, Melville's claim for his own kind of history can be appraised in other ways. When he insists on the importance of reporting what he 'saw with my eyn and hard with my eares', he does not simply boast about his proximity to the court. Although he cannot compete intellectually with someone like George Buchanan, his claims for personal knowledge suggest a writer making a nod to Greek and Roman historiography: 'I prefer to rely on my own knowledge', wrote Herodotus at the opening of his *Histories*.[18] To an extent previously underestimated, Melville *did* imagine himself

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[15] Ibid., 26-7. Perhaps it is a mark of my own cynicism to suggest that during the period of the Scottish civil war, 'personal rivalries' often *do* seem to supersede principled convictions.

[16] Louise O. Fradenburg, 'Troubled Times: Margaret Tudor and the Historians', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland,* eds. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 46.

[17] Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 4.

[18] *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 1.5. All citations to ancient histories are to book and section numbers. Herodotus was not widely available in the sixteenth century, especially in the British Isles. *The Histories* had been famously translated into Latin by Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century and printed at Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1502. In addition, the prominent French printing house of Stephanus issued an edition of Herodotus from Geneva in 1566. Julian Sharman lists 'The Historie of Herodote' among the books in Mary's library, suggesting that this might be the Stephanus

as part of an historiographical tradition, and, as evidence, he provides the names of writers whose work he has read: Theopompus, Polybius, and Plutarch, for example.[19] Polybius's great history of the rise of the Roman Empire provides Melville with examples of princes misled by scheming counsellors: 'Polibius wretis of thre yong princes that wer onworthely mishandled,...quhilk hard handling...I haue translated and tane out of the historie of Polibius, because the lyk hes chancit laitly in thir partis' (39).[20] Melville's familiarity with Polybius, which he would have gained through Latin translation,[21] suggests that he could have been influenced by the Greek author's views on the purposes and methods of history. Following conventional wisdom – largely unchanged from second century B.C. to the late sixteenth century – both Polybius and Melville believe in history as 'an education and a training for political life'.[22] Moreover, to fulfil its pragmatic function, history must be written by a man of experience: 'And when history is written by the book-learned, without technical knowledge', warns Polybius, 'the work loses all its value. For if you take from history its element of practical instruction, what is left of it has nothing to attract and nothing to teach'.[23] The proper historian must, in other words, have engaged personally in 'political transactions and vicissitudes', so that he

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edition (*The Library of Mary Queen of Scots* [London: Elliot Stock, 1889], 140). And G. F. Warner lists 'Herodotus in Frenche' in 'The Library of James VI', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, 1st series, vol. 15 (Edinburgh, SHS, 1893), xxxiv. Although it is unlikely that Melville read *The Histories* – and I do not wish to suggest direct influence anyway – Herodotus's legacy would still have been felt through other Greek writers.

[19] See the *Memoirs*, pages 223-6 or 378-98, for example. John Durkan and Anthony Ross's work on libraries in Scotland gives plenty of evidence for the ownership of Polybius, Isocrates, and Thucydides, mostly in Latin translations. See *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1961).

[20] This section (*Memoirs*, 39-70) cites three examples from Polybius, plus the more recent examples of Edward VI and James V.

[21] Durkan and Ross refer to two books of Polybius in Scotland, one edition from Basle in 1549, the other from Hagenau in 1530 (26, 116). As with all of these authors, Melville could have read them during his years on the continent as well as after his return to Scotland. He certainly moved among the court circles that would have made them accessible. The first English translation of Polybius was in 1568 by Christopher Watson.

[22] *The Histories of Polybius*, trans. Evelyn S Shuckburgh, 2 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 1.1

[23] Ibid., 12.25h.

writes accurately about a time within his own living memory. These are also Melville's guiding principles.

Melville's use of his 'auld wreten memorialis' has drawn similar criticism, and might also be better understood through the lens of ancient historiography. Throughout the *Memoirs*, Melville reproduces letters and instructions composed by himself and others, gives accounts of conversations (to which he may or may not have been privy), and reports in detail the pieces of wisdom he eagerly imparted to Mary, James, and other court figures. His history purports to be the product of one with privileged information. Often, however, his reports bear the mark of fictionalisation, and critics have charged Melville with exaggerating his involvement with contemporary events and suggested that, counter to his purpose, the *Memoirs* actually reflect his ancillary position at the court.[24] (No doubt Melville can be tiresome, but the critical community enjoys a strange smugness about his apparent irrelevance as the Scottish Polonius.) When he inserts extracts from his 'memorialis' or recalls protracted interviews with various princes, he does so not simply to announce his own importance, however. He follows a practice set by ancient historians of recreating speeches, harangues, orations, and dialogue within an historical narrative, which may be seen as early as Herodotus, though Thucydides is closely associated with the practice.[25] In his *History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides admits the difficulty of reproducing the exact words of a speech, so he tries to adhere 'as closely as possible to the general sense of the words used, to make the speakers say what, in my opinion, was called for by each situation'.[26] This hardly sounds

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[24] See David Reid, 'Writing History: Buchanan and the Two James Melvilles', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature*, eds. Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (Stirling: University of Stirling, 1981), 433; and Donaldson, 24-5.

[25] Consider, for example, how Herodotus narrates the exchanges between Solon and Croesus (Book 1) or Themistocles's argument to fight at Salamis (Book 8). Thucydides's set pieces are obvious: Pericles's funeral oration, the Mytilenian Debate, and the Melian Dialogue, for example. Durkan and Ross have four notices of Thucydides, one in French and three in Latin (see pages 95, 116, 147, and 150). One – Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation published in Paris in 1528 – was owned by the Earl of Moray.

[26] *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (London: Penguin, 1972), 1.22.

like an exercise in objectivity, and yet his presentations of speeches and debates do have the merit of refining and clarifying the elements of each issue. Though widely adopted, Thucydides's method was criticised by ancient historians. Polybius, in fact, chastises another historian for making 'words tally with the circumstances, like a school-boy declaiming on a set theme: as though his object were to display his own ability, not to give a report of what was in reality said'.[27] Criticising the penchant for drama in history, Polybius believes that, rather than 'amaze his readers by a series of thrilling anecdotes' or create 'speeches which *might* have been delivered', a proper historian should 'record with fidelity what was actually said or done, however commonplace it may be'.[28] Although as one critic points out, even Polybius himself recreates several speeches 'of which he could not possibly have had accurate reports about'.[29]

To criticise Melville for exaggerating or fabricating evidence, in other words, revives very old arguments about how one constructs a reliable history. Presumably, Melville aims for the verisimilitude and accuracy advocated by Polybius by citing and reproducing his 'auld wreten memorialis'. My point, however, is not to argue for Melville as an historian uniquely inspired by the classical tradition: to do so would be to perpetrate an exaggeration of my own. In any case, Melville should also be seen in the context of other Scottish writers. Scotland had her own strong historiographical tradition to which he might have turned for inspiration, and his contemporaries John Knox and James Melville, nephew of the famous Presbyterian Andrew Melville – to name only two – also support their contemporary narratives with eyewitness reports.[30] Their accounts similarly bridge generic categories: history, memoir, diary, autobiography, even pedagogical tool.[31]

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[27] 12.25a.
[28] 2.56.
[29] M. I. Finley in the introduction to *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, 27.
[30] A point also made by Reid, 'Prose after Knox', 189.
[31] David Reid points out that Scottish memoir-writing attains 'excellence in the sixteenth century' with works like Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* and Melville's *Memoirs*. Growing out of this

Moreover, as the next section will show, Melville saw himself as participating in other rhetorical traditions, especially those associated with political and moral instruction. Although Melville does at times refer to his 'history', his stated purpose with the *Memoirs* is to provide 'an exempler of lyf and better behauour' for his son. Perhaps especially in the sixteenth century, the generic distinctions can be blurry, but the accusation that he failed 'to appreciate some of the more profound history of his time' seems arbitrary – how should we define 'profound', and on whose terms? Perhaps it is sufficient to recognise that, as someone documenting his times, Melville considered certain principles of historiography and applied the methods he believed would make him seem most trustworthy. This, as well as the care with which Melville revisited passages of his manuscript, suggests a man not only keenly aware of the great political changes he has witnessed but also attentive to the complexity of representing those changes.

'Rewlit by counsall and ressoun': The Ideology and Genres of the *Memoirs*

In the 1827 Bannatyne Club edition of the *Memoirs*, Thomas Thomson describes Melville's work as 'a sort of political testament', intended to provide his son with 'a practical illustration of those rules and maxims, by which success in public life was most likely to be attained' (i). Though validated by Melville's personal experiences and observations at court, such a 'practical illustration' inevitably reflects a set of political principles. Melville's political concerns emerge early and conspicuously in the *Memoirs*: he worries about young princes and their susceptibility to self-serving flatterers, and he warns that honest counsellors – even when given 'greter warrand' to speak forthrightly –

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tradition, letters, journals, and histories of the seventeenth century provide a 'literature of lasting interest'. Though my essay will primarily look at late-medieval influences on the *Memoirs*, Melville should also be seen as participating in and defining an important Scottish prose tradition. See Reid's introduction to *The Party-Coloured Mind* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982), 4. On the challenge of classifying Knox's *History*, see James Kirk, 'John Knox and the Historians', in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason, 7-26 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 15.

risk the anger of their prince and the jealousy of their peers (6). Melville's rules for proper behaviour or admonitions for court life are not original, nor is his indebtedness to the texts in which such guidelines traditionally appear. On the contrary, his concerns can be easily traced to several literary and rhetorical traditions: courtesy and conduct books, advice to sons or princes, and *speculum principis*, the mirror of the prince. The *Memoirs* need not be clearly labelled as any one of these genres – all are interestingly evoked – and, in any case, in practice elsewhere they often overlap. Nevertheless, the conventions of political thought to which Melville is both heir and participant are embedded in his narrative: they shape his version of sixteenth-century history and promote the self-dramatisation of an honest counsellor in action. That Melville's ideas are conventional (and frequently iterated) explains why he sometimes sounds like a 'solemn bore'.[32] In a letter of advice to the young ruler Nicocles, the Greek orator Isocrates – often quoted by Melville himself – admits that advisory literature can seem exhausted and pedantic (already in the fourth century B.C.); yet he defends the practice, finding its merit in the honest and elegant expression of reliable maxims:

> One should not look for novelty in these discourses about rules for living, for in them there is not room for paradox, or for what is incredible or unconventional. Instead we should consider most accomplished the man who is able to draw together the most ideas held by others and to articulate them most elegantly.[33]

Novelty may be in short supply in Melville's *Memoirs*, but his substantial debt to advisory literature, to 'a small and highly conventional vocabulary of kingship', serves a

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[32] Donaldson, 25.

[33] *To Nicocles*, in *Isocrates I*, trans. David Mirhady and Yun Lee Too, Oratory of Classical Greece, vol. 4 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 165-6. All citations to Isocrates's works are from this edition. John E. Mason cautions for looking for novelty in these genres: 'even a brief survey of this literature [courtesy] may prevent too hasty an assumption of novelty' (*Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935], 21). Other critics offer similar warnings: Reid, 'Prose after Knox', 188; and Mason, *Kingship*, 13, 16.

purpose.[34] Familiarity with this conceptual framework can provide a fresh way of considering Melville's appraisal and presentation of the Queen of Scots.

Melville commends virtue and reason in a prince, praising the temperance, justice, and mercy of those he most admires. He also believes in the authority of the crown, in the 'estait of a maiestrat as a commission com down from God', which signifies that 'gud obedience is the office of subiectis'. This theory Melville derives from St. Paul, who maintains that 'euery saull…suld submit them vnto the supperiour powers; for wha resistis vnto ther authorite, resistis against the ordinance of God' (39). He unequivocally condemns resistance to authority, especially by those subjects in Scotland who 'hypocritically vnder pretext of religion, tak occasion to rebell against ther natyf princes, for ambition, gredynes or any warldly respect' (89).[35] The crucial test of this hierarchical formulation is, for Melville, the minority of a prince: resistance to divinely-sanctioned authority 'may be ouer oft sean, chefly during the regne of yong princes'. Melville even interrupts his narrative, inserting ten folios written previously, to give illustrations from Polybius of young princes who 'wer onworthely mishandled, be them that wer left to be ther cheif gouernours and consellers'; he then moves on to provide the more timely examples of Edward VI and James V, and his entire narrative will eventually assess the reigns of Mary and her son according to this paradigm (39).[36] The idea of good counsel, then, serves as an informing principle for the *Memoirs*, what David Reid calls a 'moral design'.[37] Looking back on years at court, Melville positions himself as well-nigh the only good counsellor to be found: he can easily discern virtue, can maintain a balanced

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[34] Mason, *Kingship*, 14.
[35] Perhaps Melville alludes to Buchanan's theories about resistance to tyrannous rulers and elective monarchy. Even if Melville sympathised with the Reformed kirk, he would have disapproved greatly of Buchanan's writings given his belief in the king as God's representative. For a discussion of Buchanan's political ideas as related to James and the Presbyterians, see Mason, *Kingship*, especially chapters 7 and 8.
[36] For Polybius's concern about keeping young rulers in check, see Arthur M. Eckstein, *Moral Vision in* The Histories *of Polybius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 140-50.
[37] Reid, 'Prose after Knox', 191.

view of men like Darnley, and will never get duped by villains like Bothwell.[38] As Reid remarks with some humour, Melville 'suppl[ies] his sons with a pattern of honest counsellor and servant of princes, namely himself'.[39]

Importantly, these ideological underpinnings of the *Memoirs* invoke a long tradition of writing on the nature of kingship, notably in the genre of *speculum principis*.[40] *Speculum* works examine the office and duty of a king by discussing theories of government, how a ruler should manage his personal and public lives, and the differences between good king and tyrant. Sometimes directed to a specific prince, the *speculum* points him toward personal integrity and the cardinal virtues – justice, temperance, fortitude, and wisdom – while emphasising the necessity of choosing good advisors and heeding their counsel. All such analyses of good governance and justice, in one way or another, can be traced to Aristotle, to his *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*; but other ancient examples of instructing rulers include Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and, even more influential, Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*, allegedly a letter of advice to Alexander the Great.[41] The rise of monarchy in the late middle ages heralded an increasing concern about how to develop the prince's character and sense of duty.[42] In response, writers in Western Europe used the *speculum principis* to promote in their kings

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[38] Melville is amazingly diplomatic about characters like Riccio and Darnley, citing youth and bad company as the reasons for the latter's fate. Moray is portrayed as 'neither the hero of one set of historians nor the base fellow of another' (W. Mackay Mackenzie, introduction to the *Memoirs* [London: Chapman and Dodd, 1922], xi).

[39] Reid, 'Prose after Knox', 191.

[40] To the discussion that follows, I am indebted to various sources. Carol Edington, John Mason, and Roger Mason, cited above; R. J. Lyall, 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *SLJ* 3.2 (December 1976): 5-29; and James Craigie, introduction to James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1950). See also J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981); Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation' (36-54), and J. P. Sommerville, 'James I and the Divine Right of Kings: English Politics and Continental Theory' (55-70), both in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[41] The *Secretum Secretorum* was originally an Arabic text that proliferated in Latin then vernacular translations in the middle ages. Introduction to *To Nicocles*, 155. See Mason on Aristotle's influence, *Kingship*, 18-20.

[42] Craigie, 70-1.

the 'interdependence of virtue and government', and Renaissance humanists elaborated the importance of the prince's intellectual and Christian training.[43] A notable line of works ensued: examples include Aquinas's *De Regno ad Regem Cypri*, Colonna's *De Regimine Principum*, Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, Patrizi's *De Regno et Regis Institutione*, Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Guevara's *Lo Relox de Principes*, and Du Bellay's *Discours au Roi*.[44] According to the tradition – even allowing for variations among the works – the king's two essential functions were defence of his realm and the administration of justice. As God's instrument on earth, the king bore the responsibility to his spiritual (and only) superior and to his subjects to maintain a just government for the prosperity of the entire kingdom.[45] Good governance required good counsel: wicked advisors signalled the destruction of the kingdom and were a common explanation for the failure of a king. Historical examples were a handy didactic tool, often in the form of the fall of princes, to illustrate vividly the dangers of bad counsel or of poor governance. (As previous chapters have shown, James III was a favourite Scottish example.[46]) Hence, Melville digresses to describe princes destroyed by either evil flatterers or ambitious, opportunistic nobles.

Although Melville would have been familiar with the ancient and continental writers listed above, Scottish contributions to the *speculum* genre clearly inform the *Memoirs*.[47] The *speculum* in Scotland often adhered less overtly to the traditional structure, finding its way into romances, tale collections, devotional poems, and dramatic

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[43] Edington, 71-2.
[44] See John Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *The Innes Review* 37 (1987): 71-101, for *speculum* selections in her collection.
[45] Mason, *Kingship*, 15.
[46] See Lyall, 'Politics and Poetry', and Norman Macdougall, *James III, A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982).
[47] For a complete study of the medieval tradition in Scotland, see Sally Mapstone, *The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1986). Mason, *Kingship* (chapter 1), Edington (chapter 4), and Lyall also provide concise overviews of the Scottish *speculum* tradition.

satire.[48] Nevertheless, Scotland's poets and chroniclers 'all shared a common perception of the ideal prince and common (largely ethical) assumptions about the nature and function of kingship which are wholly consonant with – if not directly derived from – the [speculum] tradition'.[49] The two major preoccupations of Scottish writers – the need for good counsel and concern for justice – while conventional enough, had been reified by local experience: as Roderick Lyall points out, the years 1437-1600 witnessed five long minorities, plus the violent death of three kings and Mary's deposition.[50] Scotland's more than fifty years of regency rule not only account for the continuity of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century political concerns, but also explain Melville's own obsession with good counsel – one inherited and personally observed. For example, the author of *De Regimine Principum*, an anonymous poem inserted in the mid-fifteenth century chronicle *Liber Pluscardensis*, provides familiar counsel to the king:

> O Prince, think quhi thi crown was giffin the til,
> Thi swerd, thi ceptir: in takin of justice
> Fra heest God, to discerne gude fra il;
> Expel wykkit, and luf thaim that are wyse;
> And, our al thing, put wys men in office;
> And knaw thaim weil that sal thi jugis be,
> Sen al the plicht and perel lyis on the. (43-9)[51]

Also known as *The Harp*, this poem was published by Chepman and Millar in 1508 as *Ane Buke of Gud Counsale to the King*, and subsequently copied into Sir Richard Maitland's folio manuscript (ca. 1570), making Melville's knowledge of it all the more likely. Sir Gilbert Hay's fifteenth-century *Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis*, which happens to be a translation of the *Secretum Secretorum* through a French intermediary, also speaks of a king's divine commission and his need to distinguish 'wykkit' from

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[48] Mapstone, 2-3.
[49] Mason, *Kingship*, 19. On this point, also see Mapstone, introduction to *The Advice to Princes Tradition.*
[50] Lyall, 25. Also see Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 13-14; and Edington, 69-71.
[51] In Felix J. H. Skene, ed., *Liber Pluscardensis*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1877), 1:392-400.

