Memory Politics in Sixteenth-century Scotland

Reformation, rebellion and rewriting the past

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Image front page:
Detail from the processional frieze in the Great Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, portraying nearly all the major players mentioned in this thesis
Artist: William Brassey Hole
Medium: mural painting
Date: 1898

Contents

Introduction

While the era of religious wars after the reformations in Europe has grabbed the attention of scholars, the various conflicts have not been covered equally. Historians have discussed and compared the French religious wars and the Dutch Revolt, but the Marian civil war in Scotland is often overlooked.[1] However, there are many similarities between the three conflicts and the manner in which they were conducted not only on the battlefield but also in print.[2] Scholars have long underestimated the use of propaganda in the Scottish conflict, but now increasingly consider it an important aspect of the Marian civil war.[3] Propaganda was important in these conflicts, because politics and religion intertwined to form at least two camps with incompatible views on the correct order of society. The rise of Protestantism in Europe destabilized the basic structures of almost each polity, as the legitimacy of the ruling establishment was built on the pillars of the Catholic Church and divinely ordained authority. Therefore, in the ensuing wars of religion Protestants usually formed the rebellious camp, fighting against a Catholic camp which remained loyal to the monarch that had traditionally ruled the area of conflict.[4] But as religion and politics coincided, the religious motivations of the rebels were often questioned.[5] All parties involved tried to prove the justness and

[1] For instance: Mack Holt shows how the French wars coincided with religious conflicts outside France, but only comments sparingly on the situation in Scotland. Mack P. Holt, *The French wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge 1995).

[2] Holt comments on the propaganda surge after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 100-103. Jasper van der Steen analyses the propaganda that accompanied the Revolt in the Low Countries as a whole. Jasper van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* (Leiden, Boston 2015).

[3] Amy Blakeway, 'The Response to Regent Moray's Assassination', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 88:225 (2009), 9-33, 9.

[4] Gordon Donaldson offers a helpful theory for explaining the dynamics of internal disputes. Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men. Power and politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London 1983), 1-8.

[5] Anton van der Lem leaves no doubt on this point in the case of the Revolt in the Low Countries. Both the Revolt and the French Wars of Religion are, according to Van der Lem, civil wars between two competing political factions. Anton van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden 1568-1648. De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in woord en beeld* (Amsterdam 2014), 51-54. Mack P. Holt argues that the French Wars of Religion were primarily fought for religion, but religion became politicised in the course of the war. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 1-3. The nature of the Scottish rebellion is discussed below.

legitimacy of their actions, not only to convince their home audience, but also to win support abroad or to ward off intervention from foreign rulers.

In early modern Europe, authority was often legitimated by the antiquity of an institution or practice. Scotland was no exception.[6] The past played an important part in the self-fashioning of rulers, and vice versa posed a problem for people trying to change or replace ancient institutions.[7] Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Scots all had to overcome this problem when they rebelled against their rightful monarch. In this context historians have coined the term 'memory wars', as memories become arguments justifying present actions. Because opposing parties fought to achieve different goals, they interpreted their past in a different manner. Therefore a political conflict could entail a war of words over the meaning and appropriation of past events.[8] Memory politics could also aim at burying the past, for example stipulating oblivion as a means for reconciliation.[9] While the role of memory politics, aimed at remembering as well as forgetting, has been studied in the civil wars in the Low Countries and France, this has not been done for a similar conflict in Scotland.[10] A

[6] For example, the alliance with France had probably already from its inception been called 'Auld'. An air of antiquity made it more prestigious and more acceptable to Scots and French alike. Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English. The Auld Alliance, 1295-1560* (East Linton 2001), 3-7. For an example relating to noble power see: Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford 1999), 49-50.

[7] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory', Judith Pollmann et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston 2013), 1-26, 1, 5-6; Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 26, 108.

[8] Jasper van der Steen, 'A Contested Past. Memory Wars during the Twelve Years Truce (1609-21)', Judith Pollmann et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston 2013), 45-62, 46.

[9] Paul Connerton, 'Seven types of forgetting', *Memory Studies*, 1:1 (2008), 59-71.

[10] For the Low Countries: Jasper van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* (Leiden, Boston 2015); Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam 2012), 97-99. For France: Philp Benedict, 'Shaping the Memory of the French Wars of Religion. The First Centuries', Judith Pollmann et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston 2013), 111-125; Andrea Frisch, *Forgetting Differences: Tragedy, Historiography, and the French Wars of Religion* (Edinburgh 2017); David P. LaGuardia and Cathy Yandell (eds.), *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France* (Farnham 2015); Diane C. Margolf, 'Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early-Seventeenth Century France', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27:2 (1996), 399-418; Mark Greengrass, 'Amnestie et oubliance ; un discours politique autour des édits de pacification pendant les guerres de Religion', Paul Mironneau and Isabelle Pébay-Clottes (eds.), *Paix des Armes, Paix des Âmes. Actes du colloque international* (Paris 2000), 113-123.

possible explanation could be that Scotland has the reputation of being a backward country in which powerful magnates regularly defied the weak state institutions.[11] If civil strife is seen as the rule rather than the exception, one might assume that there was no need to resort to the past to justify resistance. However, as the recently appreciated importance of propaganda in the Marian civil war shows, rebels did feel the need to plead their cause. How did the Scottish rebels justify their revolutionary actions? Did they face the same communication problem as the French and Dutch rebels?

As general studies of early modern memory practices rely to a great extent on these French and Dutch cases, this involves a risk of distortion, as it may be argued that these countries are not representative for early modern experience. France and the Low Countries were more wealthy, more developed, and more powerful than their neighbours, and consequently it can be argued that they were relatively modern polities. This is problematic because modernity is a point of contention among scholars studying memory practices. It has been assumed that the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century led to a surge in memory practices, as political actors appropriated the past to support their policies and create national identities. However, long before the nineteenth century and the rise of nationalist political parties, the past was an important aspect of identity and actively used for political purposes.[12]

Judith Pollmann argues that there is no fundamental difference between memory practices before and after 1800. In fact, according to Pollmann it is better to think of 'new' memory practices not as replacing, but as adding to and supporting 'older' ones. Early modern people could think anachronistically without being unable to experience or understand change. Each memory technique served a different purpose and was used accordingly.[13] Most of the examples in Pollmann's study are, however, from Dutch or French origin. To overcome a possible distortion of early modern memory practices by relying on relatively 'modern' polities, it is necessary to compare Pollmann's findings with memory

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[11] Laura A.M. Stewart, 'Power and Faith in Early Modern Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 92:234 (2013), 25-37, 28.

[12] Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford 2017), 8-10, 187-198. C.A. Tamse had previously already noted that while stories in which the past is used to justify the present politics, or 'political myths', are mostly associated with twentieth century totalitarian regimes, they are to be found in any era. C.A. Tamse, 'The Political Myth', J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, *Britain and the Netherlands. Volume V. Some Political Mythologies. Papers Delivered to the Fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference* (Bath 1975), 1-18.

[13] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 186-198.

practices in an early modern polity which was less developed, such as Scotland. Are economic prosperity and state formation, or a certain level of development, prerequisites for 'modern' memory practices?

The Scottish Reformation and the Marian civil war

In 1559 Scots rebelled against the Catholic and French Queen Regent Marie de Guise. De Guise governed in absence of her daughter, Queen Mary, who had just married the French Dauphin. Even though the rebellion broke out after a religious conflict in Perth between Protestants and Catholics, religion was not the sole motivation for the rebels. Mary's recent marriage was in itself cause for contention.[14] The match had in 1547 been the outcome of a domestic struggle which had coincided with international rivalry and religious reform.[15] In the same manner, the Reformation Rebellion of 1559 became an international conflict in which religious considerations were subordinated to military ones.[16] Both Protestant and Catholic Scots feared foreign occupation, regardless of the religion of the occupying power. This was reflected in the propaganda campaign of the rebels, as anti-French rhetoric took precedence over appeals to religion. Anti-French rhetoric had the added advantage of uniting different branches of Protestants and motivating Scots who were not prepared to fight for religion.[17]

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[14] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 32; Amy Blakeway, 'The Anglo-Scottish War of 1558 and the Scottish Reformation', *History. The Journal of the Historical Association*, 102:350 (2017), 201-224; Jane Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed 1488-1587* (Edinburgh 2007), 199-202.

[15] Retha M. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London, New York 2006), 23-30; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 155-169; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men,* 25. Macdougall correctly notes in passing that historians do not agree on the role of religion in Scottish politics in this conflict. Donaldson, for example, puts more weight on religious beliefs than Lynch, who argues that the conflict was essentially a political conflict as Protestantism was still a minority movement. Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English*, 135-141.

[16] Jane E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots. The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge 2002), 9; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community. Scotland 1470-1625* (Edinburgh 1991), 109-114.

[17] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 209-210; Idem., *The Politics of Religion*, 96-98, 140-141; Roger A. Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal: The Language of Politics in Reformation Scotland', Norman MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, 97-126, 101-116; Blakeway, 'The Anglo-Scottish War of 1558', 223; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 31-35. Michael Lynch argues that the majority of the inhabitants of Edinburgh really experienced the crisis of 1559-60 as a political instead of a religious crisis. Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh 1981), 73-86. Jenny Wormald also states that the call for driving out the French was not just propaganda. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 118-119.

Furthermore, fear of French interference heightened as Mary and Francis ascended to the French throne in July 1559. In effect, the rebellion changed into a civil war in which the rebellious Scots received English backing against the Scots who supported the legitimate pro-French regent.[18]

The Treaty of Edinburgh of 6 July 1560 formally ended the conflict and provided regulations to mend the relation between the Scots and their monarchs, including a clause of oblivion which stipulated that all memories of the rebellion should be forgotten. The value of the treaty is questionable, as it was not ratified by Francis and Mary. Presumably they refused to sign because the treaty included the demand that Mary relinquished her claim to the English throne.[19] Furthermore, it can be argued that the Scots violated the treaty by carrying out a Protestant reformation without the consent of their monarchs. When Francis II died in December of that year, Mary faced the challenging task to rule in person as a Catholic Queen in a Protestant Scotland.[20] Interestingly, after her return from France, Mary did follow the stipulations of the treaty. In her first parliament Mary re-enacted the act of oblivion, making it come into force. To what extent did Mary's success depend on the fact that she was willing to forget and forgive?

During her reign, Mary faced multiple challenges to her rule, which she overcame with various levels of success: until she met her Waterloo in 1567, when she was forced to abdicate in favour of her son. The division of Scots into respectively the King's or the Queen's Party did not happen overnight, and her abdication did not lead to the dispersal of her adherents. In trying to explain the motivation of both parties, Donaldson points to the role of history: 'Some of the political attitudes involved, and in particular attitudes to the monarchy, were deeply rooted in the national consciousness and reflected centuries of history (or, more often, what men imagined to have been history).'[21] The historical nature of the Scottish

[18] Jenny Wormald explored the dilemma which choosing sides in the Reformation Rebellion posed to the nobility, which partly explains the ensuing civil war. Jenny Wormald, ''Princes' and the Regions in the Scottish Reformation', Norman MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh 1983), 65-84, 65-76.

[19] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 52-56.

[20] Ibid., 56. While Mary's personal rule has been perceived as a disaster, historians now often argue that Mary's reign knew a time of peace and unity. According to Donaldson, Mary was successful in the first four years of her reign. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 56. Lynch argues that Mary's reign was at its highpoint between December 1566 and January 1567. Michael Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 69:187 (1990), 1-21, 21.

[21] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 8.

monarchy was supposed to validate, or refute, the right of resistance. Furthermore, the seeds for the alignments of 1567 had been sown in the 1540's when Scots began to question the traditional roles of England as the 'auld enemy' and France as their natural ally, and Protestantism was becoming an acceptable religion instead of outright heresy.[22] For example, already in 1560 siding with the English did no longer amount to treason, as memories of English aggression had to compete with more recent memories of French dominance.[23] Thus history, or men's understanding of the past, played an important part both in Mary's ascent and in her downfall.

Modernity, memory and Scotland

Although scholars question the image of Scotland as a backward country, it does not wear off easily.[24] Part of the problem lies in how one defines 'modernity'. If modernity is measured by state formation, Scotland was lagging behind. Even Julian Goodare, who provides the most optimistic analysis of state power in sixteenth-century Scotland[25], admits that a drive towards absolutism and institutionalisation only appeared in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[26] Sixteenth-century Scottish kingship remained a personal office while other European monarchs increasingly relied on formal institutions, as for example in France, England and Spain.[27] However, Laura Stewart argues that when the traditional institutional yardstick is replaced by a cultural one, early modern Scotland appears to be more complex and dynamic.[28] The scale of the print industry has proven to be surprisingly large for a relatively poor country.[29] Nevertheless, other scholars argue that Scottish intellectual developments were

[22] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 8.

[23] Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 69, 76, 81, 187; Blakeway, 'The Anglo-Scottish War of 1558', 223. For example: in 1560, upon seeing English help arriving in Scotland to defeat the French, Douglas of Lochleven forgave his father's death at English hands at Pinkie. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 211.

[24] Stewart, 'Power and Faith in Early Modern Scotland', 28.

[25] Keith M. Brown, 'Early Modern Scottish History – A Survey', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 92:234 (2013), 5-24, 10.

[26] Goodare, *State and Society*, 93-94, 159, 330-332.

[27] Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 12-19; Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 11; Rosalind Mitchison, *A History of Scotland. Second Edition* (London, New York 1982), 88, 156; Goodare, *State and Society*, 286-288.

[28] Karin Bowie, 'Cultural, British and Global Turns in the History of Early Modern Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 92:234 (2013), 38-48, 41.

[29] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720. Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh 2001), 1-4, 232-234. Jenny Wormald argued that although in comparison to European

running behind until the mid-eighteenth century.[30] Thus even if modernity is measured by culture instead of institutions, historians disagree over the level of modernity in sixteenth-century Scotland.

Although the Marian civil war is mentioned in general overviews of sixteenth-century Scotland, there is no independent study of the Marian civil war and consequently neither of memory practices during the war.[31] Studies that mention Scottish memory practices generally revolve around the competing images of Queen Mary in literature, or around Scottish national identity.[32] Furthermore, the sixteenth-century histories of John Knox or George Buchanan are studied not primarily as historical works coloured by contemporary circumstances, but as theoretical books influencing later generations.[33] Roger Mason for example comments in passing that Buchanan's history did support the contemporary actions of the Lords of the

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countries Scotland was an impoverished country, its economy was relatively stable. Therefore there was few absolute poverty until at least 1560. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 42-46, 166-168.

[30] Brown, 'Early Modern Scottish History – A Survey', 14.

[31] Jenny Wormald designated 1567-1573 one of the most neglected periods in sixteenth-century Scottish history. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 85. This has not changed according to Jane Dawson. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 357.

[32] Memory in relation to Queen Mary is studied in: James Emerson Phillips, *Images of a Queen. Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1964); Jayne Lewis, 'The Reputations of Mary Queen of Scots', *Études écossaises*, 10 (2005), 41-55. The public memory of Mary Stewart has also been studied as an essential ingredient for the construction of a national and British identity in: Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London 1998); John D. Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560-1690* (Farnham 2009). The role of memory and history to the construction of a national identity is studied in: Roger A. Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', Idem. (ed.), *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton 1998), 165-186; Nicola Royan and Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', Ian Brown et al. (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume one: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh 2007), 168-183; Crawford Gribben and David George (eds.), *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Farnham 2009), 10.

[33] For example: Goodare, *State and Society*, 302-304; Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal', 97-126; Roger A. Mason, 'Kingship Nobility and Anglo-Scottish Union: John Mair's *History of Greater Britain* (1521)', Idem. (ed.), *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton 1998), 36-77; Roger A. Mason, 'Knox on Rebellion', Idem. (ed.), *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton 1998), 139-164; Rudolph P. Almasy, 'John Knox and *A Godly Letter*: Fashioning and Refashioning the exilic 'I'', Gribben and Crawford (eds.), *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, 95-110; Kenneth D. Farrow, 'Theological Controversy in the wake of John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet*', Gribben and Crawford (eds.), *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, 111-126.

Congregation, but he considers the work of Buchanan primarily in relation to the seventeenth-century debate between Protestant Presbyterians and Episcopalians.[34] Instead of seeing history as a medium for conveying a political or ecclesiastical theory to future generations, I propose to study historical narratives as contemporary memory practices.

When Scottish historiography is studied as history, histories are valued by the extent to which they provide an inclusive Scottish story of origin. It is assumed that this was the goal that historians writing after the Wars of Independence had in mind.[35] Historians have explored the possibility of historiographic propaganda for royals or noble families in fourteenth-century Scotland, but for other eras it is assumed that history was national propaganda.[36] A 'usable past' is, according to Roger Mason, a long-term narrative, telling the origin story of a nation in the form of a 'myth history', while at the same time giving directions for the future of that nation. This leads Mason to comment that 'Knox was not interested in supplying a usable past'.[37] I want to argue that a 'usable past' can come in many forms, only one of them being a story of origin. Buchanan and Knox's works were of use at the time they were written, not only in the seventeenth-century strife between Scottish Protestant factions or for the construction of a national identity in the long term. I content that a usable past is an

[34] Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity', 181-185; Michael Lynch, 'Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish Reformation', A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (eds.), *Renaissance in Scotland. Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, New York, Köln 1994), 301-343.

[35] Edward J. Cowan, 'Land and Freedom: Scotland, 1314-1707', Ian Brown et al. (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume one: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh 2007), 135-143; Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 66-67, 178-179.

[36] For studies of propagandistic fourteenth century history see: Stephen Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the 'Anonymous Chronicle', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 76:201 (1997), 23-43; Michael Brown, ''Rejoice to hear of Douglas': The House of Douglas and the Presentation of Magnate Power in Late Medieval Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 76:202 (1997), 161-184. T. C. Smout concludes after a symposium on Sottish History that a 'usable past' traditionally was a national history defending the nation's independence or emphasising the unique Scottish identity. T.C. Smout, ''Writing Scotland's History': Preface', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 76:201 (1997), 1-3.

[37] Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity', 177. Mason ties a usable past even more closely to national identity in: Roger A. Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizen ship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', Idem. (ed.), *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton 1998), 78-103.

interpretation of past events which suits present purposes without necessarily being inclusive. Within a community, different usable pasts can develop if the purpose is not agreed upon.[38]

Propaganda from the Marian civil war has been receiving more attention, but it is not studied as a component of broader memory practices. Instead, the focus lies on its literary merits, the veracity of allegations, or the public image of an individual.[39] From a literary perspective, Tricia McElroy has thus far conducted the most thorough analysis of King's Party propaganda. She argues that the King's Party contributed to the development of a new form of political satire. Propaganda ballads 'created the illusion of a populist movement' as a way to justify the revolt.[40] While McElroy mentions the use of historical episodes in the ballads, this plays no role in her main argument. Amy Blakeway has analysed ballads addressing one particular historical event, the assassination of Protestant regent James Stewart the 1st Earl of Moray, during the Marian civil war. Even though Blakeway's study is limited to one specific event, it does point to the use of memory politics during the Marian civil war. Memories of Moray's murder served as a call to arms for Protestants.[41] While Blakeway, in another study, mentions how the fighting parties promote different versions of Mary's fall to justify their right to rule, she does not examine these memory practices.[42]

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[38] Alexandr Osipian has shown how the past was used in social conflict between Armenians and Catholics in Lemberg. Only after the end of conflict an understanding of a common and inclusive past developed. Alexandr Osipian, 'The Usable Past in the Lemberg Armenian Community's Struggle for Equal Rights, 1578-1654', Judith Pollmann et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston 2013), 27-43.

[39] For studies of Scottish propaganda from a literary perspective see: Amy Blakeway, 'A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border: 'Ane bull of our holy fader the paip, quhairby it is leesum to everie man to haif tua wyffis' and the Redeswyre Raid of 1575', *English Historical Review*, 129:541 2015), 1346-1370, 1347; Roderick Lyall, 'Complaint, Satire and Invective in Middle Scots Literature', MacDougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh 1983), 44-64. Propaganda affecting the public image is for example studied in: Mark Loughlin, ''The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis': Maitland, Machiavelli and the Propaganda of the Scottish Civil War', A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (eds.), *Renaissance in Scotland. Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, New York, Köln 1994), 226-245.

[40] Tricia A. McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun": Populism and Propaganda in Scottish Satirical Broadsides', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 49:4 (2007), 319-339, 328, 333-334.

[41] Blakeway, 'The Response to Regent Moray's Assassination', 9-33.

[42] Instead Blakeway moves on to discuss the use of satire in influencing diplomatic relations between Scotland and England around 1575. Blakeway, 'A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border', 1349.

Thus while studies of sixteenth-century histories and propaganda fleetingly mention the use of the past for political purposes, these memory practices are not subjected to further examination. Furthermore, these types of sources are rarely studied side by side, because they are considered to represent distinct cultural spheres. This divide between elite and popular culture prevents us from detecting any overlap in argumentation or purpose. I would like to argue that both mediums served as a building block in the construction of memories to support contemporary goals. Learned histories are not available to everyone and often only reach a certain elite. However, the narratives or ideas they contain might travel further through a different medium, such as a poem. Adam Fox has argued that cheap print supplied and sustained popular versions of the past.[43] Therefore it is necessary to discuss different mediums simultaneously to gain a complete understanding of memory practices in sixteenth-century Scotland.

Memory politics in sixteenth-century Scotland

Forgetting is just as much an instrument of memory politics as remembering. This appears to be true for Scotland too, as the peace settlement after the Reformation Rebellion in 1560 included a clause of oblivion, just as was common practice in the peace settlements punctuating the religious wars in France. In the first chapter of this thesis, the practice of oblivion in general is sketched, followed by the application of such a policy in Scotland. Why was an act of oblivion included in the Treaty of Edinburgh of 1560, and why did Mary chose to re-enact it even though she did not sign the treaty? To answer this question, I will reconstruct the manner in which the act of oblivion came into force and the various reactions to it, by examining official documents and public communication after Mary's return.

When the rebels forced their rightful Queen to abdicate in 1567, they not only rebelled against their monarch, but also against tradition. Since 1371, the Scottish succession had shown remarkable stability as each sovereign was succeeded on his death by his eldest surviving child.[44] Now James VI was declared king while his predecessor, his mother Mary, was still alive. How did the rebels defend this break with the past? Although the so-called 'Queen's Party' at first laid low, when the civil war intensified they responded in kind. In

[43] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford 2000), 242-251. Studies of popular history in Scotland have only seen a 'purposeful start' in 1997. Smout, 'Writing Scotland's History', 3.

[44] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 1. Even though James I (r. 1416-1437) spent the first years of his reign in captivity in England and was not crowned until 1426, he was not deposed and a governor ruled in his name.

theory, the Queen had the past on her side. By breaking with tradition, the rebels created a 'memory vacuum' which made them vulnerable for accusations of invention. Van der Steen argues that rebels in the first stages of conflict deal with this problem by actively cultivating memories of recent events.[45] I will test this hypothesis by analysing and comparing the strategies and propaganda of the King's and Queen's Party.

Ultimately, I do not only want to study memory politics in Scotland for its own sake. How does the role of history in Scotland compare with the role of memory politics in similar conflicts in contemporary Europe? Comparing developments in Scotland with the role of memory politics in similar conflicts in Europe can broaden our understanding of public memory and the use of the past in politics. How do historical circumstances affect the content and form of memory politics? To this day, authorities defend their policies by pointing to the past. Therefore it is important to be aware of the way in which the past can be rewritten and repurposed.

[45] Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 36-37.

Chapter 1: Oblivion

'forget the same as if it never had been done'.[46]

It is easier to imagine how remembering has a positive effect on society and social cohesion than forgetting.[47] Besides, commemoration seems a relatively straightforward memory practice in comparison with prescriptive forgetting.[48] For how can one forget without knowing, thus calling to mind, what has to be forgotten? An act of oblivion seems to be a paradox and impossible to obey. In practice, oblivion is compatible with, and even requires, certain forms of memory. Memory consists of knowledge of what has happened, and descriptions of how one should act in the present as a consequence of a historical event. An act of oblivion is an urgent demand not to act on knowledge about the past without attempting to wipe people's memory.[49]

According to Judith Pollmann, acts of oblivion 'were a favourite instrument in any peacemaker's toolkit' from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century.[50] Especially in early modern Europe, where the past was often used to legitimize the present while being reinterpreted to suit present purposes, it was sensible policy to consider certain events as devoid of an imperative for action. In the first place, an act of oblivion was directed towards legal action. A legal amnesty was necessary to avoid retribution and to motivate rebels to lay down their arms. The conflict was declared to be no valid reason for legal action, and disputes over property were settled to prevent them from becoming a source of further conflict.[51] In the second place, and act of oblivion served to control the political potency of memories. Memories of violence had legitimated counter action during conflict and could be a source for future discord. A new version of the past had to be invented, one that united the fighting

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[46] Concession XI. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 141.

[47] Geoffrey Cubbit, *History and Memory* (Manchester 2017), 118-125, 132-140.

[48] According to Paul Connerton here are several forms of forgetting, each performing a different function which determines its impact on society. Prescriptive forgetting is a form frequently visible in peace terms as the need to forget the past is acknowledged publically. Connerton, 'Seven types of forgetting', 59, 61-62.

[49] Ross Poole, 'Enacting Oblivion', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 22:2 (2009), 149-157, 151-156.

[50] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 141. Pollmann compared the policies of oblivion practiced during the French Wars of Religion, the Revolt in the Low Countries, and the Civil Wars and Interregnum in Britain.

[51] Ibid., 143-144. Van der Steen explicitly states that the Habsburgs in the Low Countries advocated a policy of oblivion to 'alleviate the popular fear of persecution and prevent litigation'. Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 53.

parties in a common narrative that stressed continuity, in order to underline the legitimacy of the authorities. Consequently, Pollmann argues that the success of a policy of oblivion should not be measured by the absence of aggressive rhetoric about the past. Oblivion provided an opportunity to envision a new common past which allowed people to live in harmony.[52]

Re-establishing authority and harmony were the primary goals of the French magistrates when advocating an act of oblivion.[53] In practice, enacting oblivion proved a delicate matter as the French were allowed to litigate over events which had taken place during, but were not caused by, the Wars of Religion. This forced the judges and litigating parties to discuss horrible deeds in detail before they could conclude if those deeds had to be forgotten or fell outside the parameters of oblivion.[54] Furthermore, Catholics as well as Huguenots protested against oblivion when they believed it did them injustice. They would argue that oblivion was a sign of failure in the king's duty to provide justice for his subjects.[55] However, the Huguenots were only one of the two insurgent parties whose memories differed from the reading of the ruling party and thus could endanger peace. According to Philip Benedict, the memories of the other insurgent party, the Catholic League, were far less problematic, and thus easily forgotten, because this party had been definitively defeated.[56]

Oblivion in Scotland

Sixteenth-century Scottish insurgents did not need a French example to appreciate the advantages of oblivion. Prescriptive forgetting had already been a Scottish tradition. Scotland was a feuding society in which fighting parties called on their kin and dependants for assistance. A feudal settlement, similar to an act of oblivion, aimed to restore the status quo and used publicity to prevent further conflict.[57] The kin of the injured party had to issue a "letter of slanis" or "slains" to the criminal and his companions, stating that full compensation had been made. The name of the letter is derived from the Irish word "slán", or "sláinte",

[52] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 140-154.

[53] Greengrass, 'Amnestie et "oubliance"', 113-123.

[54] Margolf, 'Adjudicating Memory', 399-418.

[55] Penny Roberts, 'Royal Authority and Justice during the French Religious Wars', *Past & Present*, 184 (2004), 3-32, 12-14, 29-30.

[56] Benedict, 'Shaping the Memory of the French Wars of Religion', 111-125.

[57] Jenny Wormald, 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland', *Past & Present*, 87 (1980), 54-97, 54-55, 75-77.

which signifies health, wholeness and freedom from legal liability.[58] An act of oblivion carried the same legal and social connotations, as it was a measure to heal society and restrict legal persecution. Furthermore, participants in feudal reconciliation wished to bury their memories of the feud. After the murder of a kinsman in 1570, the Caldwells expressed in their letter of slains the wish for friendship with their adversaries "lyke as the slachtyr of the said John of Caldwell had nevir bein committit".[59] At least some Scots were able to forget feuds. Only two years after the conclusion of their kin's feud, past enemies were able to write about the 'love which had existed between their predecessors'.[60] The reformed Kirk promoted the tradition of oblivion as well. Even though the Kirk was only formally established in 1560, the ease with which it was able to act as peacemaker is in part explained by its appropriation of existing rituals. Like feudal settlements, religious reconciliation aimed at restoring the status quo and preserving it by using publicity and the language of oblivion. Quarrellers had to forgive each other and promise to 'never call to mind any bypast offences'. The Kirk could go even further and demand that the whole congregation should forget past incidents. Oblivion, then, truly was a means to restore harmony.[61]

Restoring order: the aftermath of the Reformation Rebellion

The conflict of 1559-60 was not ended by a treaty between the rebels and their monarchs. The Treaty of Edinburgh of July 1560 was concluded between the monarchs and the reluctant sponsor of the rebels, Elizabeth of England. For my analysis of the treaty I have used two sources; both are translations of the original Latin treaty as published in Thomas Rymer's *Foedera*.[62] It has been argued that Mary and Francis II refused to negotiate with their

[58] Wormald, 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government', 62.

[59] Ibid., 77. Wormald quotes from an issued letter of slains found in the Scottish Record Office, Register House Charters, no. 596.

[60] Ibid., 76.

[61] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, London 2002), 249-256.

[62] Robert Keith gives a translation of the entire Latin treaty in his *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of King James V. to the retreat of Queen Mary into England, anno 1568. Taken from the publick Records, and other authentick Vouchers. Volume I* (Edinburgh 1734), 134-136. More recently a partial translation was made and published in: William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson and Isabel A. Milne (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History. Volume Two 1424 to 1567* (Edinburgh 1953), 171-172.

rebellious subjects and therefore opted for a treaty with Elizabeth.[63] By negotiating with a social equal and foreign monarch, Mary and Francis II upheld the guise of inter-state war and avoided acknowledging successful opposition to their royal authority. At the same time, the treaty offered Elizabeth the possibility to extract concessions from Mary.[64] The Protestant queen Elizabeth demanded that Mary stop claiming her throne, as she could not feel secure as long as there was an alternative Catholic queen on the horizon. According to Warnicke, Mary refused to ratify the treaty because she did not want to bow to Elizabeth's demand.[65]

The Treaty of Edinburgh of July 1560 was overall conservative and aimed to restore the relation between the Scots and their monarchs. Reconciliation was possible, because throughout the conflict the rebels had maintained that they respected the monarchy and only rebelled against a Catholic hierarchy and French domination. Now that the French were expelled, the logic of their own rhetoric forced the rebels to end their resistance and subject themselves to Mary and Francis II.[66] However, the treaty did acknowledge the past conflict and the need to accommodate it in some form. Fortunately, it had pleased the 'Almighty God' to move Francis II and Mary to show mercy to the Scots, and in turn 'the said nobility and people have spontaneously and freely professed and acknowledged their obedience and loyalty'. Therefore the king and queen have given assent to the prayers and supplications the Scots had addressed to them. The result was a supplement to the treaty, the so-called 'concessions'. The concessions provided guidelines for the future governance of Scotland and the cessation of violence and disputes, while taking the protestations of the nobility into account. Although these concessions were a step towards reconciliation, they were conditional. The concessions were granted to assure 'the preservation of their [Scottish subjects] obedience'. Francis II and Mary pledged to fulfil the concessions made, 'provided

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[63] The powers granted to the French envoys which were tasked with negotiating a settlement are heavily debated. George Chalmers argues the Scots have afterwards forged a document granting full powers to the French envoys while the envoys in reality were forbidden to negotiate with the Scots. George Chalmers, *Caledonia, Or an Account, Historical and Topographic, of North of Britain, from the Most Ancient to the Present Times: With a Dictionary of Places, Chorographical and Philological. Volume 2* (London 1810), 635-637. Robert Keith does print the preserved commission letter without further comment about possible forgery. He does state that the Treaty of Edinburgh saved the dignity of Francis and Mary as it gave them an opportunity to deal with their subject without directly negotiating with them which would be below their honour. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 130, 137.

[64] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 96-103; Idem., *Scotland Re-formed*, 208-212.

[65] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 52-56.

[66] Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal', 116-119; *Donaldson, All the Queen's Men*, 32-48.

that the said nobility and people observe what was contained in the conventions and articles'.[67] Reconciliation was a tricky and conditional matter.

In the concessions conditional rhetoric abounds, and reconciliation is not only tied to obedience or mercy, but also to oblivion. The original concessions have not survived. William Cecil, who was present at the negotiations in Edinburgh, representing England, seems to have obtained a copy of the concessions afterwards. I have used a transcription of his copy, and also a letter of Cecil to Queen Elizabeth summarising the contents of the concessions directly after the confirmation of the treaty and concessions in Edinburgh.[68] In Cecil's copy as well as in his letter the concessions are explained point by point. I will follow this approach.[69] Already in the opening statement, reconciliation is connected to forgetting. Supposedly, after hearing of the civil conflict in Scotland, Mary and Francis II sent French commissioners to notify the Scottish nobility of 'their Majesties gracious Intentions to receive them into Favour, and to retain no Remembrance of any thing that has intervened from the Beginning of the Troubles'.[70] This relationship between favour and forgetting is the most explicit in concession XV. To demonstrate their willingness to forget, the monarchs reinstate those Scots in their favour who had been punished with forfeiture, by restoring them to their French possessions.[71] Throughout the concessions the need to forget is apparent.

In general, the concessions could have reassured the Scottish nobility of their prominent place in politics.[72] All French troops needed to be withdrawn and the monarchs were prohibited to appoint any strangers, thus non-Scots, in office.[73] Anti-French rhetoric was

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[67] Treaty of Edinburgh 1560. Cited from: Dickinson, Donaldson and Milne (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History. Volume Two*, 171-172.

[68] Multiple transcriptions of Cecil's copy have been published. I have used Robert Keith's version as published in his *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of King James V. to the retreat of Queen Mary into England, anno 1568. Taken from the publick Records, and other authentick Vouchers. Volume I* (Edinburgh 1734), 137-143. Cecil's letter to Queen ELizabeth is published in: Samuel Haynes, *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 1740), 354-357.

[69] I use the same subdivision as in the copy obtained by Cecil, published by Keith, as this is a more detailed document than Cecil's letter.

[70] Foreword to the Concessions. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 137-138.

[71] Concession XV. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 142.

[72] Concessions I to V, VI, IX, XII, XIV, XV and XVI. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 138-142.

[73] Concession VII. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 140.

thus not simply a cloak for less honourable motives, but referred to the actual presence of Frenchmen in the Scottish government.[74] Furthermore, a parliament should be held as if the king and queen had called it themselves. This parliament should make an act of oblivion 'which shall be confirmed by their Majesties the King and Queen, for sopiting[75] and burying the Memory of all bearing Arms, and such Things of that Nature as have happenend since the 6td Day of March 1558 [/9]'.[76] Oblivion then seemed to be a precondition for governance by Scottish nobles in name of their monarchs in France.