'wyse' advisers.[52] Hay's work describes the king as 'lyknyt to god ffor he is as depute and mynist*er* to god and suld folow him – and be lyke him – & conform*e* him till him jn all his dedis of justice vertu and veritee'.[53] 'The vertu of justice js the fairest vertu *yat* is jn a p*r*ince', and he should 'do neu*er* thing bot be gude counsaile' to ensure the prosperity of the realm.[54] John Bellenden, in the preface to his 1531 translation of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*, echoes these sentiments, commenting on the dangers of 'corruppit counsale' through which Scotland's 'nobill anticessouris sum tymes wer abusit'. Typically, Bellenden sees history as a form of advice to princes, suggesting to James V that 'frequent reding of thir and vther historijs' will provide him with the knowledge of 'how this realme salbe gouernit in iustice'.[55]

Sir David Lyndsay, the author of whom mid-sixteenth century 'Scottish audiences could not have enough', probably serves as a direct source for many ideas in the *Memoirs*.[56] Lyndsay's work, the product of his more than thirty years at the Scottish court, has much to say about kingship and government. Lyndsay was profoundly affected by minority politics, which 'threw into relief as nothing else could the role the king was expected to play and the qualities he had to possess'.[57] Hence, his 'Ihone the comoun weill' in *The Dreme of Schir Dauid Lyndesay* warns, 'I se, rycht weill, that prouerbe is full trew, / Wo to the realme that hes ouir young ane king'.[58] Lyndsay's *The Testament of the Papyngo* testifies to his conviction that God has ordained the king's position at the top

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[52] See Jonathan A. Glenn's introduction to *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, STS, 1993), especially viii-ix.
[53] Ibid., *The Buke of the Governaunce of Princis*, 111.
[54] Ibid., 111, 117.
[55] John Bellenden, *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece Translated into Scots by John Bellenden (1531),* eds. R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1938), 1:16, 1:17.
[56] Edington, 6. She also comments on the remarkable rate of publication enjoyed by Lyndsay, even well into the seventeenth century.
[57] Ibid., 70.
[58] Sir David Lyndsay, in *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed. Douglas Hamer, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), vol. 1, ll. 1010-11. The texts of the poems are in vol. 1, except for *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*, which is printed in vol. 2. Hereafter, line numbers cited parenthetically.

of an earthly hierarchy: 'Under thy feit all thyng terrestryal / Ar subiect to thy plesour and pastance' (270-1). Along with this authority, however, comes the responsibility 'to do to euerilk man iustice / And for to mix his iustice with mercie', as the young king, Rex Humanitas, is instructed to do in *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* (1883-4).[59] It is also Rex Humanitas, succumbing to flattery and loss of reason, who exemplifies the need for good advisors to the king. Although he recognises the need for wise counsel –

> Sen thow hes geuin mee dominatioun
> And rewll of pepill subiect to my cure,
> Be I nocht rewlit by counsall and ressoun
> In dignitie I may nocht lang indure. (86-9)

– his reckless behaviour and the banishment of Gude-Counsall imperil his country. Perhaps Rex Humanitas also failed to heed the *Papyngo*'s advice to the king: 'Wald thou, ilk day, studie bot half one hour / The Regiment of princelie governyng' (306-7). Moral instruction and good counsel both ensure that the king will recall and execute his duties as a divine representative, that he will not 'be tempted to stray from the straight and narrow path of justice'.[60] These common themes, then, of authority, virtue, justice, and – perhaps above all – beneficial counsel are all woven into the fabric of the *Memoirs*. Like other Scottish writers, Melville inserts familiar *speculum* philosophy into the unconventional context of his memoirs and advisory testament for his son.

Melville's *Memoirs* can be compared usefully with other, often related, literary forms: books of conduct, courtesy, and parental advice. Though these too have ancient precedents,[61] conduct and advice books proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reflecting a growing interest 'in the systematic exposition of ethics and

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[59] Lyall calls *Ane Satyre* 'a dramatic version of the *speculum principis* tradition' (23).
[60] Mason, *Kingship*, 17.
[61] See John Mason, 5-6 and corresponding notes.

manners'.[62] Their ties to the *speculum*, however, remained strong. The ideal courtier, for example, was anatomised in Baldesar Castiglione's urbane *Il Cortegiano*; and here, amidst a discussion on the philosophy of love and section of jests, one still finds an analysis of the good king and the tyrant.[63] Also immensely popular was Sir Thomas Elyot's sixteenth-century manual *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (1531). Influenced by writers from Isocrates to Aristotle to Erasmus, Elyot writes about the well-run commonwealth, sources of legitimate authority, and the desirable traits and education of a prince. And yet, the *Gouernour*, with its emphasis on educating noble youths, marks an important stage in the shift toward an interest in 'fashioning the public-spirited gentlemen' – a trend worth noting.[64] Although elements of the *speculum* remain in courtesy and conduct books, the advice becomes more and more directed toward the appropriate behaviour of an aristocratic gentleman, and, in the seventeenth century, more and more domesticated into books of advice to a son. The major works of the *speculum principis* can be considered 'analogues of the English books of parental advice and polite conduct', which one critic describes as 'pragmatic handbooks of success'.[65] Thus, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, could find it fitting to compose memorials of advice for two sons, for Thomas in 1561 and for Robert in the 1580s.[66] Closer to home, as it were, one finds Sir Richard Maitland writing verses of advice to his son, 'The Laird of Lethingtounis Counsale to his Sone beand in the court', the refrain of which provides an epigraph for this chapter: 'He reulis weill *ya*t weill in court can gyde'. Maitland counsels his courtier son (presumably William), among other things, to be humble, loyal to his

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[62] Craigie, 68. Dated but still helpful sources about this tradition include W. Lee Ustick, 'Advice to a Son: A Type of Seventeenth-Century Conduct Book', *Studies in Philology* 29 (1932): 409-41, and John E. Mason, op. cit.

[63] *Il Cortegiano* was published in 1528 and translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561.

[64] John Mason, 12. Cicero (*De Officiis*) and Quintilian were important influences.

[65] Ibid.; Louis B. Wright, ed., *Advice to a Son: Precepts of Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh*, and *Francis Osborne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), xxv.

[66] *Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life*, composed for Robert Cecil, probably circulated in manuscript during Burghley's lifetime, but was printed in 1617 after his death and followed by numerous editions. Printed in Wright, cited above.

prince, cautious about giving advice, and reluctant to dice or play at cards.[67] Both Maitland and Burghley represented a rising class of educated and professional court servants, who helped to transform the genre of advisory literature by writing to their well-born sons. Just as the humanist education prepared a 'lay elite' in the arts of citizenship, those men bequeathed its principles to their sons, who, in turn, would also 'serve their prince, their kingdom and their commonwealth'. [68] Melville and his *Memoirs* reflect and participate in this trend.

Before the vogue for parental advice finds its way out of the sixteenth century, a particularly influential figure submits his contribution: James VI. Located at the latter end of the mirror tradition, James's *Basilikon Doron*, written for his young son, Prince Henry, is the first Scottish work to 'fit very precisely into the mould of the *speculum principis* genre'.[69] James composed his treatise to Henry in 1598, and the first printing was a private affair, a production of only seven copies dispersed among a small coterie of family and loyal nobles. *Basilikon Doron* is essentially a handbook for kingship divided into three parts: 'Anent a Kings Christian Dvetie towards God', 'Anent a Kings Dvetie in His Office', and 'Anent a Kings Behaviovr in Indifferent Things'.[70] But, as James Craigie points out, *Basilikon Doron* 'bridge[s] the transition' between the *speculum principis* tradition and works 'whose aim was to teach both manners and morals' – that is, the

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[67] 'The Laird of Lethingtounis Counsale', in *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, cited above, vol. 1, XIV. For similar strains of advice, see poems XXIV, XXVIII, CIII, and CLXXX.

[68] Mason, *Kingship*, 107. Chapter 4 discusses the 'laicisation of Scottish culture', by which the 'higher reaches of learning [were] gradually eroded and finally broken by the spread of literacy and education among the lay elite' (106). Also see John MacQueen, 'Poetry – James I to Henryson', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 1, ed. R. D. S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 63. In a fascinating article about how readers responded to and acted upon their classical reading, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton report one sixteenth-century source as arguing that 'a good principal secretary must be a good reader of the classics' (74). '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present* 129 (November 1990): 30-78.

[69] Ibid., 19. Interestingly, Mary composed an advisory work for James, though it has not survived. Mentioned by John Mason, 31, but more detail given by Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', 77.

[70] James VI, *The Basilicon Doron*, vol. 1, cited above. Hereafter, I quote parenthetically from the 1599 Waldegrave text printed in Craigie.

increasingly popular courtesy and conduct books.[71] With *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) covering political theory, the *Basilikon Doron* could focus on shaping the prince's morals and manners, while remaining true to the *speculum* by declaring in a dedicatory sonnet:

> LO heere (my Sonne) a mirrour viue and faire,
> Which sheweth the shaddow of a worthy King.
> Lo heere a Booke, a patterne doth you bring
> Which ye should preasse to follow mair and maire.
> This trustie friend, the trueth will neuer spaire,
> But giue a good aduice vnto you heare:
> How it should be your chiefe and princely care,
> To follow vertue, vice for to forbeare. (1-8)

In other words, James's book of fatherly advice, written by a king himself, represents the alliance of at least three traditions: *speculum*, conduct, and parental advice literature. It could well have been one of the strongest influences on Melville's project. About the time Melville begins writing for his son, *Basilikon Doron* appears on the London book market. Inspired by his king's example, Melville need not miss a beat. Just as James will be a 'mirrour' for Henry and demonstrate care for his 'godlie and vertuous education',[72] Melville will be a 'sean exemple' to instill 'godlynes and raisoun' in his son (4, 3).

The connection between Melville's book of advice and James's work could be called merely incidental: the *Memoirs* were never published during his lifetime, after all, and he lived to see the year 1617 and the venerable age of 83. One could easily argue that Melville gave no thought to impressing the king or reaching an audience wider than his immediate offspring. Yet, the connection is not all that farfetched. Jenny Wormald finds no reason to doubt James's serious plan to keep his handbook a private matter, citing in particular the state of the original manuscript – scribbled, marked, making its case for 'a mind at work rather than a closed and fixed one having already determined on

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[71] James Craigie, 75.
[72] Ibid., 6.

the theme he had decided to lay before the world'.[73] She acknowledges, however, that 'few authors write only for themselves; and it may appear inconceivable that James, who was not a modest man, could have done so'.[74] The same could be said for Melville. He delights in being heard, particularly by princes as he pontificates about the dangers of evil counsel. Even more significant, Melville's theories about kingship correspond to those endorsed by the *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. Both of James's works vehemently discount the beliefs of his tutor, George Buchanan, who had shaken the foundations of monarchical authority with his *De iure regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (1579) and *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582). Importantly, the *Memoirs* also make a case against Buchanan by remarking on the dangers posed by resistance theories and emphasising the opportunism usually associated with rebellion. (This in spite of Melville's political pragmatism once such rebellions have run their course.) Whether or not Melville ever intended his *Memoirs* for publication, circulation around the court is possible, and it strikes me as unimaginable that he would have not only have approved but thoroughly relished the public exposure of his views, especially when they so closely resembled those of the new English king. Moreover, as the final section of this chapter shows, Melville's corrections to his manuscript indicate a man very much aware of his potential readers. One critic has observed about the *Basilikon Doron* that this 'book of instruction by the most exalted person in the realm' helped create a bourgeois fashion for conduct books, especially those of parental counsel.[75] If *Basilikon Doron* had such an effect more widely, there is every reason to suppose that Melville, who served at James's Scottish court, was similarly influenced.

To all of this speculation about what might have influenced Melville as he composed his *Memoirs*, I wish to add a final point, one that brings the discussion back to

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[73] Wormald, 'James VI and I', 49.
[74] Ibid., 48.
[75] Ustick, 423.

the Queen of Scots. Melville's thoughts and attitudes would have been shaped by more than literary discussions of kingship and treatises filled with wise maxims, even if they did originate with his king. His own political experiences surely affected his perception and presentation of the Scottish and English courts. The dominant reality at the heart of the *Memoirs* – in addition to ambitious courtiers and vulnerable princes – is female rule. The vivid presences of Mary and Elizabeth in the *Memoirs* and the distant but no less striking one of Catherine de Medici demand a consideration of how queenship fits into a political world rationalised by theories of kingship. Speaking of the *speculum* and the emerging genre of courtesy books, one critic emphasises that a fundamental political concept to these writers – even more so than the Divine Right of Kings – was 'their view of the patriarchal nature of kingship'.[76] If late-medieval and Renaissance political philosophy indeed affected Melville's conception of monarchy, the actuality of female rule must have been a cog in the wheel of his political vision, no matter how much he relished his role as one of Mary's intimate advisors. And despite the matriarchal vision of a text like John Leslie's *Defence*, conventional belief firmly held women subordinate to men by divine ordinance, making any assumption of authority by a woman unnatural.[77] John Knox made his views on this issue painfully clear in his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), but he was far from alone in his distaste for female rule. Sir David Lyndsay had acknowledged, traditionally enough, that 'Ladyis no way I can commend / Presumptuouslye quhilk doith pretend / Tyll vse the office of ane kyng, / Or Realmes tak in gouernyng'. And although he referred to Mary as 'our Quene, of Scotland Heretour', he did so with the hope that she would 'bryng home

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[76] James Craigie, 79.

[77] Constance Jordan explores these ideas at length in 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 421-51. For other important discussions on this topic, see Louise O. Fradenburg, ed., *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); and Theodora A. Jankowski, *Women in Power in Early Modern Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

tyll ws ane Kyng and Gouernour' from France.[78] It is notable that Melville does not mull over the problem of female rule in the *Memoirs*; he clearly assumes the right of both Elizabeth and Mary to reign as queens. Rather, he throws himself into the matter of finding Mary's next 'Kyng and Gouernour' – a common enough enterprise for the courtier of any unmarried prince, but especially critical for one serving a woman. For marriage could exacerbate the problem of female rule: a queen needed to produce legitimate heirs, but with marriage came wifely obedience, which could 'negate her magisterial powers as head of state'.[79]

Elizabeth dealt with this predicament in her own way, remaining steadfastly single, using her eligibility as a tool for political bargaining, while refusing to assure either Mary or James of the right to succession. But Mary's situation was different: she never had the luxury to act for herself. Her potential marriages, from practically the moment of her birth, were her nobles' – barely her – political tools. And however Reformed ministers or poets might have felt about a female monarch, Mary represented the continuance of the Stewart monarchy: she was its rightful 'Heretour'. The usual tenets of kingship theory still apply to Mary: hence, in his New Year address the poet Alexander Scott exhorts her, like other good Christian princes, to observe the 'four vertewus cardinall, / On wisdome, iustice, force, and temper*an*s'. The same poem, however, reminds Mary of her first responsibility: to 'gett ane guid man' and produce an heir.[80] This obsession with finding her an appropriate husband reverberates across the *Memoirs*. Melville realises that Mary's second marriage, if strategically arranged, could strengthen her claim to the English throne, and he is almost as preoccupied with uniting the isle as he

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[78] *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courteour* (or *The Monarche*), in Hamer edn., vol. 1, ll. 3247-50; ll. 12, 16.
[79] Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 350.
[80] Alexander Scott, in *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, ed. James Cranstoun (Edinburgh, STS, 1896), ll. 25-6; l. 184.

is with the need for good counsel. Carol Edington makes a curious point, almost in passing, about Lyndsay's seeing the infant Queen Mary as 'a queen rather than sovereign, one unable to fulfill any of the functions of a male monarch'.[81] Although Melville frequently refers to 'the quen my souerane', there remains the lingering sense that Mary does not perform the role of sovereign in the same way as James, or even Elizabeth. She is a queen, undoubtedly, but one dominated by the constraints of her femininity, one who needs her other and better half – a king.[82] In the *Memoirs*, her heart and stomach rarely seem masculine. Thus, it is toward the suggestive opposition between queenship and sovereignty that I wish to direct my analysis of the *Memoirs*.[83]

'In hir ear in Frenche': Approaching the Queen of Scots

For all of his devotion to Queen Mary, John Leslie never gives his reader a true sense of her as a woman; he is far too concerned with convincing England and Europe of her just title to Elizabeth's throne. Part of that project involves exonerating Mary with historical and political explanations and, later, fashioning her into a martyr for the Catholic faith. Rarely, if ever, is Mary personally present. With their first sentence, Melville's *Memoirs* seem to promise a similarly detached view of Mary:

> Our yong Quen Marie being contractit with Kyng Edwart the sext then only heritour of England as hir Maieste was of Scotland, that this haill yll mycht be junit in ane monarchie, hir Maieste be the practyses of hir Frenche parentis and Scotis prelatis was transported in France be the west sea. (9)

[81] Edington, 76.
[82] Robert Lyndsay of Pitscottie's chronicles have a revealing moment about Mary's sovereignty. After Darnley's murder, Pitscottie abruptly begins a new section headed, 'Heir endis King Harie Stewart: King of Scotland: for the tyme and the first of that name and heir beginnis the rigne of James the VJ his sone'. Although several months elapse before Mary actually demits the government in favour of her infant son, Pitscottie sees the kingdom as passing immediately from Darnley to James. Mary, the rightful Stewart monarch, simply becomes a superfluous murderess. *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. AE. J. G. MacKay, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, STS, 1899), 2:192.
[83] The *Memoirs* begin with Melville's journey to France at the age of fourteen, and the early part of the work is concerned with his service to Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France and to the Elector Palatine. Although this early section is not without its interesting episodes and antecedents, because of my interest in Mary, my study begins with her arrival at the Scottish court.

Here is a neatly condensed version of Melville's prevailing concerns: he implies in this somewhat inauspicious beginning the matter of Mary's marriage, the issue of succession and lawful inheritance, his desire for the union of England and Scotland under one crown, and the machinations of those in control during the minority of a prince. These concerns – especially the English title – will be familiar from Leslie's works. Mary's claim to the English throne is also one of Melville's obsessions, and he even identifies in the Lady Jane Gray plot an attempt 'to deffraud Mary our Quene, lawfull heritour of England, discendit of the said Harys eldest sister' (55). Given the subsequent and stubborn fact of Elizabeth I, Melville and Mary, working together from the Scottish court, focus their energies on achieving a declaration of the right to succession. Melville pursues this project with personal diplomacy (however much he might exaggerate his influence), collecting colourful details from his conversations with Mary and his embassies to Elizabeth. Though concerned with the same political goal, Leslie's dry and formal 'book of the title' lacks the *Memoirs*' vivid portrait of a queen reacting variously with discrimination, anger, patience, and impetuosity, as her advisors try to bring about her English triumph. Yet, again unlike Leslie, Melville is a political pragmatist, and when Mary abdicates at Lochleven, the title becomes not hers but Scotland's, and it is his evolving and historically contingent attitude to the Queen of Scots that this section addresses.

Though the source of much entertainment, the contests between Mary and Elizabeth in the *Memoirs* deserve comment here for another reason: understanding how Melville characterises one queen always illuminates his attitude toward the other. The Queens are brought together, if only figuratively, shortly after Mary's return to Scotland. She entrusts the 'cheif handling of hir affaires to hir brother the Pryour of St Androwes…and to the secretaire Liddingtoun'. Because the soon-to-be Earl of Moray

and Secretary Lethington are well-connected with Robert Dudley and William Cecil, these 'four packit vp a strait and sisterly frendschip betwen the twa Quenis and ther contrees'. Even at this juncture, however, Melville suggests the tacit hierarchy of the Queens' friendship, which sounds like a variation on Leslie's mother/daughter relationship: it 'apperit outwartly na mair difference in langage, bot that the Quen of England wes the eldest sister, and the Quen of Scotland the yonger sister, whom the Quen of England promysed to declair second persone, with tym, according to hir gud behauour' (91). As becomes increasingly obvious throughout the course of the *Memoirs*, this 'difference in langage' between elder and younger sister creates an unsteady structure, one sure to topple when Mary dispenses with 'gud behauour' – which Elizabeth defines as Mary's agreement to her choice of husband. Should Mary accept one of Elizabeth's proposed mates, 'ther amytie mycht best stand and increase' (104). When Mary persists in pursuing a match with Charles, Archduke of Austria, Elizabeth warns her that this marriage would interrupt 'suche a course as vtherwais mycht be taken, to forther or advance suche a tytle as your Grace mycht haue to succead vnto hir Maieste in the crown of England' (106). Elizabeth threatens Mary with her most effective weapon: her prerogative in naming her own successor.

Melville returns to Scotland just as the congenial atmosphere between the Queens has been shattered by Elizabeth's 'double dealing' in the potential match with the Archduke. Mary sends her a predictably angry letter, to which Elizabeth takes umbrage, and the Queens cease their weekly exchange of letters. After two months, Mary prepares to send Melville to England to 'renew ther outwart frendschip', but he dates the dissolution of their professed amity from this point: 'for in ther hartis, fra that tym fourth, ther was nathing bot gelousies and suspitions' (109). Mary instructs Melville about how to proceed: he must insist to Elizabeth that Mary regrets 'that our lettres hes bene sa

interpreted, sa far as concernis to our meanyng' and encourage Elizabeth that 'gif ther be any word in our letter hauying twa sences…that sche will rather interpret the same to the gentillest signification, and not cryminallie' (112, 113-14). In his first interview with Elizabeth, Melville asks her to consider the possibility of 'twa significations', adding that the French court language used by Mary is 'frank and schort' (117). Perhaps Elizabeth has simply misunderstood Mary. Furthermore, Melville explains that David Riccio, 'now enterit to be hir Hynes Frenche secretary, was not very skilfull in dyting of French lettres quhilk' – significantly – '[Mary] did not wret ouer again with hir awen hand' (109). Although Melville cannot comprehend how Elizabeth could make 'sic hard interpretation' of Mary's 'loving and frank dealing', in the end his mission is successful: Elizabeth rips up her angry retort and Melville reminds his readers that it was Mary who sought to renew their congenial correspondence (117).