Possibly fearing backlash and conviction for their past actions despite the promises of their monarchs, the call for an act of oblivion came from the rebels.[77] However, the promise of enacting oblivion at the coming parliament was not enough. Scots might have feared that this parliament would be derailed.[78] Thus besides making provisions for an act of oblivion, it was agreed that there shall immediately be a 'general peace and reconciliation' among the Scots. This reconciliation is similar to the prescribed act of oblivion, as it also declares actions related to the previous conflict an unlawful base for (legal) action.[79] Reconciliation among the Scots did not eliminate the possibility of intervention by Francis II and Mary. Therefore point XI stipulates that the king and queen shall not 'prosecute nor take revenge for anything that is now past and gone […] but shall forget the same as if it never had been done'.[80] Again this concession seems very similar to an act of oblivion, as it uses the language of memory to prevent legal action, but it has the advantage of coming into force immediately without an act

[74] MacDougall, *An Antidote to the English*, 141.

[75] According to the Dictionary of the Scots language, 'sopiting' translates to cancelling out, put an end to, or extinguish. It is frequently used in a legal context or dispute settlement carrying the same connotations as oblivion. Interestingly, in medieval Scottish the meaning appears to have been 'put to sleep'. In relation to the practice of oblivion then, this might be a good metaphor for what happens with the problematic past. As compulsory forgetting is impossible, one can imagine the problematic past be put to sleep. However, this also suggest that the past could be awakened.

[76] Concessions IV and VIII. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 139, 141.

[77] The act of oblivion was included 'following demand of the Congregation', which refers to the rebellious Scots. Julian Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliamentary Records, 1560-1603', *Historical Research*, 72:179 (1999) , 244-267, 252.

[78] Indicative of this fear is Concession IX, which stipulates that all persons who were customary present at parliaments are allowed to be present 'without being frightened or constrained by any Person'. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 141.

[79] Concession X. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 141.

[80] Concession XI. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 141.

of parliament. In the same vein, the concessions stipulate how complaints from Catholic clergy about harm and loss incurred during the conflict should be dealt with.[81]

The last concession is the most contentious.[82] Even now scholars disagree over its precise meaning, and consequently, over the question if Scots violated the treaty. Religion was considered to be such a weighty and consequential topic that it should be dealt with by the monarchs in person. Therefore the Scots should choose representatives at the coming convention of estates to plead their cause to Francis II and Mary.[83] Based on this, the majority of scholars argue that the Scots exceeded the bounds of the concessions by enforcing religious reform with parliamentary legislation in the absence of their monarchs.[84] Irrespective of the legitimacy of their actions, it is a fact that the Scots carried out a reformation and were prepared to defend the new Protestant establishment when Francis II died and their Catholic Queen returned.[85]

Image 2: An appropriate portrayal of the most Christian King of France, Francis II, and Queen Mary in Catherine de' Medici's book of hours, c. 1558.

[81] Concession XIII. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 142.

[82] Curiously, Cecil does not mention this point in his letter. This could be because it had not been agreed upon yet and religion is only described as one of the topics on which further remonstrations could be made. However, if one follows the line of argument of George Chalmers, who suspected the Scots of forgery, this could lead to very different conclusions.

[83] Concession XVII. Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 142-143.

[84] For example, Jane Dawson states that 'despite having been specifically excluded by the treaty provisions, religion was on the agenda'. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 212. See also: Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 45. Julian Goodare is the most explicit in arguing the opposite, although he admits that the Scots 'may have stretched' the spirit of the concessions. Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliamentary Records', 255.

[85] The legislation of the so-called Reformation Parliament has not been preserved as a whole. Julian Goodare has reconstructed its acts using various sources. The acts, among other things, abolished the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church and forbade all acts contrary to the Protestant religion. Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliamentary Records', 248-255.

Mary's return and oblivion in practice

Even though Mary did not ratify the Treaty or the acts of the so-called Reformation Parliament, Jenny Wormald argues that after her return both sides acted as if there had been no rebellion.[86] In Mary's case, this was not because she had had no other option. Before she departed from France after the death of Francis II in December 1560, Mary was approached by both the Protestant council governing Scotland, and by Scottish Catholics willing to fight and restore Catholicism on her behalf.[87] This also shows that contrary to the act of oblivion passed in the Reformation Parliament, the Scots had not buried the recent conflict themselves. Her return could spark off a new phase of civil war.[88]

The rebels had every reason to fear Mary's return. Regent Marie de Guise had already started to build a legal case against at least the figurehead of the rebels on grounds of treason.[89] Mary herself as Queen of France had commissioned an inquiry into the rebellion.[90] Therefore some Scots felt the need to stress their loyalty in spite of recent events.[91] For example, Archibald Campbell, 5th Earl of Argyll, send his brother with some letters to Mary, to convince her that he was her loyal subject despite 'appearances during the reformation crisis and hostile reports'.[92] It is not likely that these professions of loyalty convinced her. Possibly inspired by her former mother in law, Mary nevertheless chose to adopt a conciliatory policy.[93] In part this was possible because religious reform had not amounted to a political or social revolution; for example, the Reformation had not caused a purge of

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[86] Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 122. According to Norman MacDougall, the refusal of Mary and Francis II to sign the treaty or the acts of the Reformation Parliament did cause anxiety among the Scots until the death of Francis II, which reduced the likelihood of French intervention. MacDougall, *An Antidote to the English*, 142.

[87] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 54-64.

[88] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 49-50.

[89] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 208-210

[90] Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 77.

[91] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 244; Idem., *The Politics of Religion*, 112-114.

[92] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 114.

[93] Catherine de Medici became regent after the death of her son and Mary's husband, Francis II. She instituted a moderate policy, placing herself above the fighting parties while remaining Catholic. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 42-47. Mary had been close to Catherine, and since she left France a half year after Francis death, if she had not known Catherine's political views first hand, she experienced them while she prepared her journey to Scotland. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 38, 57, 65.

Catholics from office.[94] Furthermore, Protestants held different views on authority. Conservative Protestants welcomed Mary's return as it would mean a return to traditional forms of rule.[95]

Mary accepted the offer of the Protestant council and conceded she would respect the current state of religion, as long as she could have mass in her private chapel.[96] A permission for private worship would not alleviate the communication problem caused by the Reformation. She would be unable to fall back on the strategies which her predecessors had used to justify their position, as those relied heavily on Catholic theory and practices.[97] Furthermore, Mary's conciliatory policy required her to enforce the act of oblivion. Kingship in sixteenth-century Scotland was a personal office, and a Scottish monarch relied to a great degree on personal connections to govern his or her realm. The quality of Scottish kingship depended on the personality of the monarch and his ability to live up to the expectations of his subjects.[98] Since personal relations were so important to Scottish kingship, the damage that had been done by the Reformation Rebellion needed to be restored. In order to make amicable relations between Mary and her subjects possible, it was necessary to enact oblivion. In legal terms this would not be difficult, since Mary was the main actor having to refrain from persecution. However, her very presence would be an impediment for the construction of a new common past. After all, there had never before been a Catholic queen ruling a Protestant Scotland.

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[94] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 212-215. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation,* 80. The new Kirk also conducted an unpretentious policy and aimed at conversion instead of persecution. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 134.

[95] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 48-50. Michael Lynch, 'From privy kirk to burgh church: an alternative view of the process of Protestantisation', Idem. (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh 1983), 85-96.

[96] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 62-63.

[97] Pilgrimage, for example, had been a public royal activity to uphold familial or social honour. According to Ditchburn, the reformation and iconoclasm of 1560 did not stop pilgrimage. However, I argue that as a public figure which was only allowed private worship, this method of conveying royal authority was not available to Mary. David Ditchburn, ''Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles'? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550', Julian Goodare and Alistair MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, Boston 2008), 69-98.

[98] Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 18-20; Goodare, *State and Society*, 14-16, 38-49, 287-288, 300; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 15-16; Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Authority', 207-208.

Michael Lynch explains the problem caused by the Reformation in his analysis of court culture during Mary's reign. After 1560, the Protestant regime challenged the 'interconnecting trinity of chivalry, sainthood and the conspicuous iconography of a pious orthodox monarchy'. Iconoclasm not only affected church property, but civil society as well.[99] In Edinburgh, for example, the 400-year old patron saint St Giles was wiped from the town flag.[100] The Kirk abolished traditional Catholic feasts and aimed to reform daily life besides spiritual beliefs.[101] Furthermore, the Reformation inspired a new historical narrative replacing the Catholic tradition. Scottish Protestants identified themselves as new Israelites in covenant with God, which placed their Catholic queen outside the godly community.[102] Yet, as mentioned above, Protestants did not reign supreme and were divided amongst themselves. Conservative men placed allegiance to the monarchy above religious doctrine. According to Lynch, a desire for social and political continuity was matched by a concern for continuity in cultural terms.[103] Mary's return fulfilled this desire with a revival of courtly culture and a historical narrative revolving around the monarchy.[104]

In terms of oblivion and the construction of continuity then, Mary was more successful than the radical Protestants. In the first night after her arrival in Edinburgh in August, some Protestants gave her an unofficial welcome by singing psalms under her window. A few days later, when Mary went to hear mass in her private chapel, attempts were made to disturb the

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[99] Michael Lynch, 'Continuity and change in urban society, 1500-1700', R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge 1989), 85-117, especially 88-89.

[100] Michael Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI', Martin Gosman, Alasdair A. MacDonald and Arjo J. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650. Volume* 1 (Leiden, Boston 2003), 199-238, 202.

[101] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 1-6. However, Todd argues that the Kirk should not be seen as a kill-joy as it gradually subsumed old traditions into a new kind of festivities. Ibid., 182-186, 222-226.

[102] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 232-234

[103] Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', 203. According to Jenny Wormald, once the Reformation was established it was not only a threat to the authority of Catholic nobles. The reformed Kirk demanded more of the Protestant nobles than they might be willing or able to offer. Wormald states that both participation and refusal could undermine their position. This supports the argument that the nobility preferred a return to traditional forms of authority in both politics and culture. Wormald, ''Princes' and the Regions', 76-79. Roger Mason argues that Knox was very important to the development of a 'new Protestant identity, yet he places the highpoint of influence of Knox's thought in the seventeenth-century. Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity', 165-172.

[104] Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power, 210-217'; Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 1-21.

service and John Knox took to his pulpit to denounce Mary.[105] Despite these provocations, Mary did not reply in kind. Instead she tried to alleviate public fear by making a 'Proclamation against the Alteration of the State of Religion'. In this proclamation Mary practices oblivion as she addresses the religious divide without referring to past events. Furthermore, she forbids any 'innovatioun' in the state of religion she encountered upon her arrival, while conveniently ignoring the novel nature of the reformed establishment.[106] This proclamation set the tone for Mary's pragmatic policy, supported by oblivion.

A few days later, Mary's official entry into Edinburgh took place. Royal entries usually displayed an understanding of history and the political community which was favourable to the monarch and emphasised harmony under royal authority.[107] The radical Protestants organising Mary's entry into Edinburgh in September 1561 broke with this tradition.[108] Gordon Kipling has demonstrated the radical and revolutionary nature of Mary's entry, even stating it is 'the first – perhaps the only – example of a royal entry that aims at rejection rather than acclamation'.[109] While retaining the traditional religious imagery equating the entry of a monarch with the coming of Christ, it was turned upon its head iconoclastically.[110] According to Kipling, Mary was not depicted as a queen descending from heaven, but as a heretic descending into hell. The first pageant, copied from Elizabeth's entry, provided an ingenious way to gauge Mary's religious policies and possibly demonstrate Mary's heresy. A boy dressed as an angel offered Mary the keys of Edinburgh, an English bible and a Protestant psalm book. The angel admonishes her to study these books and warns her that, if she does

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[105] Peter Davidson, 'The Entry of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh, 1561, and other ambiguities', *Renaissance Studies*,9:4 (1995), 416-429, 417-419.

[106] John Hill Burton (ed.), *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Vol. 1. A.D. 1545-1569* (Edinburgh 1877), 266-268.

[107] Even during the Revolt in the Low Countries, pageantry during royal entries tried to find a happy medium which appeased people of all religious persuasions. Pageantry was not explicitly hostile to an incoming regent or sovereign. Instead people preferred to portray the new ruler as a bringer of peace and prosperity. For an extensive analysis of pageantry in the Low Countries during the Revolt see: Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007).

[108] Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'Advice to a Princess: The Literary Articulation of a Religious, Political and Cultural Programme for Mary Queen of Scots, 1562', Julian Goodare and Alistair MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, Boston 2008), 99-122, 99-105.

[109] Gordon Kipling, 'The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-Century Royal Entry in Scotland', *European Medieval Drama*, 9 (2005), 127-156, 144.

[110] Ibid., 144.

not act according to God's 'perfytt way', she will feel his scourge. Only if Mary wholeheartedly accepts these gifts, and thus becomes part of the Protestant heavenly community, she can demand fealty of her god-fearing subjects.[111] Where Elizabeth's embracing of similar gifts had placated her Protestant subjects, Mary handed the books to one of her Catholic retainers to the chagrin of at least one influential spectator, John Knox.[112] Mary's diplomatic rejection of these Protestant gifts gives the following pageantry a dark edge. Along the descending route to her palace Mary passed pageants displaying God's judgement upon idolatry.[113] Thus instead of a celebration of harmony and monarchy, the entry was a mixture of medieval pageantry and Protestant propaganda which reminded of past conflict and underlined the religious divide.[114]

Mary's experience could have been worse, as more explicitly hostile pageantry had at the last minute been replaced by ambiguous imagery, because the Scots could not agree on how Mary should be welcomed. According to Peter Davidson, Mary adopted ambiguous imagery in her own court spectacles as well to meet the differing expectations of her subjects.[115] This allowed her to use spectacles not only as the traditional tool to assert royal authority, but as a means for reconciliation.[116] Mary's ambiguous pageantry relied on classical imagery.[117] While not necessarily devoid of religious meaning, it would not offend her Protestant subjects as traditional Catholic pageantry might have. As Mary had been in France she had not been able to organise her entry and use it to send a message. Neither did she order an account of the entry to be printed, as was customary.[118] Print not only commemorated these social-political pageants, but was an extension of them. An account of Mary's entry would only repeat the Protestant propaganda. Instead, Alexander Scott wrote a poem which symbolically let Mary enter her realm on her own terms. Mary staged a performance of this poem and put it into

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[111] Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford 1998), 21-47, 352-354.

[112] Kipling, 'The Deconstruction of the Virgin', 132-143.

[113] Kipling, *Enter the King*, 354-356.

[114] Kipling, 'The Deconstruction of the Virgin', 127-130, 142-146.

[115] Davidson, 'The Entry of Mary Stewart', 422-425.

[116] Sarah Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 82:214 (2003), 194-225, 197-198; Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 7-13.

[117] Sarah Carpenter has made an extensive analysis of Mary's courtly entertainments. Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 194-225. Michael Lynch gives the most thorough account of James VI's baptism which he sees as Mary's greatest court spectacle in the form of a Renaissance triumph. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 1-21.

[118] Davidson, 'The entry of Mary Stewart', 420.

print to replace the memory of the hostile entry of 1561.[119] In her first parliament in 1563, Mary proceeded upon her conciliatory policy as she re-enacted the act of oblivion, putting it into force, while generously stretching its limits so it included the hostilities endured by her in person.[120] Just as in France, a procedure was established to decide if cases had to be forgotten or not. From 1563 to 1587 a legal commission seems to have been active, but as the 'acts of the lords interpreters of the act of oblivion' do not survive, it is impossible to evaluate the practice of oblivion in legal terms.[121]

To conclude, while scholars disagree over the length and scope of Mary's success, they agree she was at least for a time able to reconcile the majority of the rebels.[122] In a Scottish context, reconciliation had already been linked with burying the past in feud settlements. As is shown in the Treaty of Edinburgh and the concessions to the Scots, reconciliation and oblivion were closely intertwined in 1560 as well. I contend that Mary's success in part depended upon her willingness to forget. As the rebels were reassured they would not be prosecuted and the state of religion would be respected, they flocked back to court. Mary profited from their attachment to traditional forms of rule and the accompanying court culture. Even though religious reform made it impossible to fall back on traditional Catholic court pageantry, Mary was able to invent new images to display royal authority and even harmony.

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[119] Heijnsbergen, 'Advice to a Princess', 100-101, 105-122.

[120] The period of rebellion was reckoned from 6 March 1559 to 1 September 1563. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 54. According to Jane Dawson the dating of the start of religious reform was influenced by legal considerations. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 204.

[121] Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliamentary Records', 252. The main records to trace criminal prosecution have not been preserved from May 1559 to the end of Mary's reign. Robert Pitcairn has tried to reconstruct the criminal proceedings of this period by collating various smaller sources. As it appears from this reconstruction, during Mary's reign there has been no prosecution for acts committed during the Reformation Rebellion. Robert Pitcairn (ed.), *Criminal Trials in Scotland From MCCCCLXXXVIII TO MDCXXIV Embracing the Entire Reigns of James IV, James V, Mary Queen of Scots and James VI : Compiled From the Original Records and Mss. With Historical Notes and Explanations. Part II. MD.XC.-MD.XCVI.* (Edinburgh 1833), 407-513.

[122] Gordon Donaldson and Jane Dawson argue that Mary's marriage in 1565 was the beginning of the end. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 56. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 243-244, 252-257. Although she does not point to one cause, Jenny Wormald also places the turning point in Mary's reign around the time of her marriage to Darnley. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 144-145. Michael Lynch disagrees. He contends that Mary successfully subdued the opposition to her marriage and experienced the highpoint of her reign even after her marriage in 1566. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 21. Retha Warnicke states that all three of Mary's marriages led to revolt against her authority. She leaves the moment of complete fall-out over to interpretation, placing it somewhere between 1565 and 1567. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 10-11.

Thus while she replaced Catholic with Renaissance imagery, she was more successful in creating the illusion of continuity than the radical Protestants who used traditional imagery but could not let go of their memories of recent events.

Chapter 2: Past and politics, 1567-1573

On 25 July 1567 a royal proclamation announced Mary's abdication in favour of her one-year old son. Mary felt she was no longer capable of ruling her realm due to ill health, and nothing would please her more than seeing her son peacefully succeed her in her own lifetime.[123] At least, that is what the faction now holding the reins wished the people to believe. In reality, Mary had been imprisoned and forced to abdicate by Scottish nobles. Not the entire Scottish nobility supported this course of action. Shortly after Mary's imprisonment in June, some lords had already bonded together aiming to free Mary.[124] Expecting opposition, Mary's captors tried to disguise a deposition as an abdication. The proclamation offers a fictional narrative in which Mary voluntarily and autonomously makes the decision to abdicate. Voluntary abdication was unusual but not unheard of: for example, Charles V had stepped down in 1555. However, Charles was not imprisoned and his successor was able to rule in person. Therefore, while the proclamation did supply a narrative which might be acceptable to Scots holding the monarchy in high regard, it was unconvincing in these circumstances. Only people without any knowledge of the political situation in Scotland might be convinced by Mary's fictional statement.

The King's Party piggybacked on Mary's legitimate authority as former queen by issuing proclamations regarding the new government in her name. Furthermore, in these proclamations the King's Party tried to portray the new regime as legitimate by emphasising elements of continuity and tradition. James's succession was lawful as he was a natural son and Scottish prince. The realm of Scotland fell to him by right, giving James the same powers to exercise as 'we or ony of our predecessouris, Kingis of Scotland, hes done in ony tyme bipast'.[125] As James was only thirteen months old, James Stewart, 1st Earl of Moray and Mary's half-brother, was appointed regent. In this announcement continuity is also stressed, as Moray received the same powers as any 'Regent or Governour to us or oure predecessouris usit in tymes bigane'.[126] In addition, the coronation oath which the nobles took in James' place should be 'detfullie and lauchfullie as efferis'.[127] Nevertheless, the new regime feared

[123] Burton (ed.), *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Vol. 1*, 531-533.

[124] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 151; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 164.

[125] Burton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Vol. 1*, 532.

[126] Ibid., 540.

[127] Ibid., 533. Meaning as much as proper, natural and lawful as always.

civil conflict, as is evident by their attempt to discourage opposition. In a fictional statement Mary expressed her conviction that no one would oppose her son, and her wish that her subjects will obey James. As a final warning, Mary supposedly confirmed Moray's right to repress violence and attacks in James VI's name.[128] Despite these proclamations in Mary's name, James VI's government was not universally accepted, and civil war ensued.

The Marian civil war lasted until 1573 and propaganda would continue to play an important role in it. By proclaiming James king, the so-called King's Party not only rebelled against their queen, but also against tradition. How should a regime, which had been established by doing away with tradition, achieve legitimacy when the past had always been the main source of authority?

Reasons for resistance

Even before there was any indication that Mary would rule Scotland in person, at least one Scot had renounced her authority. John Knox created a stir when he published his famous pamphlet *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* in Geneva in 1558. While Knox mentioned contemporary queens, it has been argued that his pamphlet addressed their Protestant subjects.[129] However, the pamphlet was not well received by the whole Protestant community, let alone the whole Scottish people.[130] Knox aimed to prove the monstrosity of female rule on the basis of 'Goddes ordinance in nature, his plaine will reveld in his worde, and the mindes of such as be moste auncient amongst the godlie writers'.[131] Knox's reliance on theology and the Bible was not unusual, as in early modern Europe religion was an equally important source of authority as the past. However, Knox explicitly inveighed against secular, historical justifications, stating that 'nether may the tyranie of princes, nether the foolishnes of people, nether wicked laws made against God […] make that thing lauchfull, whiche he [God] by his word hath manifestlie condemned'.[132] Furthermore, while Knox claims that throughout history many nations had been ruined by female rulers, he does not give concrete examples.[133] This circumvention of arguments based on custom and secular history could indicate that Knox preferred to avoid a battle which he

[128] Burton (ed.), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 532, 539-540.

[129] Farrow, 'Theological Controversy', 111-113.

[130] Ibid., 111-126; Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 109-111.

[131] John Knox, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstruous regiment of women* (Geneva 1558), 9.

[132] Knox, *The first blast*, 50-51.

[133] Ibid., 39.

could not win, in his words a battle with the 'ignorant multitude' to whom 'laufull and godlie appeareth, what soeuer antiquitie had received'.[134] When Mary returned, Knox continued his opposition. But since by that time England was ruled by a Protestant queen, Knox now discredited Mary not for her gender but for her personality.[135]

Knox was not the only person critiquing Mary after her return, even though Mary tried to live up to her contemporaries' traditional expectations of Scottish kingship.[136] Mary invested in her public image and personal relations with subjects.[137] However, even Mary's fulfilment of traditional duties, for example holding court, could be a cause of discontent.[138] Her court was suspected to be an agent of French influence, or deemed too extravagant and thus idolatrous.[139] Royal patronage became a subject of discontent as well.[140] However, Mary's adversaries devoted most of their energy not to criticizing Mary's religious or political thought, but to scrutinizing her potential and actual partners.[141] In 1563 Mary's interaction with men provoked a first stream of slanderous polemics, although produced by marginal figures on behalf of a powerless faction.[142] Two years later Mary's courtships did cause a public confrontation and open rebellion, as a group of nobles opposed her partner of choice: Henry Darnley, son of the 4th Earl of Lennox.[143]

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[134] Knox, *The first blast*, 6-7.

[135] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 70-71.

[136] Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 18-20; Goodare, *State and Society*, 14-16, 38-49, 287-288, 300; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 15-16; Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Authority', 207-208.

[137] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 7-9, 88-95, 99-101; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 56-68.

[138] Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge 2015), 129; Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 194-197.

[139] Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 15; Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 197; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 74-75.

[140] It has been argued that by 1565 a Protestant and English-minded court culture, with as chief patron Mary's half-brother James Stewart, 1st Earl of Moray, rivalled Mary's predominantly Catholic and pro-French court. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 16; Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', 217-219; Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 28-33; Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, 128-129.

[141] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1.

[142] Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Authority', 219-221; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 84-86.

[143] Retha Warnicke explains the opposition against this match trough the international consequences it would have. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 102-110. Jane Dawson argues the ascent of the house of Lennox drove previous supporters of Mary into the arms of Scots anxious to preserve the English alliance. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 252-254; Idem., *The Politics of Religion*, 119-125. According to Donaldson, the Darnley match would not pose a threat to Mary's conciliatory religious policy. Opposition came from the political losers of

Image 3: Portrait of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley around the time of their marriage in 1565.

While Mary successfully subdued the rebellion caused by her marriage to Darnley in 1565, she could not cope with the crisis following his murder in February 1567.[144] As their marriage had been unhappy, Mary became the prime suspect of the murder. Darnley had fallen out with his wife when she postponed granting him the crown matrimonial, and thus the power of a king.[145] Darnley's death is shrouded in mystery and remains unsolved.[146] The role of Mary is still hotly debated, allowing the possibility that even if she was not directly involved, she at least consented to the disappearance of her problematic husband.[147] Mary's behaviour after the murder was bad enough for Scottish nobles to conclude that they had to intervene. Her failure to follow protocol for a grieving widow and to convict the murderer of her husband greatly disturbed her contemporaries.[148] However, armed conflict only ensued after Mary's marriage to James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, commonly viewed as the

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Lennox ascendancy, the motive of religion was only used to arouse more support. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 70-74. Rosalind Mitchison makes a similar argument. Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, 129.

[144] On the rebellion following opposition to the marriage see: Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 124-126, 140-142; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 110-111.

[145] This had infuriated Darnley, certainly when his personal enemies refused to call him king and instead referred to him as 'the queen's husband'. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 112, 115; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 56.

[146] Gordon Donaldson, *The First Trial of Mary Queen of Scots* (London 1969), 26-51.

[147] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 141-146; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 259-261; Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, 131-132.

[148] Alyson Alvarez, 'The Widow of Scots: Examining Mary Stewart in Her Widowhoods', Carole Levin and Christine Stewart-Nuñez (eds.), *Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens* (New York 2015), 165-180; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 139-141.

ringleader in the conspiracy to murder her previous husband less than a month earlier.[149] Catholic and Protestant Scots alike despised the marriage and joined forces to separate Mary from her detested spouse.[150] After Bothwell's troops were defeated and Bothwell decided to flee, the coalition of confederate lords broke down, now that the goal which had united them had been achieved. A powerful faction remained concerned about a future under Mary's rule, among other reasons because she refused a divorce from the fleeing Bothwell.[151] These lords saw only one solution, which was to take Mary out of the equation entirely. Instead of trying to control Mary, they resorted to the familiar ground of a royal minority. Even though they upheld monarchical rule by crowning Mary's son, this action of the so-called King's Party was revolutionary.[152]

To overcome the problem posed by legitimacy resting on tradition, the King's Party avoided associations with revolutionary rhetoric, and instead challenged Mary's authority on the basis of her alleged recent misconduct. They did occasionally justify Mary's deposition with arguments based on the distant past and constitutional theory. Shortly after Mary's forced abdication, the King's Party had rebuked the English ambassador's objections by citing 'sundry examples forth of their own histories, grounded (as they said) upon their own laws.'[153] In addition to a long tradition of monarchical rule, these Scots could argue that they had always had the power to hold their monarchs to account, referring for example to the fate of mythical kings as Culen, Evenus and Ferchard.[154] However, based on the following research I have come to the conclusion that the King's Party rarely used this kind of arguments in public. Another indication of the importance of the recent past above the distant past in the King's Party's defence is the spread and reception of the work of George

[149] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 149-150; Idem., *Scotland Re-formed*, 261; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 146-160.

[150] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 163; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 81-86.

[151] According to Warnicke, Mary's refusal to divorce Bothwell was the main reason for her forced abdication. Most likely Mary refused divorce because she was pregnant. In July, Mary suffered a miscarriage. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 161-164. Dawson considers a few other options which were available even if Mary refused a divorce without having to resolve to the extreme measure of abdication. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 266.

[152] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 265-266.

[153] H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Constitution', *English Historical Review*, Supplement 3 (1966), 14.

[154] Cowan, 'Land and Freedom', 139; Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 14, 25-28. The specific example of Culen, Evenus and Ferchard comes from George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus*.

Buchanan, the pre-eminent advocate of the King's Party.[155] While his theoretical tract on kingship and his history of Scotland have received the most attention, during the Marian civil war these works were less popular than his dramatized account of the final years of Mary's reign.[156] To understand why theory and the distant past gave way to recent history, I will trace the development of the King's Party's claim to legitimacy from the moment of Mary's deposition. A focus on recent events did not exclude the use of the past, as Mary's contemporaries were keen to use historical and biblical analogies. While analogies could be used to escape censorship[157], their prime value was that they allowed people 'to structure and manipulate representations of the present in a way that suited one's own objectives'.[158]

The defence of the King's men

The political situation around the time of Mary's abdication has been described by a contemporary 'as messy as a Welshman's hose'.[159] The same could be said for the following years as civil war ensued. The Scots did not split along religious lines, Catholics and Protestants could be found on both sides. Allegiance was determined by a mixture of political inclinations, familial attachments, enduring feuds and religion.[160] Only for the sake of clarity I will use the terms King's and Queen's Party. The parties grew and decreased according to their fortunes and defeats. For example, while Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven, her

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[155] Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots. A Critical Edition and Translation of George Buchanan's De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (Aldershot 2004), xv-xxxiii; W.A. Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart. George Buchanan's account* (Edinburgh 1958), vii-viii.

[156] Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 4, 20, 28-30.

[157] Andrea Nichols, '"I was not I?": Tracing the Representations of Cleopatra in English Drama, 1592-1611', Carole Levin and Christine Stewart-Nuñez (eds.), *Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens* (New York 2015), 33-50.

[158] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 71.

[159] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 266. The use of a Welshman in an English saying usually indicates a derogatory remark. In the case of the Welshman's hose, it indicates corruption and manipulation as a Welshman's hose forms itself according to the legs of his wearer. George Latimer Apperson, *Dictionary of Proverbs* (Ware 2006), 195, 617; Elizabeth Fowler, *Literary Character. The Human Figure in Early English Writing* (Ithaca, London 2003), 173-175.

[160] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 4-8, 90-116; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 264-273; Idem., *The Politics of Religion*, 170-174, 179; Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 20-21. The same could be said of the dividing lines within Edinburgh where the major part of the civil war was fought. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 200-211.

supporters laid low. But when she escaped on 2 May 1568, a substantial force rallied to her side.[161] Unfortunately for Mary, it was not enough. Various scholars have called Mary's decision to flee to England disastrous for her cause, as it made restoration harder.[162] Furthermore, Mary's remaining in Scotland would have harmed the authority of the King's Party. Her flight removed a constant physical reminder of the King's Party's breach with tradition as they had crowned her son while she was still alive.

Contrary to Mary's expectations, Elizabeth did not side with Mary, but placed her under guard and called for a conference to investigate the political situation in Scotland. The subsequent conferences are often referred to as Mary's trial. However, Mary was never formally accused, and Elizabeth's refusal to assume any judicial authority excluded the possibility of a legitimate verdict.[163] I assert that contemporary, and even current, designations of the conferences as Mary's trial only show how the King's Party successfully turned the tables. Originally the conferences were intended to resolve the dispute between Mary and the King's Party. Various schemes for the government of Scotland, including Mary's restoration and shared authority with James VI, were investigated in the hope of reaching a compromise between the parties.[164] In the event of Mary's return, the need to forget civil strife and rebellion was taken into account as provisions were made for an act of oblivion.[165] The conferences might be mistaken for a trial because Elizabeth, in her role as arbitrator, did allow both parties to state their case. Theoretically, Mary's party had the advantage as their traditional position contrasted positively with the novel nature of the King's Party's authority and actions.[166] To circumvent this problem, the King's Party used the conferences not to defend Mary's deposition, but to prove Mary's unsuitability as queen. They argued that Mary had voluntarily abdicated and should not be restored as she was unable to rule. The recent past took precedence over theoretical justifications as arguments over Mary's conduct took centre

[161] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 86-87.

[162] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 166-168; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 264, 270; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 88.

[163] Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xxx; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 31.

[164] Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, 133; Blakeway, *Regency in sixteenth-century Scotland*, 17-19, Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 173, 183-184; Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 59-77.

[165] Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 87.

[166] Blakeway, *Regency in sixteenth-century Scotland* , 17-19.

stage. Instead of trusting on her royal lineage and contemporary distaste of rebellion, Mary found she had to defend herself against accusations of murder and adultery.[167]

During preparations for the conferences, Mary had made it sufficiently clear to the other parties that she thought it beneath her honour to answer to accusations made by her subjects. She did not allow anyone to judge her except God, as 'she knew her degree of state well enough'.[168] Mary believed that her status as sovereign queen was enough to invalidate opposition against her authority. This attitude also explains why Mary allowed her representatives to discuss plans for reducing her subjects to obedience, but not to discuss the cause of the rebellion. However, Moray rebuked all accusations of rebellion by arguing that his actions were provoked by Mary's behaviour. Any reaction to Moray's defence required Mary's commissioners to address the cause of rebellion, for which they asked her permission.[169] Subsequently, Mary's commissioners argued that Moray and his associates had unjustly rebelled because they did not want Mary to make an act of revocation, an ancient privilege 'always granted to the kings of that realm of before'.[170] It was customary for Scottish monarchs to revoke grants made during their minority when they turned twenty-five. As Mary was approaching this age, her commissioners argued that Moray and his party wanted to prevent losing power and property by deposing Mary.[171] This argument strengthened Mary's case, as it emphasized her power as a sovereign and the tradition of the Scottish monarchy. Mary's commissioners ended with a warning: it would set a dangerous precedent if the English continued to pursue the accusations made by Mary's subjects, as it would encourage people in general to bring in false allegations against their sovereigns.[172] The fact that the English commissioners did allow the King's Party to accuse Mary of murder could indicate English partiality, but also the English desire to avoid the dangerous topic of deposition and the need to discredit Mary as an alternative to Elizabeth.[173]

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[167] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 173-184; Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship* , xxx-xxxi; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 28-31.

[168] Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 65.

[169] Ibid., 91.

[170] Lord Herries, in his role as spokesman for Mary, on 1 December 1568 during the conferences at Westminster. Cited in: Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 101-102.

[171] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 183-184; Donaldson*, The First Trial*, 101-102.

[172] Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 102-103.

[173] Mary's representatives certainly suspected the English to favour the King's Party. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 183. Elizabeth feared she might be deposed by English Catholics in favour of Mary. Mary's physical presence in England could only have heightened this fear. As a Scottish precedent might set a dangerous

The conferences ended inconclusive. However, Mary was not put to liberty and Moray received a tacit recognition of his regency.[174] The conferences had proven to be a testing ground for the King's Party's defence of the legitimacy of their authority and actions, resulting in a narrative which took contemporary sensibilities in consideration. As civil war continued, the narrative of Mary's wrongdoings was expanded with the misdeeds of her followers, thus establishing continuity as the King's Party remained steadfast in their just cause of fighting against persons unfit for governing.

Buchanan and Scottish history

According to Michael Lynch, the Scottish civil war was accompanied by a "battle of the historians".[175] For example, scholars now debate Buchanan's credibility as a historian, wondering if Buchanan's history was a sincere historical work or a deliberate fiction in order to justify a political theory.[176] While this is an intriguing question, I contend that Buchanan's individual conception of history is not important, since people did not read his mind, but his written words. Therefore, the "battle of historians" was not simply a debate between academic scholars over what constituted historical truth. It was a battle between people holding different views of what had happened. Mary fashioned a history which portrayed her as the legitimate successor of a long list of Scottish kings who ruled by the grace of God and not by the consent of the people.[177] Such a reading of the Scottish past was devastating for the King's Party, as it made their actions historically unprecedented and illegitimate. If the King's Party wanted to have any authority, a new Scottish history was needed. However, the first work Buchanan wrote in defence of the King's Party was not a historical but a theoretical tract.