Aside from its eerie preview of things to come – Mary's letters will cause her far worse problems in the future – this episode exemplifies the restrained sparring between the Queens. Mary wins a victory of sorts. Her implicit accusations of Elizabeth's poor interpretative skills strike a vaguely humorous note, and she threatens that should Elizabeth fail to declare her second person, 'the warld will think…hir amytie not sa gret as we tuk it to be' (114-15). Not an especially potent threat, but one that sounds very much like a younger sister. Elizabeth still gets the last word, telling Melville that the declaration of Mary as heir 'wald be haisted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behauoir, and applying to hir pleasour and aduyse in hir mariage' (121). Little has changed, but the resolution of their epistolary disagreement has a fortunate outcome: Melville can furnish his audience with an intimate portrait of Elizabeth, one that will serve as a poignant contrast with his own queen. Despite Elizabeth's capricious and girlish inquiries about her rival's attributes, Melville conveys the sense that here is a force

to be reckoned with. Her capitulation in the disagreement, her behaviour and barbed comments regarding Darnley at Leicester's investiture, her playing of the virginals, her kissing of Mary's picture – all have the distinct odour of theatre. Even when Melville offers to conduct Elizabeth in secret to Scotland, 'clothed lyk a paige disgysed', her response – 'Alace! gene sche mycht do it' – smacks of insincerity (125). Or maybe the retrospective view of history heightens our suspicion. But as one critic rightly observes,

Melville

> lets his story tell itself....He manages to impart wonder at Elizabeth's informal diplomacy, the shameless display of rivalry carried off as teasing and coquetry (the Cleopatra touch), the testing of his honesty, before he delivers his judgement.[84]

That judgment he saves for Mary after his return to Scotland: 'I said, in my jugement, that there was nather plain dealing nor vpryght meanyng, bot gret dissimulation, emulation, and fear that [Mary's] princely qualites suld ouer schone, chaise [Elizabeth] out, and displace hir from the kingdome' (129). Ultimately, the *Memoirs* portray Elizabeth as a deceptive yet savvy politician, who does her best throughout Mary's and James's reign to undermine the stability and unity of Scotland.

Mary's 'plain and honest' deportment thus offers a strong counterpoint to her English rival (92). The Scottish Queen receives lavish praise from Melville. Although he would prefer to return to the continent, Mary's 'sa many princely vertus' convince him that he would rather serve her for little profit than 'any vther prence in Europe for gret commodite' (110, 111). Because she behaves 'sa princely, sa honourably and discretly', her reputation spreads throughout Europe (130). Mary appears to be perceptive as well: she instructs Melville before he leaves for England 'somtymes to leau matters of grauite, and cast in some purposes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred vpon' (123). Here, unwittingly perhaps, Melville gives a rare glimpse of his queen's gentle and knowing

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[84] Reid, 'Writing History', 434.

advice to *him*, an overly serious courtier. After hearing his report on the proceedings in England, Mary inquires 'whether I thocht that Quen menit trewly towardis hir asweill inwartly in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach' (129). Mary's manner comes across as earnest and composed, and reflects her desire, according to Melville, to conduct herself in a 'kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyf; desyring to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation' (130). So much does she wish this that she asks Melville to correct her should her behaviour ever be unseemly. Despite his objections, she insists that he accept this responsibility, 'because that the maist part of courteouris commonly flatteris princes to won ther fauour' (131). Obviously, Melville re-enters the narrative to grant himself the honour of his favourite duty and to invoke his favourite theme. Nevertheless, the Mary that graces the pages of the *Memoirs*, in her sincerity and honesty, bears no resemblance to the queen described by Knox and Buchanan.

But Melville's Mary is not merely gracious and discreet; she is also ardent and stubborn. When he recommends clemency for the Chaseabout rebels – the nobles who protest the Darnley marriage – advising her either to pardon them or to prolong the parliament that would forfeit them, she is indignant. The hurried style of Melville's paraphrase must reflect her pique: 'now when they mycht not do na better they socht hir; bot when sche socht ther concurrence, as subiectis vnto ther natywe prince, they wald not heir hir; na mair wald sche now heir ther suttis' (139). At his suggestion that equity rather than rigour might prevent other enterprises against her majesty, Mary 'entrit in choler, saying, "I deffy them. What dow they to do, and what dar they do?"' Although she recognises the soundness of Melville's advice, she 'culd not find in hir hart to haue ado with any of them' (140). In the aftermath of the Riccio murder, she complains of Darnley's 'foly, vnthankfulnes and misbehauour', and despite any excuse offered on the

king's behalf, she bears 'nathing bot a gret gruge' in her heart (152). Even months later, as Mary prepares for James's christening, she continues 'still sad and pensywe, for the lait foull forfet committed in hir presens sa vnreuerently', producing 'gret siches' which few could fail to pity (167). As he counsels Mary, once again, 'to geue plaice vnto necessite and raisown' by pardoning her rebels, Melville takes the opportunity to display his knowledge of political philosophy: 'Wherefore ar princes callit duiyn personnes? Na prince may be callit deuyn, bot sic as draw neir vnto the nature of God, be godlynes, gud gouernement, redy to forgeue, and slaw to puneis' (168). Finally, after the disgrace of the Bothwell marriage, Mary becomes so severely distressed that she threatens suicide, demanding 'a knyf to stik hirself, "or elis", said sche, "I sall drown my self"' (180). The Queen's passionate reactions to events – however justifiable – begin to eclipse Melville professions of her 'temperance and moderation' (143).

Melville also conveys a strong sense of Mary's accessibility, both physically and emotionally. He frequently recounts intimate moments with Mary and alludes to those she shares with others. Even though similar moments occasionally occur with respect to James – he certainly has his favourites as well – Mary's status as a queen, a female monarch, inevitably alters the environment and the outcome, making her connections to others more precarious.[85] In the *Memoirs*, Mary regularly offers her hand to Melville, whether in an earnest request for advice or in a moment of lamentation: at one point, she takes him 'be the hand, and past down throw the park of Stirling, and cam vp throw the town, euer raisonyng with me vpon thir purposes' (169). Melville describes quite the tête-

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[85] See David Parkinson, '"A Lamentable Storie": Mary Queen of Scots and the Inescapable *Querelle des Femmes*', in *A Palace in the Wild: Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, eds. L. A. J. R. Houwen, A. A. MacDonald, and S. L. Mapstone, 141-60 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), for a discussion of Mary's accessibility and challenge of traditional boundaries. In this context, one might recall the episode reported by both Sir William Drury and George Buchanan, in which the market women call out to Mary as she strolls through the streets of Edinburgh (see chapter 1), or other moments in which Mary is said to have disguised herself as a 'burges wyf' or cross-dressed with her 'Maries' (see Parkinson, 148-50).

à-tête. Although having access to a prince's ear is a common metaphor, Mary's ear is frequently the subject of desire or concern. Melville's brief digression into political theory, described above, is delivered to Mary 'in hir ear in Frenche' (169). Significantly, this phrase is an addition to the manuscript, something Melville includes as an afterthought to emphasise the private and familiar nature of his relationship with Mary.[86] For not only is it important to possess the Queen's ear, in order to influence her policies and decisions, but it is also critical to address her in her customary language, the language of her childhood. To speak to Mary in French, and in such close proximity, signals the highest degree of intimacy.

No one illustrates this better than the unfortunate David Riccio. As the Italian grows in Mary's estimation, he occupies 'hir Miesteis ear of tymes in presens of the nobilite', which, Melville explains, causes him to be 'invyed and hatted'. Interestingly, it is Riccio that senses the danger of his situation and seeks the advice of – who else? – Melville:

> Not without some fear, therfore, he lamented his estait vnto me, askit my consaill, how to behaue hym self. I tald him, that strangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit ouer far in the affaires of forren contrees. He said, he being secretary to hir Maieste in the Frenche tung, had occasion therby till occupy hir Maiesteis ear.

Based on his own experience of being in great favour at the court of the Elector Palatine, Melville then advises Riccio to give place to the nobility and to 'prey the Quenis Maieste to be content therwith' (132). Although Riccio attempts to follow this counsel, he later tells Melville that 'the quen wald not suffer hiim, bot wald nedis haue him to vse him self in the auld maner'. Apprehensive of what might ensue, Melville suggests to Mary 'in maist humble maner' the danger posed by her familiarity with Riccio. In a typically headstrong reply, she retorts that 'wha euer fand falt therwith, sche wald not leawe to do

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[86] Additional MS. 37977, fol. 90.

hir ordinary directions' (133); eventually, Riccio follows her lead and 'disdanit all danger, and dispysed consaill' (140). Despite Melville's condemnation of Riccio's murder as a 'vil act', a trace of blame inevitably adheres to the Queen herself (149). She not only allows Riccio to 'occupy' her ear but refuses to exclude him when all signs point to the possibility of a palace *coup*. Melville's text implies that Mary's stubbornness and accessibility fuel the conspiracy against Riccio's life.[87]

Melville's *Memoirs* stretch across nearly 225 manuscript folios, a full 175 of which concern either the reign of Mary or of her son. One hundred pages in, Mary's nobles imprison her in Lochleven and crown the infant James. The brevity of her personal reign explains the narrative balance, the scale tipping necessarily toward an interest in James. Yet Mary's portrait is further illuminated by her son's, by how they differ, of course, but also, surprisingly, how very similar they can be. A narrative pattern, already present but less marked, emerges forcefully in James's reign, which leaves out of doubt Melville's prevailing theme of princes abused by wicked counsellors or dangerously influential favourites. The pattern goes something like this: admirable yet naïve prince admits favourite(s), nobles grow jealous, Melville warns prince, prince disregards warning, nobles stage *coup*, prince requests Melville's aid, prince laments to Melville, Melville reminds prince of earlier warning and makes observations redolent of *speculum* literature. This is not to say that other figures are exempt from the pattern. Riccio, Darnley, the Earl of Moray, the Duke of Lennox, even the formidable George Buchanan are all in some way 'easely abused' because of their inexperience or, worse, by 'geuing ear only vnto flatterers' (220). The *Memoirs* rarely deviate from this structure; *de casibus*, of virtually everyone, becomes the moral pattern of Melville's political fable.[88]

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[87] This scenario sounds very much like Parkinson's account of the Chastelard affair (156-9).
[88] See, for example, Melville's lament for the Earl of Moray's downfall (220), followed by the usual advice (220-2). The treatment of Moray is even-handed, unlike Leslie's harsh criticism of the Regent.

Mary and James, however, are the main attractions, and without the benefit of hindsight a reader might begin to fear a typological relationship between the two reigns. Although adulation for Mary is generally more pronounced, Melville also praises James for his 'gud inclynation, religion, conscience, and constancy' (300). Despite his desire to retire, Melville is convinced to remain at court by his 'gret oppinion' of the King's character and because James desires his 'assistance and aduyse, and whais consaill his Maieste wes myndit to follow sa lang as he lyued' – the same reasons Melville stayed to serve Mary. Yet, as a young man, James falls under the influence of favourites, his cousin Esmé Stewart, Duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, Earl of Arran. When these are ousted by the Ruthven Raiders, James laments the indignities he has suffered at the hands of his nobles, and Melville responds with the usual speech on the 'commown estait of all contrees during ther princes minorite', giving apposite examples and counselling moderation, patience, and clemency (285). Determined to act independently and decisively, James assumes 'a princely curage eyther to put him self to fre liberte or to dy be the way' (286). His determination 'to take vpon [him] a mair kingly cair' echoes Mary's similar resolutions (378). After James is liberated, Arran manages to weasel his way into the court again, despite Melville's lectures to the King about princes being 'wraked be ther ambitious consellours' and his advice to 'spend euery day bot ane hour, to hear a chosen nomber of honest consellouris raisoun vpon his affaires; then him self to set fordwart his oppinion' (293). When Melville insists on the danger posed by Arran's influence, James responds much as Mary did when advised to rid herself of Riccio: 'his Maieste left me in ane anger; and yet turnit about and sperit, "wha sall then remain about me, gif I put away the Erle of Arran?"' (322). When the Earl of Bothwell and his associates attempt yet another palace takeover, James shouts instructions to Melville from his window in Holyrood to convene as many townspeople as possible (415); years earlier,

in the aftermath of Riccio's murder, it was Mary who shouted down to Melville, possibly from the same window (148). Time and time again, James suffers his nobles' mistreatment and seeks solace from Melville, taking him by the hand, like his mother, and exclaiming, 'I am the worst handled prince in the warld' (376).

With this repetitive structure, Melville creates a political fable that lulls his reader into a set of expectations. Although one has a sense of how things *should* be, thanks to the underlying political philosophy, his tales of misused princes take on air of inevitability, even fictional necessity. Yet the fable rings true: here is the practical world of politics where the honest and selfless rarely serve, and the wheel of favourites, rising and falling, turns endlessly. Melville has an understandable fondness for this didactic formula because he can be the hero over and over again, all for the benefit of his son. Where Mary is concerned, the pattern has a levelling effect: her failure strikes one not as aberrant but as unavoidable. The *Memoirs* seem almost creditable for their willingness to see the Queen of Scots as just another fallen prince, her failures no more singular or devastating than others' – or necessarily attributable to her gender. Even though the *Memoirs* end in the 1590s, the remarkable element in Melville's narrative becomes the year 1603, the fact that he is able to write a set of memoirs in the wake of a prince's success.

Nevertheless, Mary's case is more complex than perhaps even Melville realises, for considerable differences arise in his presentation of James. First, when disgraced nobles return to James's presence, they are always humble supplicants, no matter what political alterations lurk around the corner. Rather than suing for their loyalty, James speaks to them 'lyk a prince full [of] curage and magnanimite,...pertly and boistingly…calling them traitours, and ther enterpryse plane tresoun' (350). Mary's traitors tend to skulk around England, seeking Elizabeth's approval and plotting their next

move. Second, James learns quickly the usefulness of dissimulation and craftiness. Because of his mother's mistakes, he handles the succession issue in a radically different way: James 'requyres na instant declaration therof, bot will continually craue, be his behauour all sic preferrement, as ane humble sone aucht to seak at a louing and hartly mother' (317-18). This approach to the succession, characterised by transforming Elizabeth into his own 'louing and hartly mother', works equally well with the news of Mary's execution. James overcomes his 'hauy displesour', opting not to retaliate because he has friends in England who were not involved and surely Elizabeth will not live much longer (356). He is, quite simply, more cunning and savvy than his mother.

Finally, there is the important matter of advice. Melville almost uniformly urges James and Mary to clemency, a common exhortation in the *speculum*. James, however, receives longer, more detailed 'harangues'. Melville speaks to James at length about the minority of princes, the dangers of flatterers, and the maintenance of a 'quyet estait'. He recites numerous examples of princes caught between rival factions (285), and gives maxims relating to good governance: 'As God is the rewler and sprit of the warld, sa aucht princes to reull, and to be the sprit of ther contre' (383). Even more important than Melville's oral directives are the three occasions he interrupts the narrative to insert written documents, two of which are formal letters of advice to the King about 'gud reules, for the establissing of gud ordour in his contre' (378). In the first instance, he establishes his authority in these matters by replying to a 'schairp wreting' from Elizabeth on James's behalf (295). Shocked by the Raid of Ruthven and James's persistence in keeping bad company, Elizabeth scolds him for bending his 'course to cruckit paithes' and reminds him of Isocrates's noble lesson that 'willis themperour his souerain to mak his wordis of more accompt then other men ther aithes' (296). Unwilling to see his king (or himself) outdone, Melville quotes from Isocrates three times in his reply,

demonstrating to Elizabeth that the Scottish court is equally well versed in kingship theory.[89] Melville addresses the second letter to James, in which he outlines his advice about practical affairs, adding some more general thoughts about good governance. He anchors his counsel in the works of at least two writers, Plutarch and Isocrates, the latter once again providing maxims applicable for James's situation: 'princes ar comownly demed to be lik vnto them whom they mak ther masit famyliers' (306).[90] The final advisory document Melville and his brother Robert produce in response to one of James's many requests for help in settling his 'estait and gouernement' (377). This long letter begins by contrasting the King's good character with the 'disordour and distress' of the realm in order to lay out principles 'for the refourmyng and amending of the misreull'. In the course of Melville's advice, he reiterates the importance of a prince's divine commission to rule with 'religion, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitud' (379); reflects on the governance of unruly subjects; quotes writers like Theopompus, Plutarch, and Du Bellay; and offers practical suggestions, including, of course, the necessity for good counsel. In short, James gets the *speculum principis* version of Melville's advice.

Mary, it seems, does not lend herself so easily to this model. The instruction she receives is far less historically and theoretically grounded. Although James is encouraged to impart clemency, Melville presses this point even more strongly to Mary. Furthermore, clemency is gendered for Mary: 'How seamly it is till a Quen to be pitifull, and a woman to want vengeance'. In truth, when it comes to Mary, Melville seems caught between her status as Queen and as woman, between the basic tenets of kingship theory and conventional notions about gender. He demands of her both 'prencely and womanly behauour' (168). As a monarch, Mary's behaviour is characterised in *speculum* terminology – 'clemency, temperance and fortitud' – and she is advised 'to reuell ouer

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[89] Cf. *Memoirs*, 298, with Isocrates, *To Nicocles*, 28 and 36.
[90] Cf. Isocrates, *To Nicocles*, 27.

[her] awen passions and affections', so that those who admire 'princely vertus' will think her 'maist worthy to regne ouer kyngdomes' (139). But because traits like passion and excess emotion are commonly associated with women, they are cause for greater concern in Mary. In response to lamentations over Riccio's murder, Melville encourages her to 'geue plaice vnto necessite and raisown, to reull ouer the beastly passions of the mynd' (168). As for Mary's place among her fellow princes, Melville insists that, of course, she compares: 'sche purposit to procead with sic a gratious gouernement…quhilk sche culd do asweill as any prince or princes in Europe' (169-70). It would seem oddly unnecessary for Melville to reassure his audience that Elizabeth or James can measure up to a continental prince.

There is the sense that, finally, Mary fails to pull herself together, that she can never quite meet the demands of sovereignty. For all her sincerity and humaneness in the *Memoirs*, Mary drifts out of the political narrative after Darnley's death, becoming more and more a pawn in a game for which her gender makes her unsuitable. As Mary's political control slips away in response to the events of 1567, Melville shows his practical colours. Ever the political pragmatist, Melville advises Lethington and James Balfour against taking the Queen's side, 'seing that sche was captywe, in sic sort as nother mycht sche mak them help, nor they hir' (237). The civil war for Melville makes little sense: 'Of a treuth, I culd not se a raisoun to set vp twa factions sa lang as the Quen wes captywe' (238). Melville continues to see Mary as the lawful 'heritour' of the English throne, but that claim is clearly transformed into the more reliable 'title of Scotland' (205). Even if Mary herself becomes superfluous, however, the continued relevance of the union of the crowns demands a certain historical view of her. As Moray's party prepares for the conference at York, Melville worries about the accusations to be made against Mary they might endanger the 'vnyon of this yll' (205). As the manuscript alterations indicate,

Melville, writing these *Memoirs* in 1603, is far from unconscious about the delicacy of presenting the story of Mary. With James newly crowned in London, Melville must construct a respectable history of that political success, for the benefit of himself and, perhaps more importantly, of Scotland.

SEEKING 'THE GENTILLEST SIGNIFICATION': ALTERATIONS TO THE MANUSCRIPT

As printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1827, the *Memoirs* present the foregoing view of Mary. For the most part, Melville thinks highly of the Queen: he encourages her good behaviour, supports her during rebellions, advices clemency in the aftermath, and sympathises with her plight in 1567. He also recognises her headstrong, passionate qualities and ultimately accepts the causes of her downfall as sadly common – whether for all princes or for female rulers in particular, he is not clear. He enters the service of her son with hardly a backward glance. Melville's manuscript, however, suggests otherwise. There, still scrawled on the pages of his narration, are the hesitations and second thoughts that further complicate his view of 'the quen my souerane'.