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example, it was sound policy to avoid discussing the nature of Mary's dethronement. At the same time, attacks on Mary's personality would be welcome as it would make her a less attractive alternative to Elizabeth without damaging the institution of the monarchy. Gordon Donaldson even argues that the English pressed Moray into accusing Mary of murder during the conferences. Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 97.

[174] None of the involved parties, including the English, were prepared to give in to demands made by other sides. Therefore the conferences ended inconclusive. Elizabeth made a public statement that she had found nothing that derogated the honour of either Moray or Mary. However, Moray returned to Scotland with a substantial English loan. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 184-185; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 270.

[175] Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 16.

[176] Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 1, 21-31, 38-39.

[177] Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 5-6, 15-16; Lynch. 'The Reassertion of Princely Authority', 211-216.

Buchanan wrote *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* [A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots] in December 1567, a few months after Mary's deposition, in order to justify the event. In *De Jure Regni* Buchanan acknowledges the long history of the Scottish kingdom, but he rarely uses concrete examples from the Scottish past. Although he believes that the modest size of the kingdom is less important than the fact that 'for 2000 years we have held it in freedom from rule by foreign peoples'[178], he only recalls kings 'from within our fathers' memory'.[179] This sprinkling of history cannot disguise the novelty of Buchanan's theory on the right of people to hold their monarchs to account. While his contemporaries had exchanged ideas on the right of resistance, Buchanan advocated a more radical version of popular sovereignty. Furthermore, the conventional historical and scriptural arguments were outweighed by a new line of reasoning following classic republican values.[180] Thus both the extent of Buchanan's theory and the manner in which it was presented made *De Jure Regni* controversial. Therefore it was of little use for the King's Party in their struggle to achieve legitimacy, as most Scots remained politically conservative thinkers.[181] Especially after Mary's escape to England, *De Jure Regni* had to be replaced by a defence which would not displease the English queen, who still feared her own deposition, as she became arbitrator in the Scottish struggle.[182] The King's Party needed a different defence, which would be acceptable to foreign monarchs and to a predominantly political conservative home audience.

While Buchanan's limited use of Scottish history in *De Jure Regni* has been noted, little attention has been paid to what Buchanan actually says in the tract about using the past. I

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[178] George Buchanan, *De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (Edinburgh 1579), edited and translated by Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots. A Critical Edition and Translation of George Buchanan's De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus* (Aldershot 2004), 161.

[179] Buchanan, *De Iure Regni*, 127.

[180] Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xxxvi-xxxvii, xlv-lxvi.

[181] Scots who stood behind Mary's deposition were concerned as well by Buchanan's move towards republican thought as most Scots remained political conservative. Blakeway, *Regency in sixteenth-century Scotland*, 18-24, 44, 50; Dawson, Scotland Re-formed, 266, 269; Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 145; Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Authority', 202-203; Mason, *Kingship and Commonweal*, 2-3; Jane Dawson and Lionel K.J. Glassey, 'Some Unpublished Letters from John Knox to Christopher Goodman', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 84:218 (2005), 166-201, 174. Furthermore, Buchanan's work might cause anxiety amongst the new establishment because if Buchanan's theory was taken to its logical conclusion James VI, and thus the King's Party ruling on his behalf, could also be deposed.

[182] Elizabeth banned *De Jure Regni* because she worried about the influence Buchanan's work might have on her subjects, as she still feared for her own deposition. Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 50.

agree with Roger Mason that Buchanan's theory did not rest heavily on history, as previously had been assumed[183], but I have come to this conclusion following a different route. While Mason notes that historical arguments are outweighed by arguments of reason, I look at what Buchanan writes about using the past. Rebecca Bushnell has demonstrated Buchanan's ability to change his stance towards the relationship between past and present as the situation demanded it. According to her, Buchanan both appeals to tradition and rejects tradition in *De Jure Regni*.[184] I assert that Buchanan explicitly rejects the use of the past in *De Jure Regni*. Even when Buchanan brings up Scottish history, he apologises to his fictive collocutor for doing so, stating that 'if I had been dealing with you more exactingly, I could have used a much shorter route to reach the point I wanted'.[185] This is a slight to the people who demand precedents, as they lack the skills to follow Buchanan's argument based on reason. To entice his public, the collocutor does not seem to have any problem with Buchanan's approach, stating that 'you seem to me to have explained everything else one the basis not so much of human laws as of natural principles […]'.[186] A need for precedents, among which are human laws, is a sign of ignorance. Several times Buchanan explicitly expresses his distaste for the 'tyranny of habit'.[187] On another occasion he indirectly slights people who demand precedents, expressing his belief that 'Not being influenced by malice, envy or any self-interest, they generally submit to instruction and allow themselves to be weaned away from error […]' and eventually 'yield to the force of rational argument'.[188] Only to fulfil contemporary expectations Buchanan eventually does give some examples of the Scottish past, but only after he has voiced his reluctance to do so.[189]

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[183] H.R. Trevor-Roper argued that history was the main basis for Buchanan's theory. Roper, 'George Buchanan'. After an in depth analysis of the *De Jure Regni* Roger Mason concludes that 'while it was certainly important to anchor his [Buchanan's] political theory in a Scottish context, his [Buchanan's] ideas on resistance and tyrannicide rested on quite different principles'. Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xlx; Roger A. Mason, 'George Buchanan's vernacular polemics, 1570-1572', *The Innes Review*, 54:1 (2003), 47-68, 62-63.

[184] Rebecca W. Bushnell, 'George Buchanan, James VI and neo-classicism', Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603* (Cambridge 1994), 91-111, 95-97.

[185] Buchanan, *De Iure Regni*, 105.

[186] Ibid., 129.

[187] Ibid., 109.

[188] Ibid., 11.

[189] Ibid., 127.

Although *De Jure Regni* had been circulating in manuscript, it was not published until 1579. From the dedication which Buchanan wrote in 1579 it becomes clear that he still stands behind his original theory and approach. He states that he wrote the tract to silence 'certain people who railed against the existing situation [Mary's deposition and imprisonment at Lochleven] with unseemly cries rather than weighing what was right in the scale of reason'.[190] However, in the meantime Buchanan was prepared to play to the gallery and substitute theory for history.

History as argument

While historical arguments might not have been of major importance in the first work written in defence of Mary's deposition, they became the foundation of King's Party propaganda in 1568 after Mary's flight to England. It has been argued that Buchanan's theory was abandoned because it was of no use in proving Mary's complicity in the murder of her husband, for which she was tried in England.[191] However, as mentioned above, Mary was not officially accused, and Elizabeth refused to assume judicial authority over a fellow monarch but aimed to investigate possibilities for Mary's restoration. Another reason offered is Elizabeth's disgust at any argument that might endanger her own authority.[192] To this I would add that the King's Party not only took Elizabeth's sensibilities into consideration, but also those of people in their own ranks, those of the Scottish population at large, and those of foreign monarchs who might intervene on Mary's behalf. Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* was too elitist, as it valued reason over tradition. To his contemporaries, traditions were rational, as their antiquity testified to an underlying unchanging truth. Customs and ancient institutions were seen as expressions of reason and should therefore be respected. Any defence should take this into account and avoid associations with novelty. In order to circumvent the problem posed by tradition, the King's Party cultivated the memory of recent events.

The King's Party aimed to prove Mary's atrocious behaviour, which besmirched the godly institution of kingship in general and made her unfit to rule Scotland in particular, by producing a historical narrative of the last years of Mary's reign. While Mary was in England, her supporters did not sit still. However, they put their hands to the sword instead of the pen,

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[190] Buchanan, *De Iure Regni*, 3.

[191] Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xxx.

[192] Mason, 'George Buchanan's vernacular polemics', 49; Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xxx.

and Mary had to order them to lay down their weapons to please the English as they debated her possible peaceful restoration.[193] In the meantime, the King's Party worked on a coherent story of Mary's fall from power. Buchanan was responsible for the final product, which was presented at a sitting of the conference in December 1568.[194] It has already been demonstrated that this account is a hotchpotch of rumour, fiction and the occasional fact.[195] However, it is not important how near or far Buchanan was from the historical truth. What matters is why Buchanan's version of the last years of Mary's reign became dominant, and how it successfully justified the actions of the King's Party and contributed to the legitimacy of James VI's government.

Buchanan's account of Mary's fall was a successful justification of the King's Party's authority, because it respected his contemporaries' wish for continuity and adherence to tradition. According to Buchanan, Mary's fall was entirely the result of her personal flaws.[196] Buchanan preserved traditional monarchical rule as the wellspring of power and the monarch as the centre of Scottish government. Unfortunately, Mary could not deal with this power and the responsibilities it entailed, because of her vile nature. Buchanan devotes all his praise to Mary's husband, Henry Darnley. Scholars have argued that Buchanan portrayed Darnley more positively than he deserved because Buchanan owed ancestral allegiance to Darnley's family, the house of Lennox.[197] I contend that Darnley's generous portrait served a more important goal. It reassured a conservative audience of the King's Party's respect for the Scottish monarchy. While the King's Party may have protested against Mary's royal authority, they would have been happy to be ruled by Darnley. They never opposed royal authority as such, only Mary's person. Furthermore, Buchanan's flattering portrait of Darnley makes him a king whose death must be revenged.

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[193] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 176.

[194] R.H. Mahon, *The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots. As derived from a manuscript in the university library at Cambridge, hitherto unpublished* (Cambridge 1923), 8-23; Roger A. Mason, 'George Buchanan and Mary Queen of Scots', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 30 (2000), 1-27, 22.

[195] W.A. Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart. George Buchanan's account* (Edinburgh 1958), viii-ix, 10-12, 20-42; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 200; Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 65; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 29, 40-42.

[196] Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 61-62, 65-66; Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign*, 35; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 29, 39-44; Mason, 'George Buchanan and Mary', 21-22; Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 2.

[197] Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign*, 13, 21; Mason, 'George Buchanan and Mary', 16, 24-25; Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xvii-xviii; Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 11.

As Darnley had been neither king nor popular, Buchanan needed to rewrite the past to suit present purposes. According to Buchanan, Mary had send Darnley to Peebles in the winter 'as to be far from the Council and cut off from knowledge of public affairs'.[198] Darnley is portrayed as an inconvenience to Mary in matters of state, as he might oppose her evil plans. While Darnley never had the power to overrule Mary, Buchanan suggests that Mary wanted to get rid of Darnley because his good character restricted her in following her malicious desires. In Buchanan's account Darnley is not unstable, rash or immature as his contemporaries noted[199], but a 'most handsome', 'unsuspecting young man' who loves Mary with his whole heart.[200] Furthermore, Buchanan argues that Darnley did not made any enemies of his own.[201] Any trace of hate between Darnley and other nobles is the result of Mary's schemes.[202] In Buchanan's account, Darnley was a beloved king who became the victim of a cruel woman. Mary is depicted as unfit to rule a kingdom, a slave to her desires as she conspires with her lover Bothwell to remove the obstacle to their happily ever after.[203]

While Buchanan may have strayed from the historical truth in his account of Darnley's murder, his version seemed plausible to his contemporary audience. It was well known that Mary and Darnley did not have a happy marriage.[204] Furthermore, shortly after Darnley's death a placard appeared in the streets of Edinburgh, depicting Mary as Bothwell's mistress, insinuating they had conspired to murder Mary's husband to be together.[205] This signalled the start of a stream of popular literature telling the tragic history of the death of a good king at the hands of his wicked wife. Thus when Buchanan wrote his official narrative, the general public had already been fed on this version of events.

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[198] George Buchanan, *Detectio Mariae : sive, de Maria Scotorum Regina totáque eius contra Regem coniuratione, fordo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio : plena & tragica planè historia* [1568], edited and translated by W.A. Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart. George Buchanan's account* (Edinburgh 1958), 165.

[199] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 109, 112-122.

[200] Buchanan, *Detectio Mariae*, 166-169, 176.

[201] In March 1566 Darnley participated in the murder of David Riccio, Mary's secretary and rumoured lover. Darnley betrayed his co-conspirators by reconciling with Mary which made them into enemies. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 109, 112-122.

[202] Buchanan, *Detectio Mariae*, 166, 169, 171.

[203] Ibid., 165-166, 170-174.

[204] There even had been talk of a divorce, but it was ruled out as it would make their son James illegitimate. Gatherer, *The Tyrannous Reign*, 37.

[205] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 141; Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 41; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 268.

Presenting Mary's fall to the public

Although Buchanan's account and the popular literature produced by the King's Party shared a common perspective and goal, the form and language in which they were presented differed to suit a different public. The King's Party might have realised that Buchanan's scholarly prose would not appeal to a broad, and probably less educated, public. Besides, Buchanan's account did not lend itself for wide distribution. It was written specifically for Elizabeth and her advisors; and, until they in 1571 finally decided to print it, Buchanan's account only circulated in manuscript.[206] Therefore, in their attempt to rally the common people to their cause, the King's Party used broadside ballads: a form of popular, cheap print, usually put up in public places and spread by itinerant peddlers. Since broadsides were read and sung aloud, both literate and illiterate could take note of its contents.[207] John Staines has argued that the King's Party used the broadsides to turn a coup d'état into a popular movement by emphasizing the religious divide between the fighting parties. According to Staines, the broadsides evoked 'sympathy and anger not only to justify one side in the cycle of revenge but to move the public to join in the revenge'.[208] While the strong language of the broadside might have incited people to participate, I focus on how these broadsides justified the actions of the King's Party. Through their wide distribution and social usage these broadsides reached a bigger and socially broader Scottish public than Buchanan's work. Therefore the broadsides were more important than Buchanan's writings in convincing Scottish subjects of the legitimacy of James VI's government. As broadsides reached foreign audiences, for example through the correspondence of foreign ambassadors, they could shape the understanding of the Marian civil war abroad as well.[209]

Scholars contend that the King's Party edited their propaganda with a conservative foreign audience in mind. Traditional mediums and rhetoric were supposedly used to present the King's Party in a manner that would reassure political conservative foreigners, especially their

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[206] Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 61-63; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 35-39; Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 163-167.

[207] Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the world came to know about itself* (New Haven, London 2014), 121-128; Mary Ellen Brown, 'Balladry: A Vernacular Poetic Resource', Ian Brown et al. (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume one: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh 2007), 263-272, 267-271.

[208] Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 51-62.

[209] McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun"', 320; Blakeway, 'A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border', 1350.

English neighbours.[210] Amy Blakeway, for example, argues that traditional rhetoric was employed to disguise revolutionary ideas.[211] However, I maintain that this was the case for only one ballad: 'Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis just Quarrell'.[212] Consequently, while this ballad is rightly seen as a remarkable piece of propaganda, it is unrepresentative of the whole corpus of the King's Party broadside ballads. It has received much scholarly attention, because it justifies popular resistance on the same grounds as Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*.[213] This ballad was printed in 1567, probably at the same time as Buchanan was putting his theory on paper. While the publication of *De Jure Regni* was overturned by Mary's flight to England, the 'Declaratioun' had already been printed. However, even in the period before Mary's escape, it is the only ballad which defends the actions of the King's Party on the basis of revolutionary ideas. Thus even at a time when English opinion was not as important, the King's Party preferred traditional rhetoric.[214] In conclusion, the broadsides were produced with both a conservative Scottish public and a conservative foreign audience in mind.

Broadside ballads[215] defend the authority of James VI's government by appealing to traditional values. The strategy employed by the King's Party at the conferences in England in 1568, had already been used in the King's Party's broadsides from the moment they first appeared in May 1567. Attention was turned away from resistance against a ruling monarch and towards Darnley's murder. There is one difference: while at the conferences the emphasis was laid on doing justice and preventing Mary's restoration, the ballads also call for revenge. In the broadsides, Darnley's murder is made the cause of civil war. The war is not portrayed as a rebellion against a rightful queen, but as an attempt to revenge the murder of a king, ignoring the fact that Darnley never received the power pertaining to this office. Thus by focusing on and rewriting the recent past the actions of the King's Party are justified. The king is murdered, the queen is responsible, and the questionable authority of the King's Party's is circumvented because it is always just and necessary to punish regicide. Besides, in a feuding society like Scotland, murder is traditionally a legitimate reason for violence. By

[210] According to McElroy, broadsides legitimated James VI's government as they created the illusion it was supported by the majority of the Scots. McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun"', 328, 333-334.

[211] Blakeway, 'A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border', 1347-1351

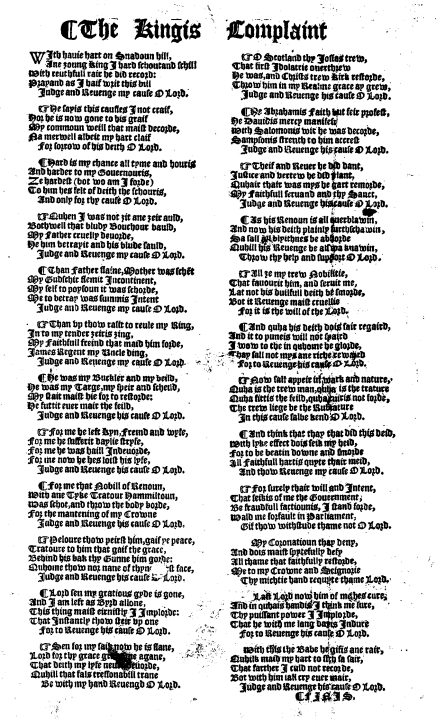
[212] 'Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust Quarrell' (August 1567). Printed in: James Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh, London 1891), 57-64.

[213] Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 42-43; McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun"', 328-329.

[214] See appendix for an analysis of all broadsides ballads produced by the King's Party during the civil war.

[215] For a systematic analysis of the broadsides on which this section is based seen the appendix.

framing the civil war as a feud, the King's Party could use a justification based on a practice which was just as old, and thus legitimate, as the Scottish monarchy. Thus after Mary had been imprisoned and Bothwell took to piracy, the lords were exhorted to continue their just quarrel and 'Revenge in haist the cruell act'.[216] As Mary had thwarted their first attempt for satisfaction by taking the side of the King's murderer, she should not be trusted.[217] The lords were thus forced to take matters in their own hands in order to 'Lat him be slaine your king that slew'.[218] A prohibition to give remissions to Darnley's killers was even included in the oath taken by James VI's regents.[219] This further underlines the feudal nature of the conflict, as it outlawed the interference of royal justice. With the passage of time, the King's Party's ability to use traditional justifications for taking up arms would grow and evolve beyond a call for revenge.



CThe Kingis Complaint

WIth hauie hart on Shaboun hill,
Ane young King I hard schoutand schill
With rauthfull rair he did recoyd:
Prayand as I hail wait that wil
Iudge and Reuenge my cauſe O Lord.

CHe ſayis this cauſſes I not ceaſe,
Bot he is now gone to his graiſe
Quhy commoun weill that maiſt decoyde,
Ma merweill albeit my hart claiſe
Fo2 ſoirow of his deith O Lord.

CHard is my chance all tyme and houris
And hardar to my Gouernouris,
Zit hardeſt (bot wo am I fode)
To ſhaw hes feit of deith the chouris,
And only fo2 thy cauſe O Lord.

CWhen I was not zit ane zeir auld,
Bothwell that bludy Bourchour bauld,
Quy Father cruellie deuoyde,
He him deſtroyit and his bludе ſauld,
Iudge and Reuenge my cauſe O Lord.

CQuhat Father ſtane, Mother was ſchote
Quy Gudelyke Kenit Incontinent,
Quy ſeit to popſoun it was ſchoyde,
Qe to betray was ſummis Intent
Iudge and Reuenge my cauſe O Lord.

CThan quhow raiſt to reule my King,
In to my tender zeiris zing,
Quy Faithfull freind that maid him ſoyde,
Iames Regent my Uncle ding,
Iudge and Reuenge my cauſe O Lord.

CHe was my Buckler and my beild,
He was my Targe, my ſpeir and ſcheild,
Quy Dait maiſt die fo2 to reſtoyde:
Be ſtrict rure maiſt the feild,
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CFo2 me he left kyn, Freend and wyfe,
Fo2 me he ſuffert bayth ſtryfe,
Fo2 me he wad baith Iuſtice & Iuſtice,
Fo2 me now he hes loſt his lyfe,
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CFo2 me that Nobill of Renoun,
With ane Tyke Traitour Hammiltoun,
Was ſhot and ſchow the body bayde,
Fo2 the mantening of my Crowne
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CFo2 loue thow peirſt him, gaif ye peace,
Traitour to him that gaif the grace,
Behind his bak thy Curſe him gorde:
Quhoune thow no3 nane of thyne [illegible]ll face,
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CLord ſin my gratious gyde is gone,
And I am left as Byrd allone,
This thing maiſt eirnitly I Implore:
That Iuſtantly thow Deir ſo one
Fo2 to Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CSen fo2 my faill now ye is ſtane,
Lord fo2 thy grace grant me agane,
That deith my lyfe nocht preuoyde,
Quhill that falſe reſtanbill traine
Be with my hand Reuengd O Lord.

CO Scotland thy Iuſtice trew,
That firſt Idolatrie ouerthrew
Be wast, and Chriſtis trew kirk reſtoyde,
Quhow him in my Bairne grace ay grew,
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CQe Abrahamis Faith wat feir ſpaikeſt,
He Dauidis mercy manifeſt,
With Salomons wit he was decoyde,
Sampſonis ſtrenth to him nocht reſt
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CTheif and Reuer be hid dant,
Iuſtice and breirwe be hid plant,
Quhair thair was nayis be gart remoyde,
Quy Faithfull ſeruand and thy Sanct,
Iudge and Reuenge thair cauſe O Lord.

CAs his Renoun is all ouerblawin,
And now his deith plainly ſtertſchawin,
So tak gud prydence be abloyde
Quhill his Reuenge be all ſpa knawin,
Thow thy help and ſupport O Lord.

CAll ye my trew Nobilitie,
That fauoure him, and feruit me,
Let not his buriall heirb be forgote,
Bot it Reuenge maiſt cruellie
Fo2 it is the will of the Lord.

CAnd quha his heirb dois their regaird,
And it to punnis will not ſpaird
I vow to the in quhome be gloyde,
Thay ſall not myſs ane riche reuwaird
Fo2 to Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

CNow lat appeir ſic mark and nature,
Quha is the trew man, quha is the traiture
Quha feiris the feild, quha hairis not ſoyde,
The trew liege be the Walkmaiſtre
In this cauſe falbe hend O Lord.

CAnd think that thay that did this deid,
With lyke effect dois feik my heid,
Fo2 to be beatin downe and ſmoyde
All Faithfull hartis quyre thair meid,
And thow Reuenge my cauſe O Lord.

CFo2 ſurely thair will and Intent,
That feiris of me the Gouernment,
Be fraudfull factiounis, I haue ſoyde,
Walk me ſofſault in Parliament,
Gif thow withſtude thame not O Lord.

Quy Coronatioun thay deny,
And dois maiſt ſpytefully bely
All thame that faithfully reſtoyde,
Qe to my Crowne and Scingnoie
Thy michtie hand reuenge thame Lord.

Laſt Lord now him of meſſer cure,
And in quhome handis I think me ſure,
Thy pniſſant power I Implоyde,
That he with me long beyis Indure
Fo2 to Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

with ſiſs the Bade be giffis ane raſe,
Quhilk maid my hart to ſiſs in faſe,
That farther I cuild not reoyde,
Bot with him tak ey eure maiſ.
Iudge and Reuenge his cauſe O Lord.

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Image 4: An example of a broadside ballad printed by the King's Party.

A month after Mary's dethronement in July 1567, the stream of broadside ballads stopped until it was ignited again by the assassination of regent Moray in 1570. The halting of propaganda could be a reason why Mary was able to muster a considerable army before she fled to England in May 1568. According to Donaldson, the passage of time 'had done something to allow the pitiable tale of her misfortunes to eclipse the memory of the ineptitude and folly, if not crime, of which she had been guilty'.[220] Maybe the King's Party had noticed this and learned from it. In any case, when the production of broadsides was resumed in 1570, memories were not allowed to fade into oblivion.

[216] 'Heir Followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis' (June 1567), line 50. Printed in: James Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh, London 1891), 46-51.

[217] 'Heir Followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis', lines 33-48.

[218] 'Heir Followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis', line 69. See also 51-72.

[219] Blakeway, *Regency in sixteenth-century Scotland*, 64.

[220] Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 87. Rosalind Mitchison also states that Mary's return after 1567 became a possibility when memories of the scandals became fainter. Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, 133.

The Queen's Party's response

Mary's supporters had not produced propaganda preceding her escape to England, and at Mary's request they had laid low during the conferences in England. However, they took up their swords and pens when a disillusioned Mary withdrew her commissioners from the conferences around 6 December 1568.[221] While Mary might have thought it unnecessary to try to win the hearts of her subjects as she was their anointed queen, her supporters nevertheless did start a propaganda campaign. One of the few surviving propaganda ballads from the Queen's Party is dated 9 December 1568 and is titled 'A Rhime in Defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray'. Tom Truth, a fictive narrator, gives a different account of Mary's fall, contradicting the version which the King's Party used to defend their actions. According to Tom, Mary is betrayed by rebels under the leadership of the queen's bastard brother, the Earl of Moray, who desires the throne for himself. Tom narrates how Moray conspired to murder Darnley, imprisoned Mary, and crowned James only to disguise his evil intentions. Tom is certain that Moray is just as bad as Richard III of England, prepared to kill his own kin to become king.[222] The comparison would not be lost on the Scots, as they were familiar with the English kings either through literature or popular stories.[223] This ballad indicates how the propaganda of the Queen's Party was pushed in a certain direction by the King's Party. Since the King's Party portrayed the murder of Darnley as the cause of civil war, the Queen's Party had to respond to the accusation of murder. They could not take the high road and simply state that the King's Party rebelled against a ruling monarch. Accusing the King's Party of overthrowing the established order would not appease the call for revenge following Darnley's death and, more importantly, it would not exonerate Mary or themselves from accusations of murder. Thus while Mary's and her supporters' authority had a stable basis in the distant past, the recent past had become the subject of debate and needed to be addressed.

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[221] Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 183.

[222] 'A Rhime in Defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray' (December 1568). Printed in: James Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh, London 1891), 68-81.

[223] See for example the references to Richard II in contemporary broadsides. James Cranstoun (ed.), *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, Vol II, (Edinburgh, London 1891), 167-168. Ballad authors certainly assumed that their public had a certain knowledge of history and scripture as is shown by their frequent reference to both in order to underline their arguments. See appendix.

During the conferences Mary had refused to answer to accusations of her subjects[224], but she was 'nocht willing to let thare fals invented allegeances pas our with silence' when they were made in her absence. However, Mary still did not think it necessary to address her subjects. She only wanted 'that oure innocencie salbe knowen to oure goods sister and all utheris princes'.[225] Nobles who had been implicated in the murder of Darnley during the conference in England, did feel the need to exonerate themselves in Scotland. To that effect the Earl of Argyll and George Gordon, 5th Earl of Huntly, issued a proclamation based on a document which Mary had sent them. The rebels are accused of making false allegations against Mary to cover their treasonable activities. Argyll and Huntly claim to stay aloof of such heinous acts, and to tell their side of the story only 'for the dewitie of gud and faythfull subjectis and discharge of our consciences afoir God'.[226] In practice they did follow the example of their adversaries, as they argue that Moray and Lethington are responsible for killing Darnley.[227] This proclamation is an example of how Mary and her supporters made counter-accusations instead of rebutting the case made against them. Even though Mary had not requested the publication of this document, she had asked Argyll and Huntly to sign it so she could use it as evidence in the case she was building against her rebels.[228] Her aggressive approach is also evident in her instructions for a proclamation which will be discussed below. Again Mary did not want to absolve herself, but defame her adversaries.

Mary's instructions for publicly discrediting Moray are even more interesting, because Mary points to the future instead of the past. She claims that Moray intends to deliver the entire country to the 'antient and naturall enymeis' of her realm, the English.[229] Moray should

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[224] Donaldson, *The First Trial*, 147.

[225] Letter of Mary to her commissioners for the English conferences, 19 December 1568. Printed in: Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers: Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, *Vol. 2 A.D. 1563-1569* (Edinburgh 1900), 585-586.

[226] Proclamation of the Earl of Argyll and the Earl of Huntly, January 1569. Printed in: Robert Keith, *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of King James V. to the retreat of Queen Mary into England, anno 1568. Taken from the publick Records, and other authentick Vouchers. Volume I* (Edinburgh 1734), 290-294.

[227] Ibid., 290-294.

[228] Letter of Mary to the Earl of Huntly, January 1569. Printed in: Bain (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers: Relating to Scotland Vol. 2*, 596

[229] Letter of Mary to the Earl of Argyll, 16 December 1568. Printed in: T. Thomson et al (eds.), *Registrum honoris de Morton*, Vol. I (Edinburgh 1853), 36-38. Argyll followed Mary's instructions and issued a proclamation in which Moray's deal with the English was disclosed. However, Argyll did feel the need to

be resisted for what he plans to do, for what he has done: being complicit in the unprecedented and revolutionary actions which gave him the opportunity to make this scheme in the first place. In the final proclamation, the current threat posed by Moray's plans is further stressed by a comparison with the Wars of Independence.[230] Thus instead of acknowledging the conflict as a civil war revolving around her deposition, Mary prefers to portray the conflict as a fight for independence from England. Unfortunately for her, the more recent memories of English assistance during the Reformation Rebellion made a reference to older English aggression less powerful. Moreover, Elizabeth quickly denied the existence of any secret deal with Moray, and any intention to invade Scotland.[231] It is possible that Mary thought the Scots were easier motivated to fight against an English invasion than for her restoration, and that she therefore refrained from accusing Moray of overthrowing godly order. However, it is more likely that since Mary still publicly viewed herself as Queen of Scotland, she could not exhort her subjects to fight for her restoration because this would amount to her admitting her deposition. Furthermore, if she asked her subjects to choose her side in a civil war, Mary would give her subjects the power to decide over her fate. Therefore, while Mary in theory might have a better claim to present tradition and safeguard continuity, she was unable to use these arguments because she was too proud to publicly admit that she had been forced from her throne.

While Mary did not publicly react to the accusations made against her, John Leslie did find it necessary to prove her innocence to further her cause. Therefore the most influential treatise in defence of Mary was not commissioned by her, but written and printed on Leslie's own initiative in 1570.[232] His answer to the case brought against Mary is part of a larger work in which he defends her right to the English succession and reacts to Knox's argument against

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address the recent rebellion to Mary's authority. Therefore the proclamation opens with a reference to the common knowledge that Mary has fled to England. Argyll then argues that while in England the rebels made horrible accusations on Mary's address as an excuse for their rebellion. When the rebels realised that they could not prove their case against Mary, they decided to deliver the whole country to the English. Proclamation of the Earl of Argyll acting as Mary's Lieutenant, January 1569. Printed in: A.I. Cameron (ed.), *The Warrender Papers*, Vol. I (Edinburgh 1931), 57-59.

[230] Proclamation of the Earl of Argyll. Cameron (ed.), *The Warrender Papers*, 57-59.

[231] Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, January 1569. Printed in: A.I. Cameron (ed.), *The Warrender Papers*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1931), 60-61.

[232] David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, Vol. II, Thomas Thomson (ed.) (Edinburgh 1842), 467; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 199.

the regiment of women. Leslie wrote for an English audience[233], possibly hoping that by swaying the English public opinion he might force Elizabeth to help Mary regain her throne. As it was difficult enough for Leslie to make his work available in England[234], it is unsure to what extent he may have influenced the Scottish public. Also, since Leslie was addressing an English audience, arguments related to the Scottish past were less useful for him. For these reasons I will discuss Leslie's defence only briefly. Leslie states that the rebels only made false accusations to defend their unlawful rebellion[235] against 'a noble Quene liniallie descendinge from the Royall race, of the noble Kyngs of Scotlande, and inheritinge the crown therof, of ryght'.[236] Yet he goes to extreme lengths to refute them. In the process he provides an alternative to the King's Party's reading of the recent past. Throughout he blames the King's Party for all misfortunes, including Darnley's death and Mary's marriage to Bothwell, concluding that Mary 'is more to be pittied, then to be blamed'.[237] As Leslie does not hesitate to address the nature of the current conflict, he is in the position to use tradition as an argument against the King's Party. In passing Leslie often describes the actions of the King's Party as unprecedented.[238] When addressing James VI's coronation, Leslie explicitly stresses the revolutionary nature of the event. James's coronation is unnatural, 'as the vipers enter into the worlde by eatinge and gnawinge owte the mothers wombe'. The ceremony was 'a strange newe fouunde solemnitie', which in addition failed to attract the amount of nobles necessary for a lawful coronation.[239] However, even though it was the first Protestant coronation, the King's Party anxiously preserved as much of the traditional ceremonial as possible. While the coronation oath changed as a result of the circumstances under which it was taken, in essence it resembled the oaths of predecessors.[240] Leslie did have a point when he remarked that

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[233] John Leslie, *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 & intereste to the succession of the crowne of Englande, as that the regimente of women ys conformable to the lawe of God and nature* (London [i.e. Rheims] 1569), preface.

[234] Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 89; Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 77.

[235] Leslie, *A Defence*, preface [2], 2, 17-26.

[236] Ibid., 29.

[237] Ibid., 16, 4-17.

[238] Ibid., preface [4], 24.

[239] Ibid., 26.

[240] Lucinda H.S. Dean, 'Crowning the Child: Representing Authority in the Inaugurations and Coronations of Minors in Scotland, c. 1214 to 1567', McGlynn and Woodacre (eds.), *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 254-280, 277-278.

James's coronation was too badly attended to make it legitimate.[241] In practice, however, deviations in ceremony or bad attendance proved no impediments for accepting James VI as king.

Consolidation and the end of war

The Earl of Moray, who had assumed the regency in August 1567, consolidated the regime of James VI and placed it on a secure footing not solely through force[242], but also by constructing a façade of traditional authority and continuity. While the King's Party had broken with the past by deposing Mary, once in power James VI's government was fashioned as another royal minority of which Scotland had seen many. Continuity was achieved by demonstrating legitimacy in the same manner as previous regents. The King's Party's use of old institutions and ceremonies, as for example the coronation of James VI and the inauguration of regent Moray, could partially fulfil the need to derive legitimacy from the past.[243] Traditional institutions became a battleground for asserting authority as the King's and Queen's Party organised rival parliaments in the name of their respective monarchs. While the King's Party's parliament tried to achieve legitimacy by the presence of their monarch, the legitimacy of the Queen's Party's parliament was bolstered by the presence of the Royal Regalia.[244] Aside from the use of institutions, the success of regent Moray in asserting his authority could also be attributed to his royal lineage. Although he was a bastard son of James V, in King's Party propaganda he was consistently presented as a prince and the queen's brother. His assassination in January 1570 was a severe blow for the King's Party and reignited the smouldering embers of civil war, which led the King's Party to reopen their propaganda campaign with a new stream of broadside ballads.[245]

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[241] Dean, 'Crowning the Child', 273.

[242] Dawson, *The Politics of Religion*, 177-179.

[243] Amy Blakeway has shown that despite of the accusations of novelty at the address of James VI's regents, they tried to establish their legitimacy in the same manner as their predecessors. Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth Century Scotland*, in particular 221.