What we now know as Melville's *Memoirs* did not publicly appear until almost eighty years after they were written, making for a romantic history of discovery and publication.[91] No manuscript surfaced until 1660, the year in which, imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, the Presbyterian minister Robert Trail discovered Melville's document lying quite picturesquely in dusty oblivion. Trail returned the holograph manuscript to Melville's grandson, another Sir James Melville of Halhill, who in turn forwarded a copy to George Scott of Pitlochie, Melville's grandson by his daughter Margaret. Using this 'copy "derived to him" from the original, after its restoration to the family of Halhill',

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[91] The 'Preliminary Notice' to the Bannatyne Club edition provides the general outline of the history, iii-xii. Twentieth-century editions include Gordon Donaldson, ed., and W. Mackay Mackenzie, ed. (both cited above); A. Francis Steuart, ed. (London: Routledge and Sons, 1929). None tackles the relevant textual issues.

Scott, acting as editor, ushered the *Memoirs* through their first publication in 1683 (iii).[92] Two years later, Scott and his family perished on a voyage to America. Thereafter, no trace of either an original or Scott's copy could be found. Over 140 years later, Melville's manuscript was discovered in the collection of Sir George H. Rose. Rose's manuscripts could be traced to the family of the Earls of Marchmont, who had bequeathed the collection to Sir George's own father. This Marchmont MS., in Melville's own handwriting, served as the basis for the Bannatyne Club's 1827 edition.[93]

Since providing a service for the Bannatyne Club, Melville's manuscript has once again fallen into oblivion, albeit under the protection of the British Library as Additional MS. 37977. The manuscript is relatively clean: it does not look like a draft, yet still has notable alterations, all of which get silently incorporated into the 1827 edition. Two different inks appear in the manuscript. The body of the text has been written in a lighter ink. The darker ink is used mostly for corrections, both insertions and expunctions. It also appears to match the ink used in the section of text extending from the middle of the prefatory letter until the beginning of the inserted ten leaves pertaining to the abuse of princes, which reverts to the lighter ink, confirming that these may have been written much earlier than the whole of the *Memoirs* (MS. 1-16).[94] Some corrections are also made in the lighter ink, presumably in the process of writing out the *Memoirs*, but the changes made using the darker ink suggest Melville's return to the manuscript – changes

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[92] The second corrected edition was published at Edinburgh in 1735. A third corrected edition followed, one impression in 1751 at Glasgow and one in 1752 at London.

[93] Although the authenticity of the *Memoirs* was brought into question shortly after Scott's first edition, the textual evidence cited by the Bannatyne Club editor supports the contention that the Marchmont MS. is, indeed, the lost original (vii-xv). For example, both the Marchmont MS. and Scott's printed version end with events in 1593, though Scott believed that Melville would have continued his narrative through the year of his retirement, 1603. In other words, the mutilation of the MS. to the years following 1593 perfectly matches the end of the narrative in Scott's printed version, suggesting that he did, indeed, work from a copy of the Marchmont MS.

[94] In citing from the manuscript I have two options: manuscript page or folio number, both of which are viable alternatives. For the sake of simplicity, I cite the manuscript page parenthetically. This has the added benefit that the Bannatyne Club lists the manuscript pages in its margins, making for ease of reference between the two. In citing from the manuscript I have neither modernised Melville's spelling nor altered his infrequent punctuation. I have, however, silently expanded contractions.

made, in other words, on a subsequent read-through. In any case, the modifications to the manuscript in darker ink tend to be those with more intriguing interpretative possibilities. Moreover, these corrections occur more frequently on those folios covering Mary's personal reign (MS. 59-101). To be sure, alterations appear throughout the manuscript, in both the early and later portions of the work. But whereas those tend to correct verb tense or make other minor clarifications, the ones concerning Mary – and sometimes Elizabeth – offer more substantive changes. Melville apparently revisited his manuscript and, in doing so, deemed it necessary to make subtle changes.

Admittedly, some changes are simply amusing. For example, when Melville arrives in Scotland he presents Mary with letters of introduction from several European princes. In the manuscript, he inserts the reminder that these writings were 'all in my fauours', just to reinforce his own impeccable reputation (MS. 59). Similarly, when Mary sends Melville to meet the Earl of Bedford before James's christening, Melville first writes that he was sent 'with deligence'. Later he adds, 'weill accompanied with deligence', again, to augment the sense of his own importance (MS. 91). Convinced by Mary's virtues to remain in Scotland, Melville remarks that he 'thocht hir mair worthy to be seruit for nathing than any vther prence in europe for gret commodite'. On second thought, however, he opts more practically for thinking of her as 'mair worthy to be seruit for litle proffet than any vther prence in europe for gret commodite' (MS. 60). Even a courtier must get *something* for his dedicated service. Yet, even this undeniably humorous afterthought has its serious side, petty though it may be, which is Melville's reconsideration of what he might be willing to do for his queen.

Elizabeth provides a good case study for the ambivalence of many alterations. Melville has made no substantial corrections to the passages describing his interviews with her: he seems to have been confident about this report. Later, however, a few

memorable changes occur. Having received news of the impending marriage to Darnley, Elizabeth tells Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to dissuade Mary from going through with the match or, alternatively, to convince the Protestant lords to 'withstand the said mariage'. Mary interprets Elizabeth's attitude as proof of her 'oposition, till all the mariages that wer offerit vnto hir'. Melville then changes this to 'ernest oposition', emphasising the extent to which Elizabeth meddles in Mary's affairs (MS. 72). In another instance, he insists, more generously, on the deviousness of the entire English council: 'I haue declairit that asweill the quen of englandis dealing schifting and drifting' becomes 'I haue declairit that asweill the consell of englandis courtly dealing schifting and drifting' (MS. 73). Generally, however, Melville struggles with how to define Elizabeth's actions. Regarding her treatment of the Chaseabout rebels, he first remarks that 'sche handlit the matter sa craftely', but decides instead on 'sa subtilie' (MS. 72) – a slight distinction, to be sure, but one that reflects the perplexing nature of Elizabeth. And on the issue of Mary's execution, Melville hedges almost as much as the English Queen. The passage reads thus:

> Bot god and the warld wottes how she [.....] was keped ^ \ and used / for not only sche wald not se hir of whom sche seamed so oft to desyre a sicht and a meating, bot ^ \ al /so [declair hir ....] caused kep hir prisonner, and at lenth [tuk] ^ \ sufferit / hir lyf ^ \ to be tane, or els subtilly tane against hir intention /. (MS. 108)
>
> [The Bannatyne Club version reads: 'Bot God and the warld wottes how sche wes keped and vsed; for not only sche wald not se hir of whom sche seamed sa oft to desyre a sicht and a meating, bot also caused kep hir prisonner, and at lenth [*tuike her lyf*] sufferit hir lyf to be tane, or elis was subtilly tane against hir intention' (202).]

In the end, Melville makes a politically expedient choice, electing not to accuse Elizabeth of taking Mary's life, but of 'suffering' the execution to go forward, or, even better, of having been duped by someone else bent on Mary's death.[95]

Mary's personal reign – which stretches across 42 folios – undergoes far more significant modifications than any other section of the manuscript. Some corrections adjust or clarify what she has said or what she has intended. After Darnley graces the Scottish court with his presence, Melville reports that 'hir maieste tok weill with him, the lustiest and best proportionit lang man that sche had sean'. He decides on a slight change: 'hir maieste tok weill with him, and said that he was the lustiest and best proportionit lang man that sche had sean' (MS. 72). One could, of course, argue that Melville simply forgot to insert the speech direction, but the effect of the insertion implies more. Considering the calamity that follows the Darnley marriage, it seems important that Mary would voice her praise of him, that the appositive phrase – 'the lustiest and best proportionit lang man' – has her specific approval. After her marriage to Darnley, Mary requests Melville 'to await vpon the king, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue hir my gud aduyse'. Melville alters the sentence: 'to await vpon the king, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue him and hir my gud aduyse' (MS. 74). Again, perhaps Melville simply recalls the precise nature of Mary's request. The change to 'him and hir', on the other hand, might also be significant. At this point in the narrative, Mary has not yet become disenchanted with Darnley. Melville's change indicates her view of them as a political team, as king and queen, and, therefore, of Darnley as a husband who might still gain the crown matrimonial.

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[95] Melville's corrections to the portion of the *Memoirs* concerning the reign of James I have not discussed primarily because most of those changes are of little note. There are a few involving the Earls of Morton and Arran, though even those do not offer substantially different readings. One interesting addition can be found following the passage which discusses James's more informed handling of the succession issue. Melville has appended to the paragraph, 'This my oppinion was wreten and set down yeares before her Maiesteis discease' (MS. 167; Bannatyne Club, 319). Melville presumably refers to Elizabeth's death, and must enjoy emphasising the precociousness of his opinion.

More notable are the many alterations that interrogate Mary's emotional control and her involvement with Darnley's murder. Two alterations address the steadiness of Mary's virtue and her ability to govern, and what they reveal is a sense of discomfort. When Mary continues to express her dismay about Riccio's murder, Melville reassures her that 'hir excellent qualites in clemency temperance and fortitud suld not suffer hir mynd to be suppresst with the remembrance of tha vill turnis'. His initial recollection of this advice, however, differs slightly. He first writes that these cardinal virtues would 'not suffer hir mynd to be corrupted' (MS. 89). With fresh resolve, Mary 'purposit to procead with sic a gratious gouernement, as mycht wone the victory ouer all hir compeditours'. Melville then reconsiders: her good governance 'mycht wone the victory ouer hir self and all hir compeditours' (MS. 90). Both of these changes reveal uneasiness about Mary's self-control and recall Melville's earlier advice to rule over her passions. In the first case, Mary's virtuous qualities will not allow painful memories to suppress her mind. By choosing 'suppresst' over 'corrupted', Melville denies that her mind is susceptible to contamination, and in the second example he suggests that Mary's good governance should defeat her enemies as well as the unfavourable forces within herself. The changes are slightly contradictory, but with both, the potential of Mary's corruption remains on the page, betraying Melville's discomfort with her feminine weakness – or at least his inability to decide about the strength of her virtue. The implication is that unruly forces exist within Mary, forces over which she must 'win victory'.

Melville does seem to wish to present Mary sympathetically, and he finds his greatest interpretative challenge in the circumstances of Darnley's murder. Even as late as 1603, he must still get around the invective of George Buchanan, whose *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1571) and *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* had so damaged the Queen's reputation. Two changes indicate that, as he struggled with

contemporary rumour and attempted to diminish Mary's involvement, Melville was responding directly to Buchanan's narrative. In the *Detectioun* and the *Historia*, Buchanan had accused Mary of trying to poison Darnley. Melville describes Darnley's illness as being caused simply by 'displeasour', though he later adds, 'not without some bruit of ane il drink be some of his saruandes'. The insertion acknowledges the currency of the poison rumour, suggesting that if this 'bruit' were true, perhaps Darnley's servants were to blame – though even this apparent explanation is ambiguous. In another instance, Melville acknowledges and revises Buchanan even more pointedly. Buchanan's *Historia* had reported that in Darnley's final days, as Mary falsely professed her affection for him, 'no one durst warn the king of his danger, for whatever he heard from any other quarter, he was accustomed to tell the queen in order to ingratiate himself the more with her'.[96] Initially, Melville quotes Buchanan, reporting that when rumours begin to circulate of impending foul play, 'few durst aduertise [Darnley], because he tald all again to the quen'. Quite significantly, however, Melville later expunges 'to the quen' and rewrites the explanation of Darnley's behaviour: 'he tald all again to some of his awen saruandes wha wer not all honest' (MS. 92). The passage is confusing, but the implication is this: If 'few durst aduertise' Darnley because he would then talk to Mary, it follows that she either had knowledge of or was intimately connected to Bothwell's plan, as Buchanan would certainly want us to believe. Melville shifts the focus away from Mary to Darnley's dishonest servants by altogether dropping any reference to her from the passage. Interestingly, in these instances, Melville also seems to rethink his own historical practice. It appears likely that he has relied heavily on Buchanan's *Historia* to

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[96] George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, trans. James Aikman, 4 vols. (Glasgow: Blackie Fullarton & Co., 1827), 2:491. In Latin the passage reads: 'Eum cum Bothuelio, quem extra suspicionem esse volebat, reconciliat: liberaliter in posterum de sua in eum voluntate promittit. Quae officiorum simulatio cum omnibus vehementer esset suspecta, nemo tamen Regem de suo periculo admonere audebat: quippe qui omnia, quae aliunde accipiebat, quo magis in gratiam Reginae se insinuaret, ei reuelare soleret' (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia* [Edinburgh: Alexander Arbuthnot, 1582], 213).

fill out his narrative, which seriously draws into question his claim to provide only a parenthetical history and shows the extent to which he might have relied on other representations of the Queen. At the same time, these particular alterations show Melville interacting with his sources, reconsidering Buchanan's presentation of events and opting for a more sympathetic portrayal of the Queen.

These and other alterations indicate Melville's willingness to view Mary in a favourable light. When Bothwell abducts the queen, Melville is also taken into custody by a Captain Blackadder, who claims that Mary will acquiesce to the marriage with Bothwell: 'my taker allegit that it was with the quenis awen consent'. But Melville first writes, 'my taker tald me that it was with the quenis awen consent' (MS. 94). Melville makes a fine distinction here, but his final version points to the unproven nature of Blackadder's claim – Mary's consent is alleged, not reported as a fact. He also makes an important insertion regarding the first night of Mary's captivity in Edinburgh. Although at Carberry Hill she has sworn to abandon Bothwell, she tries to convince one of her keepers to forward a letter to him. In the darker ink, Melville adds the marginal note, 'Some suspected this letter to bene invented' (MS. 98). With these changes he acknowledges the possibility of alternate stories, of fabricated situations calculated to destroy the Scottish Queen.

I am unsure whether the corrections, taken as a group, can be said to indicate a radical shift in Melville's thought – too many subtle contradictions exist – but they do point in suggestive directions. Despite the absence of any firm evidence that Melville wanted to publish the *Memoirs*, his attention to the manuscript verifies his awareness of an audience – his son, of course, and perhaps members of the Scottish court. Melville's textual changes reveal his awareness of the contingent nature of Mary's history and his inability to resolve the conflicts surrounding her reign. He also demonstrates a cautious

desire to recuperate her reputation, not least of all because she is the mother of James. Her competence in maintaining emotional control, her culpability in the relationship with Darnley, her involvement with his murder – all are interrogated by Melville's insertions and expunctions. The alterations disclose and then attempt to contain the potential disorderliness of Mary – to insist that she *cannot* be corrupted, she *did* find Darnley attractive, *yet* she was not privy to Bothwell's enterprise. Because of the very nature of a textual alteration, the weight of what came before – or what came later, as the case may be – necessarily tips the balance. That Melville first wrote, Darnley 'tald all again to the quen', implies an interpretation of events vastly different from his final version, Darnley 'tald all again to some of his awen saruandis'. Melville's cautious benevolence toward the Queen emerges more clearly than any specific image of Mary. Both Marys – the confidante of Bothwell and the innocent but slandered Queen – inhere in Melville's manuscript text.

Reflecting on the construction of memoir and autobiography, Karl Weintraub notes how the past gets 'rearranged because it is being interpreted in terms of the meaning (or meanings) that life now is seen to possess'.[97] To what degree Melville is conscious of his own rearranging, I cannot say. He certainly draws upon a body of historical and political writing that offers a ready-made interpretation of the past and a narrative pattern to which he subjects so many of his noble figures. He certainly aspires to write a testament of his political career that will demonstrate his practical and academic knowledge, in order to help his children in their own civic careers. However confident he initially felt about his project, about illustrating the ideal courtier for his posterity, he also found himself wading through the precarious waters of representing a past that had consequences in the political present. In the wake of James's accession to the English

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[97] Karl J. Weintraub, 'Autobiography and Historical Consciousness', *Critical Inquiry* 1.4 (June 1975): 827.

throne, for Melville to narrate his own career is necessarily to account for a historical trajectory that results in James's success but is rooted in the controversies of Mary's reign. Largely sympathetic to the Queen, Melville had no desire to vilify her; on the contrary, with representations of Mary acquiring new political relevance in the years leading up to 1603, he would have wanted to please James with a positive view of her. At the same time, his alterations reveal the challenges of reconciling the contradictory and disturbing accounts of her behaviour already proliferating in the late sixteenth century, of providing, in other words, a version of the past that assigns appropriate meaning to the present. The *de casibus*, to some extent, offers Melville a way out of this tricky situation: this political pattern can be seen as universal, as liable to affect all ruling princes, and thus can explain the failure of Mary's personal reign while casting no particular aspersion on her. Yet, however one looks at it, Mary's fall is exceptional, and Melville's informing principles – especially those in the *speculum principis* tradition – allow little room for her as a viable political figure. Moreover, as James settles into his own reign, Melville seems to settle into the role of advising a young king, as a means of advising his own son. History, monarchy, civil service – all give a patriarchal sigh of relief with the elimination of Mary. Nevertheless, Melville's Mary is *not* Sempill's or Buchanan's, nor even Leslie's 'right highe, mightye and noble' yet wooden princess; she is compellingly flesh and blood, and he writes her with honest and compassionate uncertainty. The virtue of Melville's historical method and of his singular perspective is that, finally, he fails to subject her to one category or another.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to account for the stubborn persistence of competing representations of Mary by returning to their sources, to those texts which shaped the thought of Sir James Melville and the writers who followed him. Melville's *Memoirs* usefully demonstrate the pressure exerted by early Marian propaganda. The *Memoirs* are uniquely positioned astride the changeover to a new court, monarch, and authorial perspective: composed at the turn of the century, as James I collects his royal inheritance, they mark the transition from Elizabeth to James in England, from personal to absentee monarchy in Scotland, and from Melville's political life at the court to the domesticity of his retirement. Most important, however, Melville's text signals a new ambivalence about Mary Queen of Scots, an indecision emerging largely from the complexity of her textual representation. Melville's manuscript, with its suggestive alterations, reveals a mind trying to tally personal observation with the conflicting yet influential images developed by earlier writers, as well as the explanations and imperatives necessary to the new political environment of 1603. The temporising impulse of the *Memoirs* crops up elsewhere in the period, even in the King's own conduct. James's gesture of commissioning an elaborate tomb for Mary in 1606, for example, can be understood as a material attempt to re-establish her prestige or, alternatively, to assuage a son's guilt about reaping the benefits of his mother's execution.[1] The same could be said of his

[1] Actually, James commissioned two monuments in 1606, one for Elizabeth and one for Mary, both located in the Henry VII chapel of Westminster Abbey. Whereas Elizabeth's effigy was completed by 1607, Mary's more ostentatious monument required several additional years of work. In a letter dated 28 September 1612, James finally requested the dean of Peterborough Cathedral to send Mary's body to Westminster for re-interment (G. P. V. Akrigg, ed., *The Letters of King James VI and I* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984], 326). James's attitude toward his mother could be inscrutable, especially during times of crisis. See, for example, Robert S. Rait, ed., *King James's Secret: Negotiations Between Elizabeth and James VI Relating to the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, From the Warrender Papers* (London: Nisbet, 1927). For more details about the monuments of Mary and Elizabeth, see Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (London: Penguin, 1964), chapter 3; and Julia M. Walker, *The Elizabethan Icon: 1603-2003* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), chapter 1. There exists the intriguing possibility that Shakespeare had the Queen's effigy in mind when he conceived Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*.

interest in another monument, William Camden's project of writing the history of Elizabeth's reign, which James believed could be crafted to clear Mary's name in the process.[2] Whether aiming at recuperation or reconciliation, James surely wished to put the issue of Mary Queen of Scots to rest, literally, once and for all.

He failed spectacularly, of course. Undoubtedly, real-world arguments about religious change and political authority bear a large measure of responsibility for perpetuating the Marian debate, especially as the Queen herself – Catholic, female, Stewart, monarchist – seemed to embody the central issues and inflame rival camps long after her death. She became, in other words, a convenient, malleable, and therefore highly contested symbol. This thesis shows, however, that the historical reasons for the endurance of Marian debate cannot be taken at face value; rather, they must be seen as being moulded and sustained by the powerful images and narratives put to use by the writers considered here. Even when recognised by historians or biographers, the sophistication of the early Marian propaganda has been underestimated for its methods of provoking ardent and lasting responses. Representations of Mary in the texts of Sempill, Buchanan, and Leslie are deeply rooted in literate culture and cleverly disguised linguistically and bibliographically, whence their staying power and influence. They tap into literary sensibilities, into narrative fears and desires – finding persuasive analogues for Mary's downfall, manipulating widely held assumptions about gender, drawing meaningful connections between actors and politicians, and carving moral arguments out

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See Glynne Wickham, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); and David M. Bergeron, 'The Restoration of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*', in *Shakespeare's Romances Reconsidered*, eds. Carol McGinnis Kay and Henry E. Jacobs, 125-33 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).