[244] Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 274-275; Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 120-121; Goodare, 'The Scottish Parliamentary Records', 260. For the importance of tradition and ceremony in the Scottish parliament see: Alastair J. Mann, 'Continuity and Change: the culture of ritual and procession in the Parliaments of Scotland', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, 29:1 (2009), 143-158.

[245] From December 1568 to January 1570 there is no evidence of ballad production. Shortly after Moray's assassination the first ballad is printed, after which new ballads rapidly succeed each other. See appendix.

As the King's Party made the best of a horrible scenario, the murder on regent Moray became a powerful tool in their propaganda. Amy Blakeway has shown how Moray's posthumous eulogisation and the manner in which his death was discussed served to legitimate James VI's government. The broadside ballads made after Moray's demise praised him as the right regent, without ever questioning if there even should be a regent instead of an adult queen. His assassination was denounced as treason, ignoring the fact that his legitimacy was not universally accepted. Describing Moray's assassination as treason had another benefit, as it connected his death with the original cause of civil war in the narrative of the King's Party: the murder on Darnley. As the death of Moray refreshed the memory of Darnley's death, the justness of actions of the King's Party against Mary and her consorts were reaffirmed. Moray was the latest victim of the evil schemes of Mary and her associates, and his assassination demonstrated why Mary should not be restored and her supporters needed to be defeated.[246] Consequently, the murder on Moray became part of a narrative which had initially served to justify Mary's dethronement, but now also justified continuing the civil war and called for the extermination of her supporters.

The broadside ballads printed from 1570 onwards show that, with the passage of time and the duration of James VI's regime, the King's Party's range of traditional arguments expanded until it came full circle. As rebels became rulers, the King's Party could now present themselves as upholders of tradition and godly order. Claiming to defend the authority of James VI, the King's Party accused the Queen's Party of rebellion. Members of the Queen's Party were branded as rebels, as they refused to accept James VI and only used Mary's cause as an excuse for violence without sincerely wishing for her restoration.[247] Nevertheless, after Moray's death the Queen's Party gained in strength. Moray was succeeded by Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox and Darnley's father. Lennox's appointment strengthened the perception of the civil war as a feud, as it gave Darnley's kin the necessary power to fulfil their traditional duty to revenge his death. As a side effect, Lennox's hatred towards the alleged killers obstructed compromise. When Elizabeth sought to reopen negotiations over Mary's restoration, Lennox did not follow Moray's strategy at the conferences in 1568. To Lennox it was clear that Mary was responsible for the death of his son. Instead of sending a representative with further proof of this accusation, he replied with

[246] Blakeway, 'The Response to Regent Moray's Assassination', 19-29.

[247] See appendix

an exposition of Buchanan's theory on the right of people to hold their monarch to account.[248] Interestingly, this was the only place where Buchanan's theory resurfaced. The public propaganda of the King's Party continued on the same rhetorical path steering clear from any associations with novelty while accusing their adversaries of experimenting with Machiavelli's theories.[249]

Neither the King's or Queen's Party was able to decide the war through battle or print, and instead the war came to an end when Elizabeth intervened by military means. Triggered by conspiracies aiming to replace Elizabeth with Mary and by heightened religious fervour in the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris, English forces secured the victory for the King's Party in May 1573. Two pieces of Queen's Party propaganda survive from the final phase of the civil war. While they still try to refute the accusations made against Mary, the Queen's Party also moves to accuse their adversaries of using theories of popular sovereignty which pose a threat to all monarchs.[250] However, this counteraccusation was weak, as the King's Party consolidated James VI's government and claimed to uphold traditional royal authority in his name. Furthermore, Mary's cause had become part of European literature concerning contemporary religious conflicts. In this context her cause became more closely tied to Catholicism in general, and in particular to the French Catholic Party of which her Guise relatives formed the core.[251] In conclusion, over time Mary's case became less attractive while the duration of James VI's government proved itself to be a viable alternative for those cherishing traditional rule. If the Scottish past was ever neglected as a source of authority by the King's Party, it was not because they did not think it mattered, but because another party had, for a while, a stronger claim to tradition.

[248] Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xxxi-xxxiv.

[249] Loughlin, 'The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis', 227-230, 239-241, 245.

[250] 'Ane Ballat of ye Captane of the Castell' (February 1571). Printed in: James Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh, London 1891), 174-179.

[251] Staines, *The Tragic Histories*, 64-85; Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 70-103.

Chapter 3: Memory politics, religious reform, and civil conflict in sixteenth-century Europe

According to Philip Benedict, the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt display striking similarities besides their duration and bloodiness. Both are characterised by a movement for reform, changes at the centre of power fostering uncertainty about the royal will, a competition over access to the king and mistrust of favourites, civil war, and opposition movements improvising their own government on the basis of existing institutions.[252] All these elements are also present in Scotland from the time of the Reformation until the end of the Marian civil war. Benedict recommends comparative research as a means to understand the distinctive development of the religious conflicts. It is beyond the scope of this paper to compare the three conflicts on all aspects. I will focus on the use of the past which was an important source of authority in sixteenth-century Europe and therefore played an important part in these conflicts.[253] I will structure this comparison thematically, beginning with an analysis of how religious reform and past rebellions determined the memory practices available to monarchs. Next, I will compare how the rebels engaged in memory practices to justify their actions during the three conflicts. In the final section I will examine the memory politics of monarchs and loyal subjects, explaining why some subjects took it upon themselves to produce royalist propaganda while monarchs preferred to abstain from public debate.

As mentioned in the introduction, studies of early modern memory practices are biased towards relatively well-developed polities such as France or the Low Countries. This is problematic, because it undermines scholarly attempts to investigate the differences or similarities between early modern and modern memory practices. The Scottish case counterbalances this bias, as Scotland was an arguably less progressive polity. Scottish memory practices are therefore more exemplary of early modern experience in general, which in turn provides a stronger basis for examining the relation between early modern and modern memory practices. I would like to argue that even in a 'backward' country as Scotland, the same flexible approaches to memory – which are often seen as modern –are visible as in

[252] Philip Benedict, 'Introduction', Idem. et al. (eds.) *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585* (Amsterdam 1999), 1-22, 1.

[253] See introduction.

France or the Low Countries. Lively and flexible memory practices can exist without the modern state.

In addition, the comparison between Scotland, France and the Low Countries shows that in a conflict between monarch and rebels, memory politics follow a certain dynamic. Arjun Appadurai has already argued that the past is a scarce resource: the strength of specific historical arguments depends on the context in which they are used. However, Appadurai's argument is mainly applicable to conflicts over rights which involve historical charters.[254] I propose that there is a wider repertoire of memory practices which can be useful in politics, involving various sorts of arguments, and that the nature of the conflict and its participants determine which memory politics can be used. In the wars mentioned above, there is a conflict between a natural ruler and rebellious subjects. While the memory practices of natural rulers are relatively straightforward as monarchs embodied historical continuity, monarchs are reluctant to use these in a public debate, as they believe it is beneath their honour to convince their subjects of the legitimacy of their rule. Rebels do feel the need to argue their cause, but as they cannot use the past in their favour, rebels cultivate memories of the recent past instead. Historical events determine which memory practices are available. The variations in memory politics in France, Scotland and the Low Countries during similar conflicts can be related to differences in context, such as the position of the rebels, the religion of the monarch or the strategy the monarch had chosen to overcome rebellion.

Religion, reform and tradition

During the Dutch Revolt, the French Wars of Religion and the Marian civil war, politics and religion intertwined as subjects rose against their rightful monarchs. Starting in 1562, France was tormented by civil war as Huguenots fought for recognition. Realising that they were too powerful to be subdued, the French kings aimed at establishing – preferably temporary – co-existence. Dissatisfied with this course, Catholics rose in opposition against their king as well. Around 1580 there were three pretenders to the throne, each supported by a coalition based on religious and political alliances. While Henry of Navarre was finally able to seize the throne as Henry IV after his conversion to Catholicism, the religious wars had seriously challenged

[254] For example, according to Appadurai the validity of a charter depends on the question if the author of the charter is currently recognized as an authorative figure. Arjun Appadurai, 'The Past as a Scarce Resource', *Man*, 16:2 (1981), 201-219, especially 203-204, 211.

the foundations of French kingship.[255] The Dutch Revolt posed a challenge to royal authority as well, but in contrast to the French king, the Catholic Habsburgs were unable to subdue all their possessions. While France remained unified under one king, the Low Countries splitted in two different states. In 1566 a noble petition moved the Habsburg regent to temporarily suspend the unpopular religious policies which infringed on local authority. A subsequent surge in Protestant activity shattered the regent's hope that further unrest could be prevented. Habsburg countermeasures did not go down well with the Dutch nobility, leading to escalation of the conflict, culminating in the political separation of the Low Countries in two separate states, one Catholic and the other dominated by Protestants. The Marian civil war does deviate in this aspect: reform was achieved without officially breaking with royal authority. It did affect the monarchy, as Mary found out when she returned as a Catholic Queen to a Protestant Scotland. Thus in all three conflicts traditional authority was challenged for the sake of a new religion, threatening established customs.

Even though monarchs in general had the past on their side, in certain circumstances monarchs did dispose parts of the past or adjust their memory practices. As seen in chapter one, Mary enacted oblivion and buried the recent past in order to mend the relationship with her subjects. The different religions of the Queen and her subjects, however, remained as a testimony to the rebellion and created new problems. As kings derived their right to rule from God, religion formed an important aspect of court culture and provided a point of contact between sovereign and subject. In addition, religious rituals established a relation between past and present as they were portrayed as age-old and unchanging. Rulers who violated these traditions could be replaced by someone who would safeguard continuity.[256] But what about the opposite? What if the religion itself changed, and as a result the religious rituals used by monarchs fell in disrepute? In this respect, it is instructive to compare Mary's situation with that of Elizabeth, as both became queen during a period of rising Protestant influence. Whereas Mary refused to follow her subjects in the new religion, Elizabeth led the way. Elizabeth's embracement of religious reform was a real deviation from previous policy, as her

[255] For a thorough analysis of the French Wars of Religion see: Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*. For the consequences religious conflict for French kingship see: Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574-89* (2014), 104, 311.

[256] Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge 2016), 230, 255-257, 263-264, 271.

direct predecessor had been a staunch Catholic and instituted a Counter-Reformation.[257] Neither Elizabeth nor Mary could rely on the communication strategies of her predecessors. However, the break with the past caused by religious reform did not harm Elizabeth's authority, while it posed a challenge to Mary's. I contend that the discontinuity caused by religious reform could be overcome if monarch and people agreed on the course of change, allowing the invention of new memory practices.

David Cressy has shown how the English monarchy could even be strengthened by religious reform, as it provided an opportunity to invent new traditions to propagate royal authority. The prayer book used by the English reformed church included a calendar which provided an alternative devotional framework to the Catholic holy days and festivals.[258] New secular holidays were introduced, in part to make up for the loss of Catholic feasts. Royal events, as for example Elizabeth's coronation on 17 November, became occasions for celebrations.[259] Furthermore, these secular holidays provided guidelines for a new reading of the English past which bound the English people, the monarchy and the reformed religion closely together. English scholar Thomas Holland of Oxford recalled 17 November, the day of Elizabeth's accession, as 'a day wherein our nation received a new light after a fearful and bloody eclipse'.[260] After the tyranny of a Catholic queen, Elizabeth relieved the country and restored the true religion. Religious reform involved a break with the past. However, as the past remained an important source of authority it was rewritten into a national narrative that was compatible with the current situation.

In Scotland, in addition to the need to forget the recent rebellion, the distant past was problematic as well. Protestant and Catholics interpreted the past in a different manner.[261]

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[257] Peter Ackroyd, *The History of England Vol. II Tudors* (London 2012), 72-80, 129-132, 184-201, 245-248, 262-271, 291-293.

[258] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London 1989), 6-9.

[259] Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 32, 50-57.

[260] Cited by David Cressy from: Thomas Holland, *Elizabethae … A sermon preached at Pauls in London the 17 of November Ann. Dom. 1599* (Oxford 1601). Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 54.

[261] Nicola Royan and Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', Ian Brown et al. (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume one: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh 2007), 168-183; Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity', 165-186. An example from Knox's history: The Battle of Solway Moss was usually interpreted as a disaster for Scotland as they were defeated by the English whom tried to take away their freedom. John Knox, however, interpreted the battle as a stage in God's plan for Scotland, as the English were acting as the hand of God 'fighting against the pride for freedom'. William Croft

Religious reform thus involved historical revision, which obstructed a national reading of the past when religious reform divided the nation. Therefore Mary could not cultivate a historical narrative to legitimate her rule in the same manner as Elizabeth. Mary would not revise the national calendar to celebrate the Scottish past, as she still celebrated the Catholic feasts.[262] In Mary's case, religion and history needed to be separated to enable imagining a past shared by the queen and all her subjects. In contrast, the Habsburg rulers of the Low Countries were able to enact oblivion and fall back on memories preceding the rebellion as they implemented a Catholic Counter-Reformation in their territories. Thus by comparing the situation in England, Scotland and the Low Countries, the relations between royal authority, religion and a shared history become evident. While in England religious reform did not damage royal authority and the ability to appeal to a national past, the Scottish Reformation severely limited the opportunities of the Catholic Queen Mary for communicating the legitimacy of her rule.

Reform and rebellion

In Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, opposition to vested authority initially went hand in hand with profession of loyalty to the monarchy. This was partly because rebels needed to use arguments that would appeal to the general public.[263] Professions of loyalty to the monarchy bolstered the rebel's conservative image and placated a public adhering to tradition. Besides, rebels could be just as conservative as their public and genuinely wish to preserve the monarchy as an institution.[264] The monarchs in question, however, could not square demands for religious reform with loyalty to the monarchy. Religion was one of the pillars of royal authority; any reform might affect the role of the monarch and his relationship with the

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Dickinson (ed.), *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland. Volume One* (London, Edinburgh, etc. 1949), 38.

[262] According to Andrew Pettegree, calendar revision was a peculiar Protestant enterprise to establish a common identity as religious holidays were replaced by commemorations of historical events. Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge 2005), 207-210.

[263] Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 155, 160; H.G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G.Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century. Second Edition* (London, New York 1989), 303.

[264] For Scotland see chapter 2. In France Catholics and Protestants cherished the same traditional concept of the monarchy. Even after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in August 1572, which gave an impetus for the development of Protestant resistance theory, Protestants clung to the traditional monarchy. James R. Smither, 'The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and Images of Kingship in France: 1572-1574', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22:1 (1991), 27-46.

church.[265] In France, the monarchy and the Catholic church had been so closely bound together that any deviation in religion was intolerable to the 'most Christian king'.[266] This attitude affected Scotland as well, from the moment of Mary's betrothal to the French dauphin in 1548 until her return to Scotland in 1565.[267] Whether Catholic or Protestant, contemporaries believed in the divine nature of political authority and rebellion was not something to be taken lightly.[268]

One way to circumvent God's command to obey secular rulers was to argue that the opposition was aimed against the evil advisors of the monarch. Rebels in France, Scotland and the Low Countries all employed 'evil advisor' rhetoric, but in a different manner. The differences are caused by variations in contexts, such as the residence or age of the monarch. As Mary and Francis II resided in France, Scots argued that their resistance was aimed towards the tyrannous regent, Mary of Guise, who abused the authority delegated to her and defied the ancient rules of the realm. While the regent's repression of Protestantism had been an important reason for Scots to rebel, religion was not used as a justification in the proclamation in defence of the regent's deposition. Instead, rebellion was depicted as a duty for 'the Nobility, Barons, and Provosts of Burghs' to prevent the regent from suppressing 'the liberties of our commonweal' as they are 'not only born, but also sworn protectors and defenders [of the commonweal]'.[269] In the Low Countries, the 'Beggars' used a similar defence. They accused the regent of infringing on ancient privileges[270], her overbearing

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[265] Koenigsberger, Mosse, and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 192, 197, 207.

[266] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 7-8. The coronation of the French monarch involved consecration, conferring semi-priestly powers and placing the monarch above the average human being. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?*, 104-105.

[267] Mary's soon to be father in law, Henry II, boosted that he had brought Scotland to order and obedience. In general the French monarchy had a considerable influence in Scottish affairs. MacDougall, *An Antidote to the English*, 140-141. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 45-58.

[268] Especially Romans 13 was frequently referred to as a reminder of God's command to obey secular authorities. See for example references to Romans 13 in support of the Habsburgs in the Low Countries: Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 40-44, 53, 105-107, 139, 147, 160. Protestants theologians from all shades developed ways to circumvent this decree during the religious conflicts of the sixteenth-century. Mason and Smith (eds.), *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, xlvii-xlviii; Mason, 'Knox on Rebellion', 145-164.

[269] Dickinson, *John Knox's History Vol. One*, 250-255.

[270] J.J. Wolter, 'Dutch Privileges, Real and Imaginary', J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, *Britain and the Netherlands. Volume V. Some Political Mythologies. Papers Delivered to the Fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference* (Bath 1975), 19-36, 25-35.

religious persecution constituting a sensitive and prime example.[271] Again, they could use such rhetoric because their monarch was absent, and in this case, resided in Spain.[272] In France, the situation was slightly complicated as their sovereigns resided in the realm and there was no legal intermediary who could be blamed. However, after the death of Henry III a succession of French kings were minors. Therefore French rebels argued that their opposition was directed against the evil advisors who took advantage of the king's innocence. As the king was too young to free himself of these tyrants, rebels claimed to fulfil their duty as loyal subjects by defying these usurpers.[273] Thus while these rebellions might have endangered continuity between past and present, the rebels argued the opposite and claimed to defend ancient institutions, including the monarchy.