[2] Camden's Latin work was published by William Stansby at London in 1615: *Annales Rervm Anglicarvm et Hibernicarvm Regnante Elizabethae ad Annum Salvits MDLXXXIX*. For more on the political negotiations related to Camden's text, especially those involving James, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Queen Elizabeth's First Historian* (London: Cape, 1971); and Patrick Collinson, 'William Camden and the Anti-Myth of Elizabeth: Setting the Mould?', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, 79-98 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Also relevant is Susan Doran, 'Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations', *History* 85 (2000): 589-612.

of law and history.

By focusing on these representations and on the mechanisms of propaganda – which, in the latter case, seem to have changed only in their efficiency – this thesis has tried to decentre and to redirect the course of Marian studies, so often preoccupied with guilt and innocence. The interdisciplinary approach undertaken here has evolved throughout the project, not only illuminating the strategies of Marian representation but also opening up other profitable areas of inquiry within the field of Scottish studies. In addition to advocating a specific view of Mary, each text discussed in the foregoing chapters is fraught with larger representational crises in Scotland, attributable to the dramatic changes in religious and political thought during the period. The Marian issue, however, pervades all areas of sixteenth-century debate.

The competition for Scotland's religious history, for example, is intimately connected to, even driven by, Marian representation. In a proto-democratic age, when theorists began to speak (if imprecisely) of the authority wielded by the 'people', Marian propaganda demonstrates that the *idea* of the people was already being used by those in power as a tool to shape public opinion. As suggested in chapter one, the increasing intensity of Marian debate – during and after her reign – coincides with a revival of interest in Scotland's native literature. The compilation of George Bannatyne's manuscript may have been affected, first, by the atmosphere of Mary's court in the mid-1560s and, then, by the 'deteriorating political and religious climate' at the end of her reign.[3] If true, this suggests how the impact of the Marian situation could be felt in a literary sphere. Moreover, the period immediately following Mary's deposition witnessed the printing of native works like Lyndsay's *Warkis* (1568), Hary's *Wallace* (1570), and Barbour's *Bruce* (1571). This literary recovery entailed reinventing Scotland's

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[3] A. A. MacDonald, 'The Bannatyne Mansucript – A Marian Anthology', *The Innes Review* 37 (spring 1986): 44.

relationship with her native writers: post-Reformation ideology demanded that old poetry be adapted to fit new cultural circumstances.[4] Mary's reign and downfall helped to throw into stark relief the clash between old and emerging cultures, and the upsurge in interest in the Middle Scots poetic tradition – though attributable to causes other than the Marian crisis – should at least be understood as a cultural reassessment occurring in that particular context. Finally, years later, when James VI penned his *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584), his prescriptions for the form and matter of Scottish poetry, his desire to monitor the writers of his court, may constitute a reaction to his mother's disastrous failure to control her representation.[5]

This project thus demonstrates how history and literature can and must be brought to bear on one another. Traditionally, Mary has been an historical figure worthy of study for the conflicts of her reign and the changes ushered in by her deposition and imprisonment. As the subject of this study, however, she illustrates how historical processes can be propelled by the forces of propaganda, by the strategic deployment of narrative patterns, especially those that appeal to culturally shared attitudes about women. My approach to Marian studies also reveals the extent to which propaganda and other cultural artefacts – whether satirical verse and illustration, polemical oratory, or legal dispute – should be viable objects for literary studies.

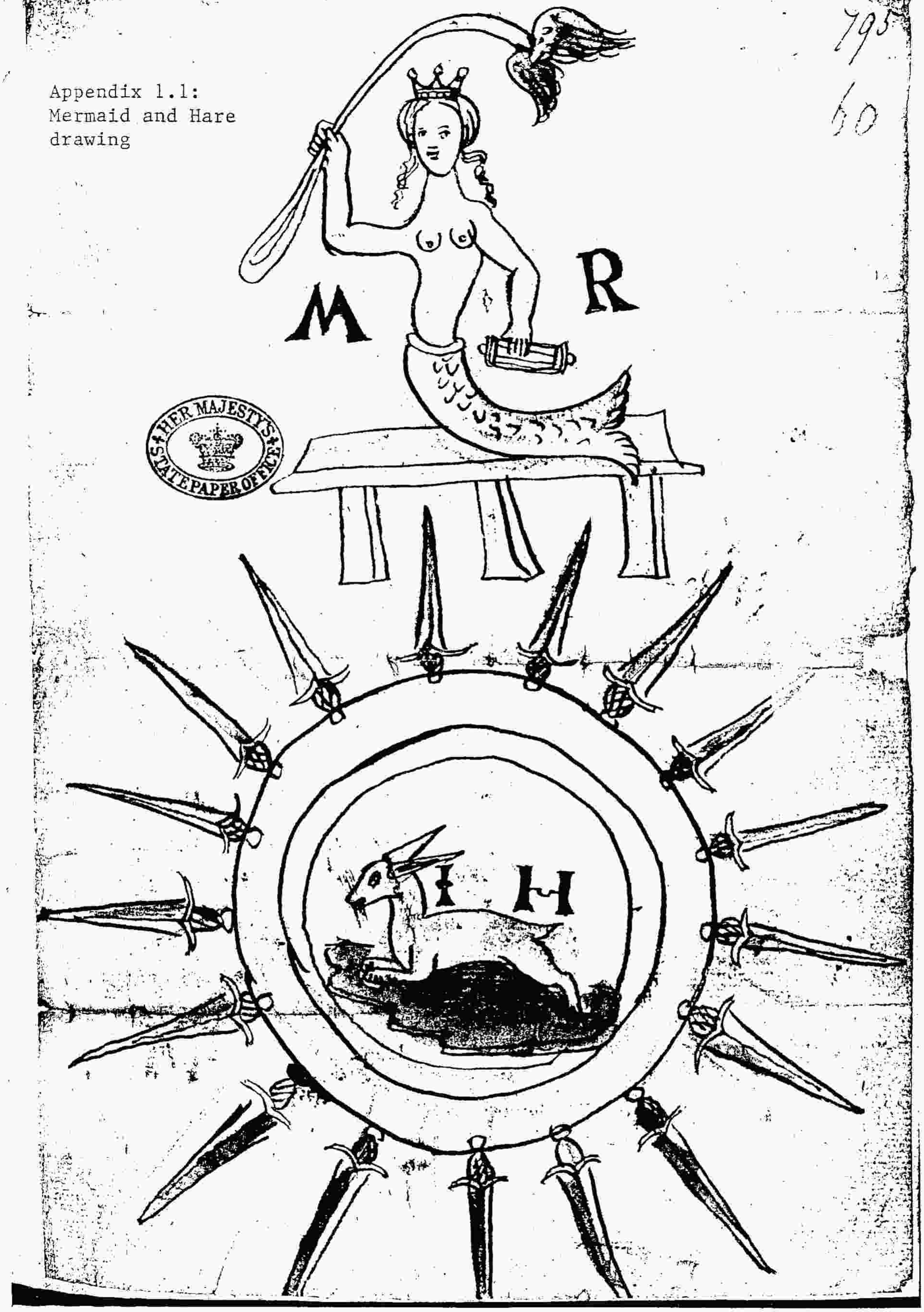
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[4] A. A. MacDonald, 'Scottish Poetry of the Reign of Mary Stewart', in *The European Sun*, eds. Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson, 44-61 (East Linton: Tuckwell Press,2001), 61. MacDonald's comments are also discussed in chapter 1.

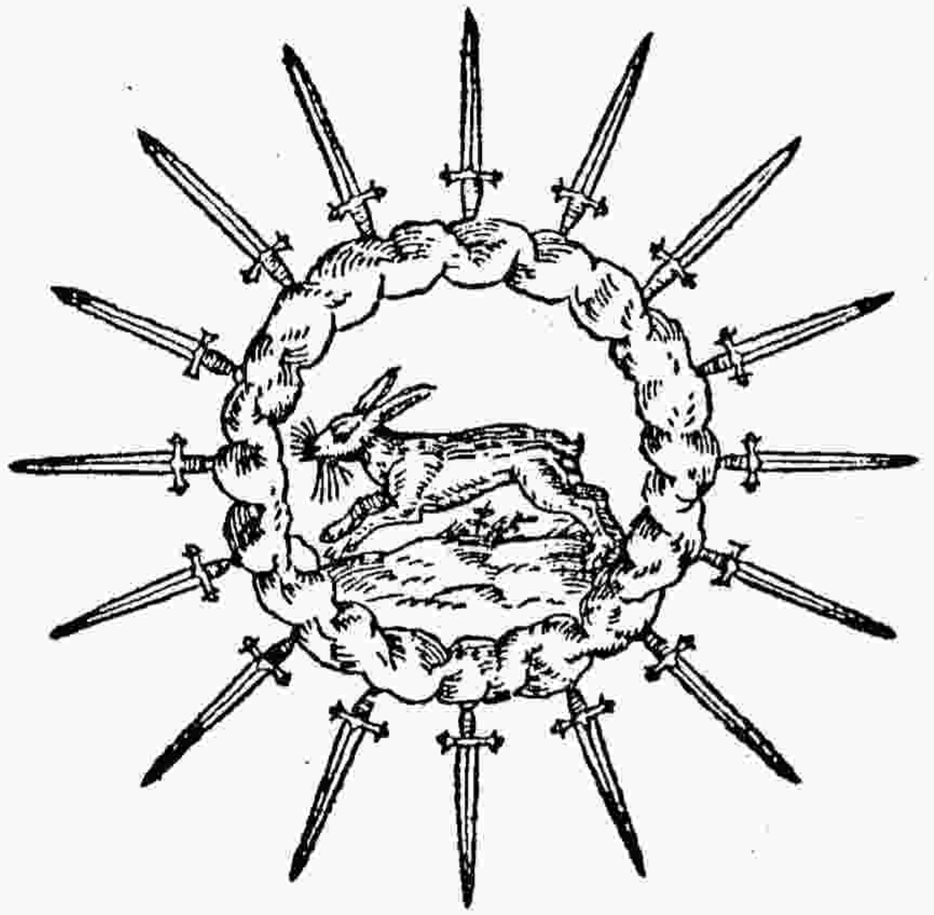
[5] See Sarah Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), especially 3-10. The Casket Sonnets provide a particularly damaging poetic representation of the Queen. In these sonnets, in fact, Dunnigan locates an aesthetic turning point, where amatory verse helps to justify regime change. No longer, she argues, can words of love written by or to a sovereign figure function only on the symbolic level – hence, James's desire to control erotic poetry, to purge it 'as a cause of political vulnerability' (8). For James's *Essayes of a Prentise* and his poetry, see James Craigie, ed., *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, STS, 1955).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1:
Mermaid and Hare
drawing

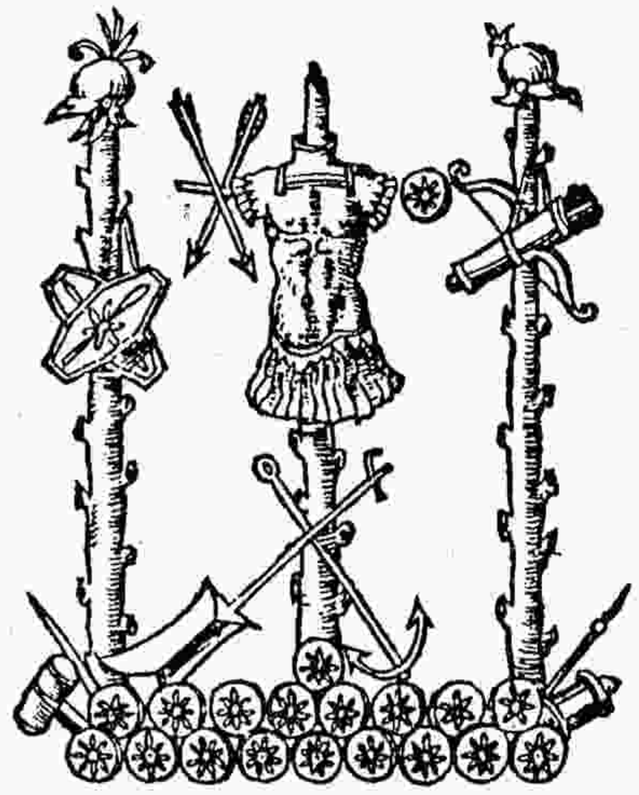


Malo vndique clades.



L'eſpee & glaiue par dehors, & le Lieure, ou la creinte par dedens, eſt en ſine qu'il n'y ha lieu de ſeur acces, pour les mauuais & malins: qu'ils ne ſoient touſiours en danger de punicion diuine, tant es chams, qu'en la vile: & de corps, & d'eſprit. Car ainſi ſont menaſſez meſmes (entre autres infinis paſſages des ſaintes eſcritures) par ce propre trait Moſaique: Foris vaſtabit eos gladius, & intus pauor. *Ils ſeront pourchaſſez par dehors à coups d'eſpee, & par dedens eſtonnez de creinte, frayeur, & eſpouuantement.*

Grandeur, par grand heur.



En l'Anneau de cachet de Pompee le Grand (comme recite Dion) eſtoient grauees trois Trophees: ainſi qu'en celui de Sylla, euidente Deuiſe (pour vray) de la memoire & témoignage de leurs plus grãdes, & plus memorables victoires. Dion.

Appendix 1.2: from Claude Paradin's Devises Heroïques (1557)

Appendix 1.3:
Alternate mermaid
and hare drawing



HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Heir followis ane Ballat declaring the

Nobill and gude inclinatioun of our King.

TO Edinburgh about vi. houris at nicht,
As I was passand pansand out the way
Ane bony boy was sair makand his mone,
His sorry sang was oche and wallaway.
That euer I sould byde to se that day,
Ane King at ruin with Sceptur sword & Crown
At nicht bot ane deformit lumpe of clay,
With tratouris strang sa cruellie put downe.
Than drew I neir sum rythingis for to speir,
And said my freind quhat makis the sa way:
Bludie bothwell hes brocht our King to beir,
And flatterand fraude with dowbill Dalyday,
I studeit still and nathing could I say,
My mynde was full of admiratioun
My bony boy tell me without delay,
The kingis maneris forme and fassioun.
Narratioun thir gif I do tell,
His cruell murther ze will call monsterous:
For in meiknes he did all men excell,
And vnto na man was he odious.
To meit his marrow he was audatious,
On sturdie steid with craftie feat of weir,
Mars favourit him as fair Ascanius,
Eneas Sone that weill ane steid could steir.
In deidis he sould haue bene lyke Delphebus
Had fenzeit Fortoun favourit him to King:
Or Theseus or gentill Julius,
In gentill featis ferand for ane King.
Dartis about him swyftlie could he fling,
And rin ane rais and schortlie turne ane steid:
Cunning of Crosbow cutthrot and culuering,
Ane flaine lat fle with bow in tyme of neid.
In gamis glaid he was rycht weill aswerie,
Rycht fearlie on the flure allwa could dance
Bot Dalila vnto him was vanlatit,
Quhilk causit him oft to be sad and pance.
Yit neuer did sho se his maik in France,
Off royall bluid to sang to be his feir:
Nor his fyrst spous for all his greit puissance,
In portratour and gemc mycht be his peir.
Cunning of Clergy of musick meruelus,
The loving leid of Latine could declair:
Sangis set with diuers tunis expres,
With Instrument maist sweit into the eir.
With hundis hunt he could baith Ba and Deir
The feild alsw rycht seirlie could he set,
Ane gay gois Dalk vpone his hand to beir,
Ane Falcowne fle to se he thocht delyte.
With Romaine hand he could weill leid ane pen,
And storyis wyte of auld antiquitie,
Nobill him self, and Nobill of Ingyne,
And louit weill concord and vnitie.
He swoumit in the fluidis of Poetrie,
And did exerse the science liberall:
The facund Phrase did vse of oratrie,
His gude Ingyne was rycht celestiall.
In pulchritude to Paris perigall
With browis brent and twinkland Cristell eine:
Off face formois and vult heroycall,
He mycht haue bene ane marrow to ane Queue,
At ten houris on Sonday last at euin,
Quhen Dalila and Bothwell bad gudnycht:
Off hir finger fals sho threw ane Ring,
And said my Lord ane taikin I zow plycht
Scho did depairt than with ane vntrew traine,
And than in haist ane Culuering thay leit crak:
To reiche thair feiris to knaw the appoint tyme,
Abour the Kingis lugeing for to clap.
To dance that nycht thay said sho sould not fak,
With leggis lycht to hald the wedow walkane.
And baid fra bed vntill sho hard the crak,
Quhilk was ane signe that hir gude Lord was gane
And Maddie meinis sho did in Seroll sing
Full weill was hir that day that sho was fre,
And into ioy and out of tray and tene,
So frely fred from all aduersitie.
O Stewartis stout ha benedicitie,
War ze not Kayis in this Regioun
And ay did vse Justice and equitie,
And now zour glas of honestie is ruit,
Vnles ze now sharplie schuit out zour handis
And trewlie rew the gyltie of this blude:
Ze wilbe repuit Lowrais ouer all landis,
And fais to Christ deir on the Rude.
My Lordis thairfoir I think for zow gude,
The treasoun try and puneis equallie:
Lat nor zour landis defylit be with blude,
And gif ze do God schaw his Maiestie.
When Dauie deit our Quene ryght potentlie
Into this Realme bid rais ane ryall roun:
Out of this Regioun Lordis gart sho flie,
Treasoun to try sho was that tyme maist stoun.
Bot sho is slak to try this treasoun out,
And to him Dauy was na perigall:
Dauy and his, thair state was wont shone cloue,
Our cumly King was of the blude royall.
For bowbill Dauy sho did zow expell,
Think on thairfoir quhill ze haue tic ane cryne,
And ze defend the cruell Jesabell
Thus Baallis Prestis wil cal zow verray kynde
Now ruerie Dowglas of ane hartsum mynde,
Think on dame Margaret sumtyme in the towre
And of young Charles prudent of Ingyne,
I pray God lat thame se ane roysull houre.
O ze that dois profes Godis worde deuyne,
Se that ze sclander not his haly Name:
Remember Jesus Judas put to pyne,
For slak regaird of Godlynes and blame.
God be is all that layis ane stumling stane,
Quhilk may the cause be of our brethering is fall,
Reffoir againe zour foule polluted fame
Gif ze favoure Christ Jesus trew Gospell.
The buik of Josua as I did reid,
And thairin ane exampill did I find
How Acan tuik the excommunicat guid
All Israell war threttnit for that sin.
The favour of God be na way could be win,
Quhill trewlie tryit war faultouris of the faill:
Quhome Josua in flamis fell did burne
And than did fell Godis wraith celestiall.
Gif God was wraith at ane small pegrall fouth
And for ainis fault ane multitude did schoir,
Gif diligence to mak the giltie couth,
O he will do to zowis as he behoir.
Ze knaw zour crymc is moir ane greit daill moir,
Nor hunders twa of sicklis sinner syne,
To pull ane King fra his hie potent gloir
Quhome God did place be ordinance dewyne.
O ze that to our Kirk hes done subscriue
Thir Canis try alswell traist I may
Gif ze do not the tyme will cum belive
That God to zow will rais sum Josuay.
Quhilk sall zour bairnis gar sing wallaway,
And ze zour selfis be put downe with shame:
Remember on the vglsum latter day
Quhen ze rewaird sall reskaik for zoure blame.
I ken rycht weill ze knaw zour dewtie,
Gif ze do not purge zow ane and all,
Than sall I wryte in prettie poetrie
In Latine leid in style Rethoricall.
Quhilk throw all Europe sall ring lyke ane bell,
In the contempt of zour malignitie,
Fy fle fra Clitemnestra fell
For sho was neuer lyke Penolopie.
With Clitemnestra I do not fane to fletche,
Quhilk slew hir spous the greit Agamemnon:
Or with any that Mynos wyse dois matche,
Semiramus quha bischt hir gude Lord downe.
Quha dow abstene fra litigatioun,
Or from his paper baik aback the pen:
Except he bait our Scottis Natioun,
Or than stand vp and tratouris deidis commend.
Now all the wois that Ouid in Ibim
Into his prettie lytill buik did wryte,
And mony mo be to ourc Scottis Quene,
For sho the cause is of my wofull dyte,
Sa mot hir hart be fillit full of syte,
As Herois was for Leanderis deth:
Hir self to slay for wo quha thocht delyte,
For Denrys talk to lyke, our Quene was laith.

The dolour als that peirsit Didois hart,
When King Eneas from Carthage tuike the fyght
For the quhilk cause vnto ane brand sho start,
And slew hir self quhilk was ane sorry sycht.
Sa mot sho die as did Creusa bryght,
The worthy wyfe of dowchtie Duik Jason:
Quha bzint was in ane garment wrocht be slyche
Off Medeis throw incantation.
Hir laughter lycht be lyke to trim Thysbie,
When Pyramus sho fand deid at the well:
In langour lyke vnto Penolopie,
For vlyssis quha lang at Troy did dwell.
Hir duillum deith be wars than Jesabell,
Quhome throw ane windo suirlie men did thraw
Quhais blude did laip the cruell hundis fell,
And doggis could hir wickit bainis gnaw.
I war I ane hund, o gif sho war ane hair,
And I ane cat and sho ane lytill mous
And sho ane bairne and I ane wylde wod bair,
I ane sirrat and sho Cuniculus.
To hir I salbe ay contrarius,
Quhill to me Atropus cut the fatell threid:
And feill deithis darris dolozus,
Than sall our Spiritis be at mortall feid.
My Spirit hir Spirit sall bouke in Phlegethon
Into that painfull lythie flude of hell:
And thame in Styx and Lethee baith anone,
And Cerberus that cruell hund sa fell.
Sall gar hir cry with mony zout and zell,
O wallaway that euer sho was borne
Or with treasoun be ony mauer mell,
Quhilk from all blis sould cause hir be forlorne.
I war Johne Bochas on lyue as he is deid,
Worthy workis wald wryte in his contempt:
Allweill of treasoun as of womanheid,
Thairto his pen wald euer mair be bent.
Hir for till shame and bludie Bothwell schent,
And wald the counsall craif his warysoun,
The quhilk King James the fyrst in Parliament,
Gaif to his Father for ane die treasoun.
Quha did forfault him of his land and rent,
And his leuing annext to the Crown:
And to hir shame, and to hir greit contempt,
Quhen that he come vnto ane strange nationn,
Than sould he mak declaratioun,
The causis all of his sory banishement,
To be for treasoun done vnto the Crowne,
Gif I do lie reid the act of Parliament.
My bony boy thy murning dois me harme,
Bot thy sweit figureit speithe dois me delyte:
In poetrie I traist zow be na barne,
Quhilk dois reheirs the Poetis auld indyte,
Ar thir traytouris I find thow hes dispyte,
And I ane Menstrellis and can sing:
Wald thow in Poetrie thy mater wryte,
In thair dispyte thy scellat sall I ring.
Albeit my hart be fillit full of syte,
And mony troublis tumbland in my mynde,
Sir vnder neth this hauthorne sall I wryte
Or my forwereit body preis to dyne
In Poetrie narratioun of the cryme,
Quhilk thow may sing except that thow be red,
In Juglis young quhan will gif place and tyme,
And than in Latine leid I think to spred.
My heirsis prompt in style Rethoricall,
Quhilk pas sall to the Cane of Tartarie
And Peirs sall erthe and air Etheriall,
The wickit workis done in Britannie.
My bony boy quod I fair mot the fa,
With that he rais and reikit me this bill:
And tuik gude nycht and schuik our handis twa,
Sa we departit soir against my will.

FINIS.

Imprentit at
Edinburgh be Robert Lekprevik. 1567.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

ane Proclamatioun set furth be my Lord Regent, in the Name of our Souerane Lord, declaring the purpose of thame quha assistit with our Souerane Lordis Mother. &c.

IVES be the grace of God, King of Scottis, To all and sindrie our Faithfull and trew liegis, quhais knawlege thir our letteris sall cum greting. Forsamekle, as the occasioun of the present trublis, occurrit within our Realme, is nocht vnknawin to zow, & quhat wark God hes wrocht in tyme bygane, sen the horrible and vnworthie murthour, tresonablie perpetrat in the persoun of the King our maist deir Father of worthie memorie: The warld may se it, and the posteriteis following will keip it in lesting memorie. That execrable fact as it is detestable in Goddis sycht, sa aucht all men that outher feiris God or hes respett to the ciuile societie amangis men, to abhorre with the personis, that still wald manteine the Authouris and dowsaris of that beistly crueltie, and be the contrair auance and promote the rychteous querell of vs, thair natiue Prince and lauchfull King, discendit of the rycht lyne, of the maist Noble & valeant Princes of this Regioun. As a speciall cōfort and fauoure send be the mercy and prouidence of Almychtie God, to this afflictit Natioun. And howbeit the cruel murtheraris of our maist deir Father, thair fauouraris and assistaris, efter his murthure had conspyrit the same coupe for vs to taist of: To transfer the Crowne fra the rychteous lyne, to sic as lang hes bene ambitious thairof: zit that same God, that preseruit our Innocent persoun, fra thair mercyles handis, hes respectit the equitie of our cause and mantenit the same, to his glorie and our saifgaird, quhen in mannis sycht bath we and thay that profess our obedience and avowit our querell wer maist lyke to haue bene ouerthrawin. Bot because the malicious hartis of our conspyrit Ennemeis, nocht only procedis in thair wickitnes and Rebellioun aganis vs and our authoritie, bot alswa seducis the trew and semple peple, our liegis to follow thame. Sclanderouslie speikand of vs as that our tytill wer in doubt. We haue thocht gude to notifie and mak knawin the certantie of the haill mater, for the satisfactioun of thaime quhais Jugement zit remanis in suspens, that being resoluit of the nakit and sempill treuth, thay may gif place to the rycht and abstene fra errour. And put a difference betuix our trew subiectis seikand Goddis glorie and our dew obedience, and the Rebellious factioun tresonablie seikand to bereue vs of our lauchfull Crowne and proper inheritance, vnder ane craftie pretens of the Quene our motheris tytill: vnto quhome (God wate) thay beir na better gude will nor vnto vs. Sa lang as hir presence may moue a contrauersie, quhairin be proces of tyme hauing baith vs and hir cuttit of, thay may win the game and posses the garland laug hopit for. Bot quhat end sall God put to sic vsurparis? All ancient Historyis bath godly and prophaine declairis in similitude. Was euer Innocent murthoure left vnreuengeit? Or cum to fulnes, his potent hand quicklie confoundit baith the force and policie of his wicket creaturis. That cursing of God, 1567. feiris, culd nocht assure that godles and wicket man, nor mak his cankerit conscience rest without terroure, the haill warld persauing his pretens na vther thing bot as a mask to blind the eyis of God and man. The murtherar seiking his awin purgatioun, the accustumat ordour of the Law peruertit. In that sufficient warning was nocht geuin to our derrest gudschir, and vtheris the kin and freindis of our said deir Father, to follow & persew the murtheraris, and the verray tyme of the committing of that crueltie nocht expressit, nouther zit culd that vnhonest and pretendit mariage, suddanly and vnprouisitly thairefter accomplisit, outher blind God, or satisfie the peple, that continually crauit vengeance of God, for that saikles blude and concelit murthure, nor zit the reuissing or rather mocking of God and the warld culd colure schame and dishonour, quhair it was sa far procedit, that honour, conscience, and greitnes, wer all tynt, for the Inordinat affectioun borne to that Tyrane. Laith we ar to condiscend mair speciallie, bot allace quhat proffitis silence, quhair thair is na repentence. Not wordis and reportis of men, bot writ remanis contening the discours of that lamentable Tragedie, and vnnaturall crueltie. The treuth quhairof na proces of tyme will consume, nor age weir away. And quhen that vnlauchfull diuorce was maid, and mair vnlauchfull mariage compleit, quhat estait our Innocent persoun stude in to, the Eternall God best knawis and all godly men may Juge. Our Father laitly murtherit, and the Quene our mother cuplit with him, that was the cheif authour of that mischeuous deid. Scho thrall and subiect to him, circuit with a cumpanie of vngodly and wicket personis, notorious Pyratis, murtheraris and vtheris reddy to execute all thair vnlefull commandementis, diuers of our nobilitie abhorring with the wicket tyme, vther departing furth of our Realme, or priuely reposing thame selfis to se the end of that confusioun, at last constranit be Just necessitie, it behuikit thame, rather lait nor neuer, to prouyde for our suertie, quhome God had grantit to thame as natiue Prince. That we suld nocht fall in the mercyles handis of thame, quhilkis slew our Father. To seperat that Tyrane and godles man, fra the Quene our Mother, and to put our persoun in suertie. For quhilk purpose, ane greit number of our trew and faithfull subiectis, being conuenit, on the feild, aganis the said Erle: efter he had refusit singular combat of a Lord and Barroun of Parliament and gentilman vndefamit (Howbeit of befoir he had offerit him self thairto be his Cartell and Proclamatioun) he eschapit and our said Mother, come to the Noble men and vtheris our faithfull subiectis conuenit for that effect: quha refusing to tell the vngodlie and vnhonest cumpane of the murtherar of our Father, and minasling sic as had beng cairfull of our preseruatioun, be cōmoun consent scho was put in suertie, quhill forther Deliberatioun myght be had in the mater. Schortly thairefter God manifestit the murther mair cleirly. And nocht only the report of diuers actually present thairat, and mony vther thingis, gaif presumptioun, bot writ Declarit the treuth, resoluing mony of the doubt thay stude in to. Alwayis the Quene our mother, seing the trublis occurrit in hir gouernement, how contrariouslie thingis succedit, and how euill hir subiectis lykit of hir Regiment, dimittit the Crowne of this Kingdome with all honouris, priuilegis, and commoditeis thairof, in our fauouris. Accoirding to the quhilk, be a greit number of the thre Estatis of our Realme, purposly conuenit to execute hir commissioun, we war lauchfully Inaugurat with the Crowne Royall of this our Kingdome, and our derrest cousing James Erle of Murray Lord Abirnethie nominat, electit, sworne, and admittit in Regent to vs our Realme and liegis, vnto our age of .xvii. zeiris, quha accoirding to his commissioun did all that was in him to manteine the gude and godly pear, standing betuix vs and all Christiane Princes our nychtbouris, freindis and confederatis: To Intertenie Justice and quyetnes in the strait of brokn men, trublaris of the cuntrie and vtheris transgressouris of the Lawis. Quhilk our Coronatioun, Inauguratioun, and possessioun in the Crowne of this our Realme. Is be Actis of ane lauchfull, fre, and plaine Parliament fund and declarit to be dewlie, rychtlie, and ordourlie done and execute, and als lauchfull and valeabill in the self in all respectis, and we als rychteouslie Inuestit and possessit in this our Kingdome, as our said mother, our gudschir.

ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust quarrell

Not lang ago as I allone did walk,
Intill ane place was plesand to behauld:
Twa leirnit men in priuie I hard talk,
And eich of thame his taill in ordoure tauld
I understuid thair sentence quhat thay wald,
And thocht it gud to put in memorie
Thair Names als as efter ȝe sall se.

¶ The taine him self Philandrius did call,
Quha in vertew and manheid tuik delyte:
The tother feirfull semt to be at all,
Eridelus he did his Name indyte
Off mony thingis thay did togidder flyte,
Bot I tuik tent abone all uther thing
Quhen thay spak of this Realme and gouerning.

Eridelus sayis it dois merwell me,
Quhat causit hes the Lordis of Scotland
Tak on ane enterpryse of sic folie,
Againe the Quene and aganis hir husband:
Mycht thay not weill ilk ane in his awin land
In quyetnes leifit in peace and rest,
Guyding his awin as him had lykit best.

¶ To quhome Philandrius did answer mak,
And said that men war not deuyst onlie:
Without all cair thair awin plesure to tak,
Bot to foirse the weill of that countrie
Reularis of quhilk, the Lord will that thay be
Quhilk charge (he sayis) thay can not weill refuse,
Les schamefullie thair office thay abuse.

Behalding than the actis execrabill,
That in this countrie hes committit bene,
The schame the lack the bruit abhominabill:
That sakles men with sorow did sustene,
Ane priuat hart it mycht prik up with tene,
To seik redres and mend that cairfull caice
Far mair the nobillis of the Royall raice.

¶ To se the King fyrst lychtlit schamefully,
And not chereist in chalmer nor in hall:
Syne murdreist downe causeles and crewelly,
Off that tresoun na tryall taine at all?
[illegible]
Quhat hart sa hard bot this sycht sould mak sore,
Quha rychtly than dar thir men reprehend:
Sic greit mischeif quha menis till amend.

¶ To se the Quene furth rydand on the plaine,
Rest lyke ane huire with ruffians schamefullie,
And thocht that sum think that was bot ane traine,
Hir awin wryting dois contrar testifie,
In France England and mony strange cuntrie:
Pleinȝeand that scho was rauyssit by hir will
Quhat Nobill hart mycht se this and sit still.

To reif, to murther and vyle licherie,
The fourt forfault is eikit euin fra hand:
To testifie that Law and honestie
With sic ribaldis can not ring in ane land,
The Quene is cuplit with ane wyffis husband
And farther ȝit he quha the King did sack,
But Law the Quene dar into mariage tak.

¶ Besyde all this thair durst na vertuous wycht,
In presence of that proude tyran appeir:
Bludy bouchouris and throtcutters on nycht,
War only hard, and only had the steir.
The Nobill men durst not the Court cum neir,
The royall hous refuge to honest men
Was maid ane bordell and ane theifis den.

Our prettie Prince the peirle of all this land,
With duilfull deid thay socht for to deuoir:
That riche relick and thesour of Scotland,
Destroy as thay his father did befoir.
Quhat duilfull mynde mycht dewlie this deploir,
In sic dainger to se that innocent
For our releif quhome God had till us sent.

¶ Quhat Nobill hart could langer this induire?
Quhat commoun breist did not for sorrow burst?
Quhat godly man of him self could be suire?
Quhat stranger thocht bot this cuntrie was curst
Quhat preachour this repreif, I pray ȝow durst?
Quhat chaist woman wyssit not to be deid,
To se sic vice set up in vertewis steid.

Gif it was sa, than quha can worthylie
Exalt and prais, and magnifie the Name
Off thir Nobillis quha durst courageouslie
Hazaird thame self to saif us all fra schame.
Thair laude, thair honour, and tryumphand fame,
Salbe dispersit in dispyte of Inuy,
Quhen fareles fullis sall not be settin by.

¶ Eridelus than answer maid againe,
Thy talk he sayis is treuth and veritie:
Bot ȝit sum douts thair is of quhilk rycht faine,
Gif laser lat I wald resoluit be,
And fyrst tuiching the Quenis libertie:
For mony thinkis thir Barronis ar to bauld,
In strait keping a Princes for to hauld.

Philandrius to answer than him sped,
And this he said Eridelus untill:
Gif that a freind with sayis away war led
Be wickit craft syne tystit war till ill,
Thocht he couet in that stait to byde still,
ȝit in that caice his freindis of newtie
Sould wis his weill and seik his libertie.

¶ And gif his fantasie war sa far infectit,
That to the treuth he could not bend his eir
He sould not be in foly ȝit neglectit
Bot fastnes than sould mixit be with feir,
And gif all this could him na wysedome leir
Than acht he be of all puissance denude,
To do na euill gif he could do na gude.

Than sen that bowdin bludy beist Bothwell,
Hes trayterously in myrk put downe our King:
His wyfe the Quene syne rauyssit to him sell,
In fylthie lust throw cullour of wedding.
Thocht scho be witcheit wald in rattery ring,
The Nobillis sould nether of thir induire,
That lowne to leif, nor hir to be his huire.

[illegible]
In priuat personis sayis Eridelus,
I understand thy taill is trew in deid:
Bot in Princes it is mair perrillous,
And few examplis thairof can I reid.
And in sic caice the subiectis all had neid,
Haill to concur with ane authoritie
Sic concurrence in Scotland nane I se.

¶ Philandrius sayis brother than considder,
How fyrst began all dominatiounis:
Quhen rude pepill assemblit thame togidder
And maid thair Kingis be creatiounis.
In votis than war variatiounis,
I trow rycht few was chosin be the haill,
Bot he was King quhais pairtie did preuaill.

Rycht sa gif Princes sa thame self abuse,
That of force subiectis man put to thair hand:
Guid men sould not than to reforme refuse,
Thocht all at anis concur not on thair hand,
Maimly gif Justice on thair partie stand,
And maist consent gif quha wald rackin rycht,
Sen God hes gein to thame baith strenth and mycht.

ȝea thocht it war ane King for to depose,
For certaine crymis I think the subiectis may,
Or fylthy faultouris fast in prisone close,
Rather than lat ane haill countrie decay.
Thay sould not sturre thocht sum men wald say nay
To ane purpose the haill will neuer conclude,
Thay haue aneuch, hes force and quarrell gude.

May thay not put ane ordoure to the heid:
Quha in beginning did the heid up mak
May thay not set ane better in the steid,
Gif it fra vice can not be callit bak.
Les this be done Realmes will ga to wrak,
Namely quhen that the cryme is sa patent
That nouther misters Juge nor argument.

¶ As gif ane King his pepill wald betray,
And him and thame baith bring to seruitude:
He sould in this reformit be I say,
Maimly be Nobillis and be men of gude.
The Baliols cause considdir how it stude,
Quhat rycht had Robert Bruice him to expell?
Because to England he subiect him sell.

And now gif I durst speik without respect,
To huirmaisters, to murderers of Kingis:
To throtcutters our Realme was maid subiect,
Quha in thair malice proudely ȝit malingis.
Lat Nobill hartis considder all thir thingis,
Thay sall weill find that this puire natioun,
Greit mister had of reformatioun.

¶ Sic fylthie luste in Sardanapalus,
Sic crueltie in Nero did not ring:
Sic brutische lyfe in Heliogabalus
Sic traytour mynde to slay his Lord and King,
In feinȝeit Phocas breist did neuer spring:
Sic beistly bowgrie Sodome hes not sene
As rang in him quha rewlit Realme and Quene.

And sould the Nobill Barronis of this land
In boilis luck and this mischeif behauld,
Quhair is the wittis wont to reule Scotland?
Go reid the buik, repeit the storyis auld,
King Euenus was keipit in strang hauld
And deit thair Conarus was inclosit,
First being dewlie for his fault deposit.

¶ For wickit lyfe imprisont was Ferquhaird,
Quha slew him self of proude melancolie,
Donald the fyft he gat the same rewaird:
And Ethus did in prisone priuate die.
And gif ȝe list to go fra this countrie,
In euerie land examplis dois abound
Gif thay be socht thay may be eithlie found.

For sic misordour proude Tarquinius
Was the last King that euer did ring in Rome,
For lyke crymes the tyran Claudius:
Losit his stait and gat deid for his dome.
[illegible]
Baith honestie forȝet and womanheid.
Hir husband and hir cousing put to deid,
Syne with his Burrio band ane new mariage,
Allace this sample sernis ouer weill our age.

And ȝit the Lord he leit hir not eschaip,
Bot of hir tuik ane punishement conding:
Quha fyrst hir husband hangit in ane raip,
The murtherer syne in his bed did bring.
God maid hir paine aggre with hir guyding,
As bedfoly to sic mischeif hir led
Euin so scho endit smorit with a bed.

¶ Than to conclude thir Nobillis dois bot rycht,
Gif thay the Quene keip still in sicker gaird,
Untill that coward Kingslayar on nycht
For his demeritis get ane iust rewaird.
Than lat thame all concur baith Lord and Laird,
Thair Realme and Quene with guid counsall to guyde
Settand all priuate profit far a syde

¶ Gif thay do this than dar I say ane thing,
Thair laude and fame sall mont abone the skyis,
Thair heich renoune sall in all Regioun ring:
Thair name sall gang quhair euer the Sone do ryse,
Thay salbe reputit hardy wycht and wyse,
In all storyis thay salbe cleirly kend,
The Leuing Lord bring thame to this gude end.

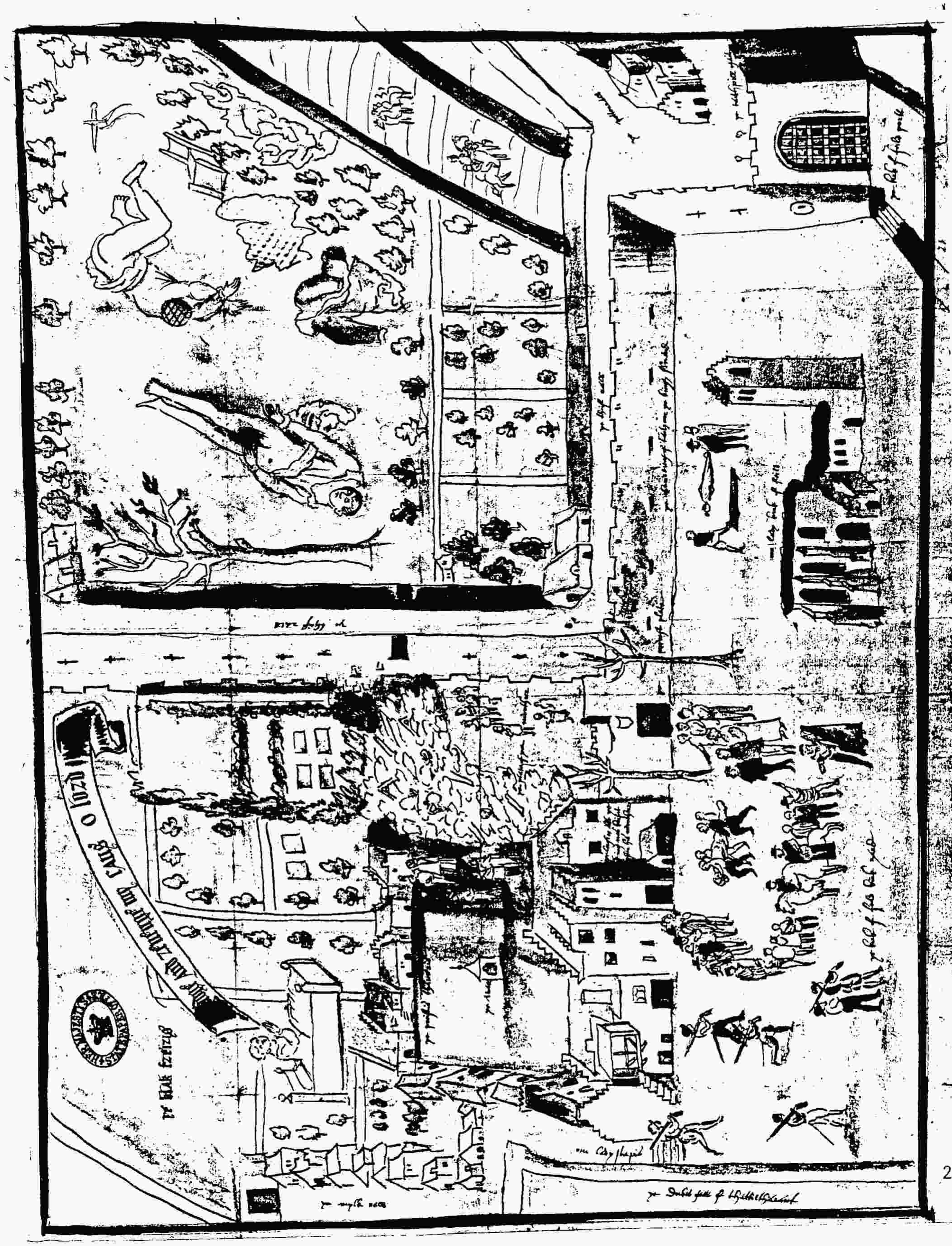
¶ As this Philandrius did frely talk,
The tother pairt Eridelus be name,
Rais up and quyetlie away did stalk
And as me thocht he warit reid for schame,
Quhilk quhen I saw I rais up and come hame
And put in wryt thair disputatioun,
As ȝe haue hard be this narratioun.

¶ FINIS.

¶ Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreuik,
ANNO DO. 1567.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Appendix 1.7: Kirk o'Field drawing



Appendix 1.8: Confederate Lords' banner



APPENDIX 2.1

The *Detectioun*: A Note on Related Texts and Authorship

This appendix offers a explanation of the main textual issues in the *Detectioun*'s manuscript and printing history. In Cambridge University Library, catalogued with the Lennox papers is a manuscript entitled 'Ane informatioun of probable and infallable conjecteuris and presumptiounis', which closely follows the Latin summary first prepared by Buchanan – what we know as the *De Maria Scotorum Regina.*[1] R. H. Mahon, who prints this document for the first time in 1923, speculates that 'Ane informatioun' is Buchanan's own Scottish translation of his original Latin summary. According to this scenario, Buchanan would first have prepared the Latin summary, which might have been sent to Moray's secretary in London, placing this document in Elizabeth's hands as early as June 1568. Perhaps, then, Buchanan was asked to prepare a formal indictment against Mary for use by the Scottish delegation. This he could well have done by translating and slightly altering his own Latin summary, resulting in 'Ane informatioun'.[2]

The indictment actually read by Moray's party on 6 December 1568 is known as the Book of Articles because of its arrangement into five 'articles' of evidence; it exists only in manuscript copy like 'Ane informatioun'.[3] The Book of Articles, however, reveals influences other than Moray's evidence found in the silver casket. The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, had also been hard at work preparing for Elizabeth his version of recent events in Scotland. Because the Book of Articles obviously incorporates aspects of Lennox's narrative while retaining the phraseology of the *De Maria*, it may, in fact, represent a collaborative effort by Buchanan and the Earl of Lennox in the autumn of 1568. In his schematic representation of the connections between these various texts, Mahon concludes that the Latin summary (eventually published as *De Maria*) became 'Ane informatioun', which, in turn, contributed to the Book of Articles. It follows, then, that the Book of Articles and the published *Detectioun* would have a common source in Buchanan's original Latin summary.[4] (See diagram below.) To some degree, the links between these texts must remain matters of speculation, but Buchanan's participation in putting Moray's argument into written form is certain.

It is also important to note that Buchanan's authorship of the *Detectioun*, accepted as a convenience since the sixteenth century, has been disputed. Although his authorship of the 'detection' section seems certain – the first narrative in the volume – the 'Actio' (or 'oration') cannot be as clearly attributed to him. And he almost certainly had nothing to do with the translation and publication in 1571 of the *Detectioun*. The man most often put forward as possible author of the 'Actio' and as translator for both sections is Thomas

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[1] CUL, Dd.3.66/2. The documents which make up what is known as the Lennox narrative can be seen in CUL, Dd.3.66/6, Oo.7.47/8, and Oo.7.47/11. These collections also contain other significant papers, not least of all a manuscript version of Mary's alleged sonnets.

[2] R. H. Mahon, *The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 12-13.

[3] The Book of Articles is preserved in BL, Additional MS. 33531, and was printed in John Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1869-74), 1:522-47.

[4] See Mahon, 1-28, for his full argument. Gordon Donaldson follows Mahon closely (*The First Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots* [London: B.T. Batsford, 1969], 137); and I. D. McFarlane also discusses the complexity of these issues (*Buchanan* [London: Duckworth, 1981], 324-7).

Wilson, eminent scholar and Master of the Court of Requests during this period.[5] Phillips speculates that the 'Actio' (or 'oration') was 'allowed to pass as Buchanan's work, but actually it had been written, with Cecil's knowledge, by Thomas Wilson'.[6] Wilson did send a letter to Cecil on 8 November 1571, enclosing 'so much as his translated into handsome *Scottishe*'.[7] This, however, does not support Wilson's authorship of the 'oration' – the sense in which it is often taken – as much as confirm his translation services. In fact, some contemporary reports argue for Buchanan's authorship. The author of *The Copie of a Letter* maintains that not only the 'detection' but also 'the Oration of Euidence, is written in *Latine* by a learned Man of *Scotland*, M. *George Buchanan*'.[8] Andrew Melville, writing to Peter Young, confirms Buchanan's authorship of 'the *Action* written against that monstrous marriage'.[9] Besides these comments, some political ideas set forth in the 'oration' – how the customs, laws, and statutes of Scotland quash Mary's tyrannous rule – could suggest Buchanan's hand.[10] My aim here is neither to assert Buchanan's authorship definitively, nor to survey thoroughly both sides of the debate, which Ian McFarlane has done competently. For even if Buchanan did not write the 'oration', his intellectual interests and his political theories pervade the entire volume. Moreover, the structure, argument, and *topoi* of the 'detection' completely inform the 'oration'. This chapter assumes Buchanan's authorship of both narratives and translation by English agents.

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[5] See *DNB* entry for Thomas Wilson, and Peter E. Medine's biography *Thomas Wilson* (Boston: Twayne, 1986). Wilson eventually was named Elizabeth's secretary of state in 1577. The other man often proposed as a possible translator is Thomas Smith, a Greek scholar and secretary of state before Wilson. (See McFarlane, 344-5.) Smith and Wilson were jointly commissioned to investigate the Norfolk conspiracy, and Smith was sent to France to negotiate Elizabeth's potential marriage with D'Alençon. It was on that mission that he distributed copies of the *Detectioun* at Cecil's request.

[6] Phillips, *Images*, 62. See Medine, chapter 4, note 19, who also attributes the 'Actio' to Wilson. McFarlane gives a balanced view of this debate, 344-8.

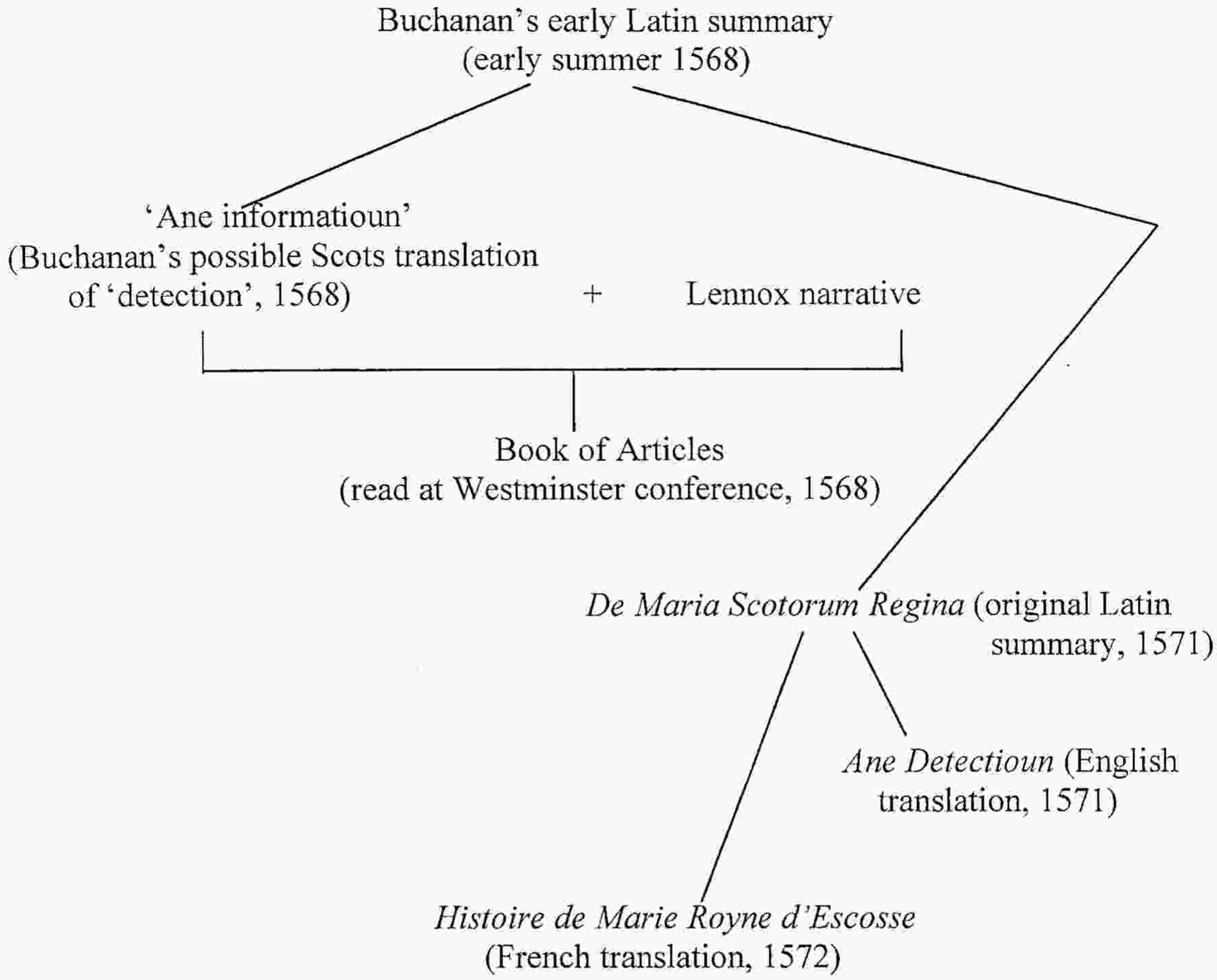
[7] William Murdin, *A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from The Year 1571 to 1596* (London: William Bowyer, 1759), 57.

[8] *The Copie of a Letter, written by one in London to his Frend, concernying the Credit of the late published Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland* [London: John Day, 1572.], Aiii[r]. Of course, one could also argue that this pamphlet was purposely issued by someone like Cecil, intent on maintaining the façade that Buchanan authored the entire book.

[9] Bodl., Smith MS. 77, fol. 28. Translation by McFarlane, 346. It is also worth pointing out that although the style of the 'detection' and the 'oration' differ significantly, they do have different rhetorical purposes. The reports of circulating Latin books by Buchanan in 1568 and 1569 might refer to early versions of the 'detection' and the 'oration'. See McFarlane, 324-5 and 346. Thomas Bishop testified to the circulation of 'sundry books in Latin against her'.

[10] Roger Mason comments on the tendency to ascribe anonymous works indiscriminately to Buchanan: 'It is always tempting to credit well-known authors with anonymous works; yet it is also severely restrictive. Buchanan, after all, was surely not the only Scot of his era capable of writing biting satire or articulating radical political ideas' ('George Buchanan's vernacular polemics, 1570-1572', *The Innes Review* 54.1 [spring 2003]: 67).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VARIOUS TEXTS AND VERSIONS OF THE SCOTTISH CASE AGAINST MARY



APPENDIX 2.2

Contents of the *De Maria*, *Ane Detectioun*, and *Histoire*

1) *De Maria Scotorum Regina, totáque eius contra Regem coniuratione, fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena, & tragica planè Historia,* n.p., n.d. [London: John Day, 1571]. STC 3978. [in Latin]

* Ai^{r}: title (no identified author)
* Aii^{r}-Diiii^{v} (1-30): 'Detectio' (with no heading)
* Ei^{r}-Niii^{v} (31-100): 'Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam in quaream & consciam esse eam huius parricidij, necessarijs argumentis euincitur'.
* Niiii^{r}-Qii^{r} (101-21): 'Literæ Reginæ Scot. ad comitem Bothuelium scriptæ'.
  Three of the Casket Letters translated into Latin: letters two, one, and four from the *Detectioun*, in that order.
* Qii^{r}-^{v} (121-2): 'Catastrophe huius Tragœdiæ'.
  What constitutes the closing paragraph of the 'Oratioun' in *Detectioun*.
* Qiii^{r}-Qiiii^{r} (123-5): Two Latin poems.
  - 'In Mariam Reginam Scoticam', signed G.M.
  - 'In Mariam Stuartam Reginam Scoticam, Satyra', signed P.R. Scotus

2) *Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie,* n.p., n.d. [London: John Day, 1571]. STC 3981. [in English (false Scots)]

* Ai^{r}: title; 'Translatit out of the Latine quhilke was written by *G.B.*'
* Aii^{r}-Fiiii^{r}: 'Detectioun' (with no heading)
* Fiiii^{v}-Oi^{v}: 'Ane Oratioun, with declaration of euidence against Marie the Scotishe Quene quhairin is by necessarie argumentis plainely prouit that sche was giltie and priuie of the sayde murder'.
* Oii^{r}-Oiiii^{v}: 'Memorandum'.
  Explanation of discovery of silver casket, marriage contract between Mary and Bothwell dated 5 April 1567, brief commentary.
* Pi^{r}-Qiii^{v}: 'Curia Iusticiariæ S. D. N. Reginæ...'
  Various items from the court proceedings against Bothwell:
  - Mary's 27 March letter of commission, calling Bothwell to trial and dispatching three messengers to post proclamation (P1^{r}-Pii^{r})
  - 'Indorsations of the sayd letters', from the three messengers confirming the posting of Mary's orders (Pii^{r}-Piii^{r})
  - 'The dittay' and trial proceedings of 12 April (Piii^{r}-Qi^{r})
  - Copies of two letters sent to Mary by the Earl of Lennox (Qi^{v}-Qii^{v})
  - 'Assisa' (Qii^{v}-Qiii^{r})
  - Acquittal and conclusion, subscribed by John Bellenden (Qiii^{r-v})
  - Statement that the indictment incorrectly dated the Darnley's murder 9 February, instead of 10 February (Qiiii^{v})
* Qiiii^{r}-Xiii^{r}: 'The writynges and letters found in the sayd casket, which are auowit to be written with the Scottishe Quenis awne hand'.

- 'Certaine French Sonnettes written by the quene of Scottes to Bothwell...', first in French and then in Scots translation (Qiiii^{r}-Si^{r})
- Eight Casket Letters, each with French incipit followed by the Scots translation (Si^{r}-Xiii^{r})

* Xiii^{r}-Yi^{r}: 'Of the Billes of proclamatioun and combat, set vp by Bothwell and the aunsweres'.
* Yi^{r}-Yii^{v}: 'The confessioun of Iohn Habroun, Young Talla, Dagleish and Pourie, vpon quhom was Iustice execute the 3. of Ianuarie, the yeare of God. 1567'.
* Yiii^{r}: 'Now iudge Englischmen if it be gud to change Quenis…'

3) *Ane Detectioun of the Doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis, tuiching the Murther of hir husband, and hir Conspiracie, Adulterie, and pretensit Mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane Defence of the trew Lordis, Mantenaris of the Kingis Grace Actioun and Authoritie*. St. Andrews: Robert Lekpreuik, 1572. STC 3982. [in Scots]

* A1^{r}: title; 'Translatit out of the Latine quhilk was writtin be M. G. B. / Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno. Do. M.D.XXXII.'
* A2^{r}-B8^{r}: 'Detectioun' (with no heading)
* B8^{v}-E6^{r}: 'Ane Oratioun, with declaratioun of euidence aganis Marie Quene of Scottis, quhairin is be necessarie argumentis planely pruifit that scho was gyltie and preuie of the said Murther'.
* E6^{v}-E8^{v}: 'Memorandum'.
  Explanation of discovery of silver casket, marriage contract between Mary and Bothwell dated 5 April 1567, brief commentary.
* E8^{v}-F7^{v}: 'Cvria Ivsticiariæ S. D. N. Reginæ...'
  Various items from the court proceedings against Bothwell:
  - Mary's 27 March letter of commission, calling Bothwell to trial and dispatching three messengers to post proclamation (E8^{v}-F1^{r})
  - 'Indorsatiounis of the said Letteris', from the three messengers confirming the posting of Mary's orders (F1^{r}-F2^{r})
  - 'The Dittay' and trial proceedings of 12 April (F2^{r}-F4^{r})
  - Copies of two letters sent to Mary by the Earl of Lennox (F4^{r}-F6^{v})
  - 'Assyse' (F6^{v})
  - Acquittal and conclusion, subscribed by John Bellenden (F6^{r}-F7^{v})
  - Statement that the indictment incorrectly dated the Darnley's murder 9 February, instead of 10 February (F7^{v})
* F7^{v}-H7^{v}: 'The wrytingis and Letteris found in ye said Casket, which ar auowit to be writtin with ye Quene of Scottis awne hand'.
  - 'Certane Frenche Sonnettis writtin be ye Quene of Scottis to Bothwel...', first in French and then in Scots translation (F7^{v}-G4^{r})
  - Eight Casket Letters, each with French incipit followed by the Scots translation (G5^{v}-H7^{v})
* H7^{v}-H8^{r}: 'Of the Billis of Proclamatioun and combat, set vp by Bothwell and the answeris'.
* H8^{r}-I1^{r}: 'The Confessioun of Iohne Hepburnr [sic], young Talla, Dagleische and Powrie, vpon quhome was iustice execute ye iii. of Ianuarie, ye yeir of God. 1567'.

4) *Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse, tovchant la conjuration faicte contre le Roy, & l'adultere commis auec le Comte de Bothvvel, histoire vrayement tragique, traduicte de*

Latin en François, Edinburgh: Thomas Waltem, 1572 [La Rochelle?]. STC 3979. [in French, but translated from Latin not English version]

* Ai^{r}: title (no identified author; 'A Edimbovrg, Par Thomas Vvaltem. 1572'.)
* Aii^{r-v} (fol. 2): 'Av Lectevr Debonnaire, Salut'.
* Aiii^{r}-Fi^{r} (fol. 3-20^{v}): 'Histoire'
* Fi^{r}-Mii^{v} (fol. 21^{r}-46^{v}): 'Plaidoyé contre Marie, Royne d'Escosse, auquel est monstré par argumens necessaires qu'elle est coulpable de ce meurtre, & parricide'.
* Mii^{v}-Ni^{v} (fol. 46^{v}-49^{v}): 'Epilogve, ov Conclvsion monstrant par bons argumens, que la Royne à cause de la mort de son mary, a esté par vn tres-juste jugement, priuée de son Estat'.
  Last section of the 'Oratioun' in the *Detectioun* (excludes the 'Catastrophe' paragraph).
* Ni^{v}-Oiii^{r} (49^{v}-55^{r}): 'Discovrs de la Procedvre, tenve povr l'absolution du Conte de Bothvvel'. (Contents match 'Memorandum' and 'Curia Iusticiaria S. D. N. Reginæ...' of the *Detectioun*.)
  - Explanation of discovery of silver casket (Ni^{v}-Nii^{r}; 49^{v}-50^{r})
  - Marriage contract and brief commentary (Nii^{r}-Niii^{v}; 50^{r}-51^{v})
  - Mary's letter of commission (Niii^{r}-Oi^{v}; 51^{v}-53^{v})
  - Letters of messengers (Oi^{v}-Oiii^{r}; 53^{v}-55^{r})
  - 'L'Adiovrnement' and trial proceedings (Oiii^{r}-Oiiii^{v}; 55^{r}-56^{v})
  - 'Protestation dv Conte de Lenos' and 'Coppie des Lettres Enuoyées a la Royne, par le Conte de Lenos' (Oiiii^{v}-Piii^{v}; 56^{v}-59^{v})
  - 'Les Noms des Ivges deputez pour l'absolution du Conte de Bothwel' and end of trial proceedings (Piiii^{r}-Qi^{r}; 60^{r}-61^{r})
* Qi^{v}-Vi^{r} (61^{v}-77^{r}) 'Sensvivent Avcvnes lettres & papiers trouuez au petit coffre dont il a esté parlé cy deuant, qui ont esté approuuées estre escrites de la propre main de la Royne d'Escosse'.
  - 'Lettres de la Royne d'Escosse escrites au Conte de Bothvuel, contenant le desseing du meurtre commis puis apres'. (order differs from *Detectioun*) (Qi^{v}-Ti^{r}; 61^{v}-74^{r})
  - 'Avtres Lettres en Rime Françoise, en forme de sonnets...' (Ti^{r}-Vi^{r}; 74^{v}-77^{r})
* Vi^{r}-Viii^{r} (77^{r}-79^{r}): 'Des Placards et Proclamations du combat affichez par Bothvvel, & de la response qui fut faicte'.
* Viii^{r}-Xi^{r} (79^{r}-81^{r}): 'Confession de Iean Habron, du jeune Talla, d'Aglish, & Pourie, qui furent executez le troisiesmede Ianuier ensuiuant, 1567'.
* Xi^{r}-Xii^{v} (81^{r}-82^{v}): 'Conclvsion de Tovt ce que dessus'.
  The 'Catastrophe' of the *De Maria* (the closing paragraph of the 'Oratioun' in the *Detectioun*).
* Xiii^{r}-Yiiii^{v} (83^{r}-88^{v}): 'Sommaire Recveil des conspirations faictes par la Royne d'Escosse contre la personne, & l'estat de la Royne d'Angleterre'.

commorata, dum Bannæ quas vocant denunciarentur, tùm demum ex arce in oppidum descendit, & ad consilium publicum iudicum accessit: pronunciant se liberam, ac sui iuris. Ac ità demum innuptas illas nuptias intra diem octauum confecit (omnibus bonis eas adeò execrantibus, aut certè abominantibus) vt Crocus Regis Francorum Legatus, homo Reginæ studiosissimus, & Gutianæ etiam factionis, & in propinquo habitans, licet multum rogatus, non existimaret è sua dignitate ad cœnam adesse. Hæc ad 15. Maij. An. 1567. acta sunt. Decimo quinto verò proximi Iunij, Bothuelio, vel conscientia sceleris perterrito, vel ab Regina ablegato, ipse ad Proceres, qui parricidã publicũ ad supplicium deposcebant venit.

Bothuelius ex turpi mœcho, turpior maritus, turpissimus vero homicida, nuptias cũ Regina conficit.

Maij.

Iunij.

Bothuelius tanquam publicus parricida ad supplicium a proceribus deposcitur.

Quæ ab eo die gesta sunt, non admodum ad præsentem causam pertinent. Et quanquàm longior fortasse, vestra opinione, mea fuit oratio, tamen facilè sentio, dum exitũ aliquem narrationis quæro, multa me præterijsse, plurima festinandi studio leuiter percurrisse, nihil ferè pro sceleris atrocitate explicasse.

Actio

Appendix 2.4: Final page of Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes (1571)

Now iudge Englischmen if it be gud to change Quenis. O vnityng confounding.

Quhen rude Scotlād hes vomited vp ane poisoun, muſt fine England lick it vp for a reſtoratiue?

O vile indignitie.

Quhile your Quenis enemy liueth, hir dangir cōtinueth. Deſperate neceſsitie wyll dare the vttermoſt.

O cruell mercie.

O ambitioun fed with proſperitie, ſtrēgthned with indulgence, irritated with aduerſitie, not to be neglected, truſted, nor pardouned.

and tharfoyr in respect that they deliuerit accoyding to thayr knawlege, protestis that thay should incur na wilfull erroyr in any wise heirafter. Quhilk instrument and protestatioun immediatly after the reentry of the sayd Erle of Caythnes Chauncelloyr, and ane pairt of the named of the sayd persons of assyise in the sayd court of iusticiarie, befoyr the pronunciatioun of thayr deliueraunce foyrsayd at the desire of the sayd Erle of Caythnes was openly read in iugement. And thayrupon he of new askeit actis and instrumentis, and protesteth in manner aboue expremit.

Extractum de libro Actorum Adiornalis S. D. N. Reginæ. Per me Ioannem Bellenden de Auchnoule militem, clericum iusticiariæ eiusdem generalem. Sub meis signo & subscriptione mannalibus.

Ioannes Bellenden
Clericus Iusticiariæ.

Note that at the same tyme protestatioun was made by George Erle of Catnes Chanceller of the sayd Assise that the said dittay or enditement was nat in this point true, vz. in allegyng the murder to be committit the ir. day of Febyruarie foyr that in dede the murder was committed the next day beyng the r. day in the moyrnyng at twa houres after midnight whiche in law was and ought to be truely accomptit the r. day and so the acquitall that way but cauillously defendit.

The

The writynges and letters found in the sayd casket, which are auowit to be written with the Scottishe Quenis awne hand.

Certaine French Sonnettes wryttin by the quene of Scottes to Bothwell, befoir hir mariage with him, and (as it is sayd) quhile hir husband lyuit, But certainly befoir his diuoyrce from hys wife as the woyrdes tham selues shew, befoir quhom she here preferreth hir selfe in deseruing to be beloued of Bothwell.

O Dieux ayez de moy compassion,
Et m'enseignez quelle preuue certain
Ie puis donner qui ne luy semble vain
De mon amour & ferme affection.
Las n'est il pas ia en possession
Du corps, du caur qui ne refuse paine
Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertaine,
Offense de parentz, ne pire affliction?
Pour luy tous mes amis i'estime moins que
Et de mes ennemis ie veux esperer bien. (rien,
I'ay hazardé pour luy & nom & conscience:
Ie veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
Ie veux mourir pour luy auancer.
Que reste il plus pour prouuer ma constance?

Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz la subiection
De qui ie veux sans nulle fiction
Viure & mourir & a ce i'obtempere.

Mon cœur, mon sang, mon ame, & mon soucy,
Las, vous m'auez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir
De deuiser auecques vous à loysir,
Toute la nuict, ou ie languis icy,
Ayant le cœur d'extreme paour transy,
Pour voir absent le but de mon desir
Crainte d'oublir vn coup me vient à saisir:
Et l'autre fois ie crains que rendurcie
Soit contre moy vostre amiable cœur
Par quelque dit d'vn meschant rapporteur.
Vn autre fois ie crains quelque auenture
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par vn fascheux & nouueau accident.
Dieu detourne toute malheureux augure.

Me vous voyant selon qu'auez promis
I'ay mis la main au papier pour escrire
D'vn different que ie voulu transcrire.
Ie ne scay pas quel sera vostre aduis
Mais ie scay bien qui mieux aymer scaura,
Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.

O Goddis haue of me compassioun,
And schew quhat certaine proffe
I may geif, quhich shall nat seem to him vaine,
Of my loue and feruent affectioun.
Helas, is he nat alredy in possessioun
Of my bodie, of hart, that refusis no payne,
Nor dishonour in the life vncertaine,
Offence of frendes, nor worse afflictioun,
For

For him I esteme al my frēds ies thē nathing,
And I will haue gude hope of my enemeis.
I haue put in hasard for him both faine & con=
I will for his sake renounce ȳ world, (sciēce,
I will die to set him forwart.
Quhat remayneth to gief proofe of my con=
stancie?

In his handis and in his full power,
I put my sonne, my honour, and my lyif,
My contry, my subiects, my soule al subdewit,
To him, and has none vther will
For my scope, quhilk without deceit,
I will folow in spite of all enuie
That may ensue: for I haif na vther desire,
But to make him perceiue my faythfulnes;
For storme or fayre wedder that may come,
Neuer will it chainge dwelling, or place.
Schortly I sall geif of my trueth sic proofe,
That he sall know my constancie wout fiction,
Not by my weping, or faynit obedience,
As other haue done: but by vther experience.

Sche for hyr honour oweth you obedience:
I in obaying you may receiue dishonour,
Nat being (to my displesure) your wife as she.
And yit in this poynt ihe shall haue na preie=
minence.
Sche vseth constancy for hyr awin profite:
For it is na litle honour to be maistres of your
goodes,
And I for luiting of you may receiue blame,
And will nat be ouercummie by hyr in loyall
obseruatince.
Sche has no apprehension of your cuyll,
I feare so all appearing euill that I can haue
na rest:
Sche had your acqueintance by consent of hyr
freindes,

her letters name not poyſon . Thys is ſufficient for me that is thare ſayit, that though he receauit mikle, he is nat mikle deformit, or, though he be nat mikle deformit, yit he receauit mikle. Quhat meaneth this word Yit? quhat els but this, that quhat ſa euer it was that he receauit, the ſaim was the cauſe of hys deformitie, quhilk though it were mikle, yit was it nat mikle enough to worke ſic deformitie as was deſyrit. But be it, it wer not poyſon: what then was it els? You can finde na thing that can with conuenience of reaſon be named in place of it. Finally quhat ſa euer it be that is meant by thys worde mikle, it is ſic, as ſche hyr ſelfe in ſa ſecreit and familiar a letter dare not call by the right name. Yea and though we wald ſchyft it of by cauillous expounding, yit ſche hyr ſelfe will nat ſuffer vs. Compare that quhilk went befoir with that quhilk followeth, and by hyr deuiſe and purpoſe for tyme to come, ye ſchall eaſely vnderſtand quhat it is that ſche hath done in time paſt. Firſt ſche ſayth it is needfull that he be purged, then ſche determineth to cary him to Dragmillar, quhaire baith the phiſitions, and (quhilk is mair dangerous than any phiſition) ſche hyr ſelfe may be preſēt. Finally ſhe aſketh counſell of Bothwell, quhether he can deuiſe any ſecreter way by medicine, and that at Dragmillar, & after a bath. See how all thingis hang together. He haith receauit mikle, he muſt be purged, and at Dragmillar, that is, in a deſolate corner, in a place by reaſon of ſmale reſorte very apt for a miſchief to be committed. And Medicine he muſt vſe, and quhat forſoothe? euen the ſame quhairof he had befoir receauit mikle. How ſchall that appeare? Sche wil haue the maner of miniſtring the medicine to be ſecret. If it be to heal him, quhat need that ſecrecie? quhy is it nat miniſtrit openly and in a notorious peoplid place? Now he is eaſed of hys ſickneſſe, luſty and healthy, why is he purged in an vnuſuall maner and an vnhaunted corner? But perhaps it was a ſtrange kynde of diſeaſe, it had nede of ſtrange remedies. Quhat phiſicions then called ſhe to counſell? to quhom is this charge committit to ſeke out a new medicine and curyng for the kyngis ſickneſſe, forſothe to the kyngis enemie, to the Queenis adulterer, the vileſt of all ſwaboth beaſtes, quhoes houſe was in France defamit of poiſonyng, & quhoes ſeruantis wer there for the ſame cauſe ſome torturit, ſome empriſonit, and all ſuſpect. Quhen was he permitted to receaue this noble medicine? either at hyr bathyng quhair he ſhould waſh alone? or after his bathyng quhair he ſhould ſuppe alone. So forſothe are medicines

APPENDIX 2.7

Passages from the Minutes of the Proceedings at Westminster and 'Memorandum' from the *Detectioun*

1) 'Comicõns of Sr W. Cecylls Hand', from the minutes of the proceedings at Westminster, 7 December 1568, reproduced in John Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1869-74), 1:550-1:

> ...And so they produced a small gilded coffer of not fully one foot long, being garnished in many places with the Roman Letter F set under a R. Crown, wherein were certain letters, and writings, and as they said and affirmed to have been written with the Q. of Scottes own hand, to the Earl Bothwell, which coffer, as they said, being left in the Castle of Edenborough by the said Earl Bothwell before his flying away, was sent for by one Georg Dalglish his servant, who was taken by the Earle of Morton, who also thereto sitting presently as one of the Commissioners avowed upon his oath the same to be true, and the writings to be the very same, without any manner of change, and before they would exhibit the sight of any of those letters, they exhibited a writing written in a Romain hand in French, as they said, and would avow by the Q. of Scottes herself, being a promise of Marriage to the Earl Bothwell; which writing being without date, and although some words therein seem to the contrary, they did suppoe so to have been made and written by her before the death of her husband, the tenour whereof thus followeth: Nous Marie par la Grace de Dieu &c.
>
> They also exhibited an other writing in Scottish which they avowed to be wholly written by the Earle of Huntley dated the vth of Aprill containing a form of a contract for marriage betwixt the said Queen and Earle Bothwell subscribed Mary which they avowed to be the proper hand of the said Queen, and underneath it James Earle Bothwell, which they also avowed to be the proper hand of the said Earl Bothwell. At which time he was commonly defamed, and not cleansed (as they termed it) which is not acquited before the xiith of April following, the tenour of which contract thus ensueth:
>
> At Seton the vth of Aprill.

2) 'Memorandum', from the *Detectioun*, Oii^{r-v} (bold indicates Roman type):

> Memorandum that in the castel of Edenburgh there was left by the Erle Bothwell befoir his fleing away, and was sent for by one George Daglish his seruant, quho was taken by the Erle Mroeton, one small gilt cofer nat fully ane foote lang, beyng garnishit in sondry places with the Romaine letter F under ane kyngis crowne, quhairin were certaine letters and writynges well knawin, and by othes to be affirmit, to haue been written with the quene of Scottes awne hand to the Erle Bothwell.
>
> Beside those writynges there was alswa extant a writyng written in Romane hand in French, to be auowit to be written by the sayd quene of Scottes hir self, beyng a promise of mariage to the sayd Bothwell: quhilk writyng beyng without date, and though some wordes therein seme to the contrary, yet is vpon credible groundes supposed to haue been made and written by hir befoir the death of hir husband, the tenor quhairof thus begynneth.
>
> **Nous Marie par la grace de Dieu. &c.**
>
> *We Marie by the grace of God. &c.*
>
> There is also ane vther writyng in Scottish auowit to be quholly written by the Erle of Huntley, datit the v. of Aprill. **1567.** conteyning ane forme of contract for mariage betwixt the sayd quene and Erle bothwell, subscribit **Marie,** quhilk is to be auowit to be

the proper hand of the sayd quene, and vnderneth it **Iames Erle Bothwel,** quhilk alswa is to be auowit to be the proper hand of the said Erle Bothwell, at quhilk tyme he was commonly defamit of the kyngis slaughter and nat cleansit or acquitit therof befoir the xij. of Aprill followyng. The tenor of quhilk contract here ensueth.

At Seyton the v. day of Aprill, the yere of God. **1567.**

Appendix 2.8: Sample folio
from Casket Sonnets,
CUL, Oo.7.47

pour son proffit elle vse de constance
car ce nest peu dhonneur destre de vo[y] biens dame
et moy pour vous aymer ien puix ressenoir blame
et ne luy veux ceder en toute lobseruance
elle de vostre mal na lapprehension
moy ie nay nul repos tant ie crains lapparence
par laduis des parents elle eut vostre acointance
moy maugre tous les miens vous port affection
et toutesfois mon coeur vous doute[y] ma constance
et de sa loyaute prenes ferme assenrance.

Par vous (mon coeur) et par vostre alliance
elle a remis sa maison en honneur
elle a iouy par vous de la grandeur
dont tous les siens nauoyent nul assenrance
de vous mon bien elle a eu lacointance
et a guagne pour vn temps vostre cueur
par vous elle a eu plaisir et bonheur
et pour vous a receu honneur et reuerence
et na perdu sinon la nouuelle
dun faschenx sot quelle aymoit cherement
ie ne la plains daymer dont ardemment
celuy qui na en sens ne en vaillance
en beaute en bonte ni en constance
point de second ie vis en ceste for

Quant vous laymes elle vsoit de froideur
si vous souffries ponr samour passion
qui vient daymer de trop daffection
son doil monstroit la tristesse de coeur
nayant plesir de vostre grand ardeur
en ses habits monstroit sens fiction
quelle nauoyt peur qu imperfection
peult laffasser hors de ce loyal coeur
de vostre mort ie ne vis la peanr
que meritoit tel mary et seignenr

APPENDIX 3.1

The Elizabethan Succession Debate: Manuscript Copies of Relevant Texts

1) John Hales, 'A Declaration of the succession of the crown imperial of England'

Consulted:
BL, Harleian 555, art. 1, fols. 50-5, 1-10.
Bodl., Rawlinson B.7, art. 1, fols.1-13
Bodl., Ashmolean MS. 829. art. II (1), fols. 1-11

Others:
BL, Harleian MS. 4666
BL, Sloane MS. 827
Bodl., Tanner MS. 304, art. 8
CUL, Gg.3.34

2) Anonymous, 'Allegacions in behalf of…the Ladie Marie now Quene of Scots, against thopinions and bookes set forth in the parte and favour of the Ladie Katherin'

Consulted:
Bodl., Ashmolean MS. 829, art. II (2), fols. 12-23

Others:
BL, Cotton Calig. B.ix, art. 112
CUL, Dd.9.14

3) Anonymous, 'Allegations against the surmised title of the Quine of Scotts and the fauorers of the same'

Consulted:
Bodl., Ashmolean MS. 829, art. II (3), fols. 23-31

Others:
BL, Cotton Calig. B.ix, art. 7
BL, Harleian MS. 4627, art. 2
CUL, Dd.9.14, art. 4a

5) Edmund Plowden 'A Treatise proveing that if our soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth…should die without issues, that the Queene of Scotts by her birthe in Scotland is not disabled…to receave the crowne of England by discent' (part 1); 'A brieffe declaracion of the invaliditie of the last will of the late King of famous memory Hen. VIII to make the imperiall crowne of this realme to passe to those named in the same' (part 2)

Consulted:
Bodl., Rawlinson A.124, arts. 1 & 2, fols. 1-58
Bodl., Don.c.43

Others:

BL, Harleian 849, arts. 1 & 2
BL, Cotton Calig. B.iv, art. 1

6) Browne tract (book two of the *Defence*, the 'book of the title')

Consulted:

BL, Harleian 555, art. 2, fols. 11-47: 'Here foloweth the Argument an Aunswere of Sir Nicholas Bacon Lorde Chauncellor of Englande, vnto the matters aforesaide'
BL, Lansdowne 254, art. 18, fols. 185-98: 'The Argument and Answere of Syr Anthony browne knight vnto ye Matters of Sr Nicholas Bacon knyght'
Bodl., Rawlinson B.7, art. 2: 'The argument & answer of Sr Anthonie Browne'

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BL, Additional MS. 33531
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Additional MS. 48027 (formerly Yelverton 31)
Additional MS. 48048 (formerly Yelverton 53)
Cotton MSS., Caligula C.i
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Harleian 555
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