Whereas Protestants in Scotland triumphed without abjuring their monarchs, in France and the Low Countries this initial opposition escalated into outright war between sovereign and subjects. After the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, Huguenots were estranged from the crown and called their co-religionists to arms to oppose Valois tyranny.[274] Phillip II's response to the rebellion in the Low Countries had done more harm than good, leading the rebel territories to abjure Phillip II in 1581.[275] Nevertheless, in both cases the rebels did not denounce monarchical rule in general.[276] They remained wedded to tradition, whether by conviction or expediency, and instead looked for alternative sovereigns.[277] Political theories which attacked royal authority and justified rebellion were only used as a last resort, because these theories were too radical to convince and appeal to contemporaries who deeply valued

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[271] Henk van Nierop, 'The Nobility and the Revolt of the Netherlands: Between Church and King, and Protestantism and Privileges', Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585* (Amsterdam 1999), 83-98, 86-87; Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 4-5, 47-49.

[272] The Dutch rebels continued to use the 'evil advisor' rhetoric until 1581 when they officially abjured Philips II. Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 81. In the meantime, however, several 'advisors' and regents had entered the stage while the official stance remained the same which made it less plausible that policies were not in some way dictated by Philips himself.

[273] Denis Crouzet, 'Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and Religious. France ca. 1560-1573', Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585* (Amsterdam 1999), 99-114, 104-107.

[274] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 99-102.

[275] Van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden*, 124.

[276] Benedict, 'Introduction', 20-21.

[277] For the Low Countries see: Van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden*, 124-127, 133-134. For France see: Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 103-105.

continuity. According to Monica Stensland, the use of political theories in rebel propaganda in the Low Countries 'was indicative of their difficulty in establishing the legitimacy of their revolt, and should not necessarily be taken as proof of sophisticated persuasive strategies'.[278] In a similar manner French Protestants were not eager to proclaim new ideas about political authority. Dennis Crouzet even argues that French Protestants did not have a consistent theory, but used different arguments under different circumstances.[279] This balancing act between the need to defend rebellion and a respect for old institutions figures in Scotland when opposition against Mary led to civil war. George Buchanan supplied a consistent theory but, as seen in chapter 2, rebels were reluctant to use it in public. The Scottish rebels had one major advantage. They did not need to look far for an alternative sovereign. In addition, their prospective king was too young to even understand what was going on, and his nearest and powerful relative, the Earl of Moray, supported the cause. Consequently, Buchanan's theory became redundant as the rebels now were able to claim to defend the royal authority of James VI. Thus even when opposition turned into rebellion against the monarch, rebels continued to hold the same political convictions as their fellow countrymen fighting for the monarch. The past remained the most important source of authority, which could not be overruled by theory.

As the distant past was problematic for rebels, they cultivated memories of the recent past instead. In the Low Countries, rebels 'attempted to create a version of events in which disobedience to the natural lord was acceptable under the circumstances'.[280] Thus their own conduct was justified as they portrayed the recent actions of Philip II's representative as excessive and cruel.[281] In Scotland, the same strategy was used as the King's Party defamed Mary to defend her deposition. French Huguenots, in contrast, did not necessarily foster memories of recent events to attack opponents. Preserving a true narrative of the recent past was part of their cause, but more as a defensive measure against the unjust accusations of Catholics.[282] Furthermore, memories of recent events strengthened their community,

[278] Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 107.

[279] Crouzet, 'Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and Religious', 100-104, 112-113.

[280] Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 36-37, 43, 47-48.

[281] Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 47.

[282] Nathalie Soulam, 'Les Historiens Protestants Face aux Guerres de Religion', Philip Benedict et al. *Publications de L'Association Suisse Pour L'Histoire du Refuge Huguenot. Volume 9: L'Identité Huguenote. Faire Mémoire et Écrire L'Histoire (XVIe-XXIe siècle)* (Genève 2014), 87-106, 97-98.

established a shared identity and exhorted co-religionists to persevere.[283] As rebels propagated memories of the recent past to justify their actions or enlist support, they forced their opponents to address the recent past as well. Even if it was only to dismantle rebel propaganda, is was necessary to tell the other side of the story.

Monarchical response

According to Monica Stensland, 'all early modern monarchs, even elected ones, regarded themselves as enjoying divinely ordained authority and as in no way being dependent on popular approval'.[284] This explains the reaction, or lack thereof, of monarchs to rebel propaganda. Even though monarchs would have a stronger case if they argued to safeguard continuity and preserve tradition, they did not feel the need to do so. Mary's refusal to answer to rebel accusations at the conferences in England illustrates this idea in practice.[285] Therefore it might seem surprising that Philip II did react to rebel propaganda, even though he was in a better position than Mary. However, Philip II did not try to win the approval of his subjects either. He supplied an alternative version of recent events not to defend himself against the accusations made by rebels, but to defame William of Orange, the figurehead of the rebels.[286] When Mary did eventually turn to print, it was also to launch an attack instead of a defence.[287] While in their attacks Philip referred to the recent past and Mary to the future, they both used a rhetoric of deceit. The rebel leaders, the Earl of Moray and William of Orange, supposedly deceived the common people for their own gain. This was an ideal argument for 'natural' rulers who had a traditional claim to power which did not need justification.

Meanwhile, the French sovereigns followed a different strategy, and as a result they did not propagate their interpretation of the recent past or smear political opponents. Reconciliation was their primary objective, and to that end each edict punctuating the religious wars included a clause of oblivion. Through the enforcement of oblivion, the French

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[283] Hope Glidden, 'Communities under Siege: Léry, Famine, and the Cannibal Within', David P. LaGuardia and Cathy Yandell (eds.), *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France* (Farnham 2015), 73-86; Kathleen P. Long, 'Fathers and Sons: Paternity Memory, and Community in Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné's Histoire Universelle',David P. LaGuardia and Cathy Yandell (eds.), *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France* (Farnham 2015), 87-96.

[284] Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 36.

[285] See chapter 2.

[286] Van der Steen, *Memory Wars* ,49.

[287] See chapter 2.

kings placed themselves above the warring parties as they decided what were legitimate memories for legal procedures. However, memories were not automatically forgotten when they had been adjudicated. French monarchs could only ask their subjects not to act on those memories and to reconcile despite their differences. Whereas Philip II held on to religious unity, French sovereigns were prepared to, temporarily, allow the co-existence of two religions in order to unify their realm under one law.[288] Therefore it was not in the interest of the monarchy to participate in a propaganda war and add fuel to the fire. Refraining from debate would at the same time enhance their image of impartial judges, which gave greater weight to their policy of oblivion. In addition, law enforcement was not only a practical necessity but a communication strategy to augment royal authority as well.[289] According to Penny Roberts, 'Pacification […] was an exercise by the monarch to ensure the loyalty of both sides, reinforcing royal authority by separating political obedience from religious allegiance.'[290] Thus while the French monarch remained the 'most Christian king', during the Wars of Religion the monarchy presented itself mostly as enforcers of justice, the 'true office of princes'.[291] Each pacification was explicitly presented as the king's peace, made for the welfare of all his subjects.[292] This communication strategy also comes to the fore in royal pageantry. Carpenter argues that even before the Wars of Religion, the French monarchy used court entertainments 'to assert security in the face of conflict or threat'.[293] Royal pageantry flowered during the religious conflicts with spectacular public displays of harmony.[294]

French royal policy was, however, not adopted by all loyal subjects. Many Catholics were dissatisfied with the king's attempt to pacify instead of repress the Huguenots. Luc Racaut has shown that from the mid-1550s and throughout the Religious Wars, Catholics denounced the Huguenots in print, while the monarchy could not instigate effective censorship. Therefore these works conflicted with royal policy, as their rhetoric did not leave

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[288] Oliver Christin, 'From Repression to Pacification: French Royal Policy in the Face of Protestantism', Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585* (Amsterdam 1999), 201-214.

[289] Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars, c.1560-1600* (Basingstoke 2013), 1-9.

[290] Roberts, 'Royal Authority', 11.

[291] Ibid., 3-4, 16, 18-25.

[292] Ibid., 11.

[293] Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 198.

[294] Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph', 7-9, 12-13; Idem., 'The Reassertion of Princely Power', 211; Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies', 197, 225; Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?*, 15-16, 19-22.

any room for peaceful co-existence with portrayals of Protestants as enemies of the king and the realm.[295] At the same time Catholics depicted themselves as defending royal authority. Religious innovators threatened continuity between past and present by changing 'the faith of our fathers' and challenging the monarchy, as the king had bound himself to Catholicism and sworn to protect it.[296] After the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, Catholics were the first to address the event in print. Here is the same discrepancy between royal letters, in which religious issues were sidestepped, and pamphlets addressing a strongly Catholic audience, in which the Huguenots were attacked.[297] Whether it was done with good intentions or not, the French vigorously claimed to argue the case of the monarchy while the monarch in question abstained from public debate and aimed to rise above the parties. As the conflict polarised and both sides produced more extreme propaganda, a royalist voice is difficult to detect. It appears that after the war loyal subjects did replicate the royal stance and remembered 'the religious passions of civil wars as foolish distraction from the underlying problem of political obedience to the monarchy'.[298] During the Religious Wars, however, propaganda printed by individuals in support of their monarch often conflicted with the royal policy of reconciliation.

In the Low Countries and Scotland, individuals produced propaganda in favour of the monarchy as well, but in contrast to France, these subjects could not potentially thwart royal attempts at reconciliation or undermine policies of oblivion by rehearsing memories of past conflict. Both Mary and Philip were in open conflict with their rebellious subjects. Nevertheless, in both cases subjects producing royalist propaganda deviated from the standpoint of their monarchs, who believed it was unnecessary to react to rebel propaganda. Their subjects, in contrast, did try to refute rebel accusations.[299] Loyalist authors did not explain why the rule of their monarchs was legitimate. According to Stensland, Philip II's legitimacy was never elaborated upon, because authors assumed it to be common knowledge

[295] See: Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot 2002).

[296] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 1-3; Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford 2017), 1.

[297] Smither, 'The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre', 31-37.

[298] Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile*, 4. See also: 5-14, 76-77, 105, 123, 125, 160.

[299] For Scotland see: chapter 2. For the Low Countries see: Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 82-86, 91-95, 105, 112-113, 117-119, 130-132.

that Christians should obey secular powers under all circumstances.[300] In the first years of the Marian civil war the same could be said of Queen's Party propaganda. Mary's return does not have to be justified, as all rebellion is inherently unlawful. However, once the regime of James VI was firmly established, this argument could be used against the Queen's Party.[301] Propaganda in favour of the Habsburg regime or of Mary became more religious over time as well, albeit for different reasons. When the Habsburg Archdukes were inaugurated as sovereigns of the Low Countries, they cultivated a pious image in support of the legitimacy of their rule.[302] Mary became involved in Catholic conspiracies as it became less likely she would regain her throne, or even her freedom, by negotiation with the Protestant Elizabeth. As a result, propaganda written in her favour was more deeply steeped in religious rhetoric as well. This polarization in print probably affected the development of both conflicts, as compromise seemed ever further out of reach.

Once a conflict ended, conflicting interpretations of the past remained. In the Low Countries, two separate historiographies developed corresponding to the two separate states that were formed as a result of the Revolt. In Scotland the King's Party's reading of the past became dominant as James VI's government won the Marian civil war, albeit with English assistance. An alternative reading of the recent Scottish past remained available, and it would become of use during internal conflict under James VI. In conclusion, a historical narrative which was coined in opposition to vested authority could become the dominant, or national, reading of the past if the rebellion was successful. The comparison between the conflicts in France, Scotland and the Low Countries has shown how politics and religion influence the reading and use of the past. Circumstances influence what people need or want to remember, and how they remember it. Especially during times of change, a shared past, whether distant or recent, is useful to bolster authority. In these circumstances, historical merit or truth is not always decisive when it comes to writing history. This again disproves the assumption that a sense of change is a sign of modernity.[303] Early modern people, including inhabitants of a less developed country as Scotland, did experience change but could choose to disguise it if this suited their purposes.

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[300] Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 105-106, 160.

[301] See chapter 2.

[302] Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 141-147.

[303] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, 8-9.

Conclusion

In this paper I have investigated memory politics in sixteenth-century Scotland, in a time of Reform and civil war. There were two reasons why I thought it necessary to do so. In the first place, Scotland is underrepresented in the historiography concerning religious and civil conflict in sixteenth-century Europe. Secondly, most of our knowledge of early modern memory politics relies on French, Dutch or English case studies. These countries can be considered unrepresentative for early modern Europe, as they stood at the forefront of economic and political developments. This undermines the argument of scholars that a modern state is not a prerequisite for flexible memory practices. Scotland is the ideal case to examine if there is a relation between flexible or 'modern' memory practices and a certain level of cultural and institutional development, as Scotland is often considered to be a 'backward' polity in both aspects.[304] I contend that memory practices are not determined by a certain level of development or 'modernity', but by historical circumstances. There is a repertoire of memory practices, supplying various sorts of historical arguments suitable to different situations. It is possible to explain memory practices in conflicts by looking at the political positions, military power, and religious beliefs of the participants. In order to examine both sides of the memory coin – remembering and forgetting – I posed two questions. Why did Mary enact oblivion in the aftermath of the Reformation Rebellion? And how did the Scots justify rebellion when their contemporaries deeply respected traditional institutions?

After a period of conflict, an act of oblivion could help to restore peace by burying the memories of the past upheaval. Scots were familiar with benevolent forgetfulness through the tradition of the feud. Therefore it is not surprising that the Scots requested an act of oblivion after the Reformation Rebellion in 1560. For the former Scottish rebels, oblivion protected them against prosecution. For their queen Mary, oblivion allowed her to prevent further conflict and re-establish personal relations with the Scottish nobility, which was essential for good Scottish kingship. However, oblivion had its limitations, as it could not conceal the religious divide between queen and country fraught by the Reformation Rebellion. I argue that while an act of oblivion helped to end conflict in the short term, envisioning a new shared past moving forward was a whole other matter. Even though Mary did represent tradition and continuity as a born queen of Scotland, the religious divide between queen and country

[304] See Introduction.

undermined Mary's ability to use the past as a source of authority. There had never before been a Catholic queen in a Protestant Scotland, and burying the recent past by enacting oblivion did nothing to conceal this fact.

By comparing Mary's position with those of Elizabeth and the Habsburgs, I contend that it can be explained why Mary's relationship to the past as a source of authority remained problematic. Elizabeth of England and the Habsburgs in the Low Countries were able to envision a new common past after religious and civil conflict. While Elizabeth relied on the recent past and constructed a new national calendar with secular holidays, the Habsburgs relied on the distant past preceding the rebellion, emphasising religious and dynastic continuity. Both strategies were impossible for Mary, as she remained a Catholic while Scotland had experienced a religious reformation. Mary could not return to royal memory practices preceding the rebellion, nor introduce new ones. Her deposition in favour of a Protestant regime reunited the monarchy and the nation in the same Kirk, and thereby enabled the construction of a new shared past and accompanying memory practices.

At first, the King's Party's relationship with the past was problematic as well as their actions were unprecedented. This problem could be circumvented by relying on other lines of argument common to contemporary political debate, such as theology and biblical history or reason and philosophy. However, even though important advocates of the King's Party argued against the 'tyranny of custom', history, albeit recent, did form the core of King's Party propaganda. Theory was seldom used as it did not appeal to a conservative audience, at home or abroad. Instead of claiming that the Scottish nobility had the right to depose their monarchs, the King's Party argued that Mary was a wicked woman, guilty of the murder of her own husband, unable to rule and unworthy of a crown. The hypothesis posed in the introduction thus proves to be correct: to overcome the 'memory vacuum' caused by the rebels' break with the past, they cultivated memories of recent events instead.

A comparison of memory politics during the French Wars of Religion, the Revolt of the Low Countries, and the Marian civil war shows other similarities as well, enabling a broader conclusion about the relation between historical circumstances and memory politics. In all cases rebels opposed the monarchy reluctantly, preferring to aim their resistance at a representative of the crown and to uphold tradition. Royal authority was only abjured when there were no alternatives available. The Scots were lucky in this respect, as they had an alternative sovereign in the infant James. Therefore the Scottish rebels could present their regime as simply another royal minority. Over time they could claim to uphold tradition and even brand Mary's supporters as rebels. The French Huguenots and the Dutch rebels could

not find a suitable alternative, but still claimed to defend tradition while in open war with their reigning monarch. In France and the Low Countries, as in Scotland, political theory was only used as a last resort, and rebels wished to preserve traditional institutions.

While monarchs had a better claim to preserving tradition and continuity than the rebels, they were reluctant to participate in a public debate by reacting to rebel propaganda, out of strategical and ideological considerations. Thus even though monarchs could have stronger historical arguments, they did not feel the need to propagate these. Monarchs believed they did not need to negotiate their authority, as their subjects simply owed them obedience. Besides, in the case of the French sovereigns, engaging in a propaganda war was incompatible with their policy of reconciliation. The subjects of the respective monarchs on the other hand did feel the need to respond in name of their sovereigns, even if this contradicted or undermined royal policy. Circumstances determined how the supporters of the monarchs would argue their case. While Mary's supporters for example tried to cleanse her reputation to enable her restoration, supporters of the Habsburgs did not elaborate upon the legitimacy of their sovereign's authority as they still reigned in parts of the Low Countries.

In conclusion, the relationship between religion, history and politics seems to be the same in progressive and 'backward' early modern polities. While Scotland is often seen as lagging behind, Scottish memory politics show the same characteristics as practices in more developed countries as England, France and the Low Countries. If there is a relation between modernity and memory practices, I suggest that is one of quantity and not of quality. In early modern Europe the past was an important source of authority, but it was not static. Different parts of history served distinct purposes, while at the same time the past could be rewritten if there was no suitable memory available. The repertoire of memory practices transcends the imagined boundary between the early modern and modern period. Memory politics are determined by the circumstances or the nature of a conflict, not by a level of development or 'modernity'. The Scots were just as aware of change as other early modern and modern peoples; and just like them, the Scots found it convenient to ignore, change or downplay it if that suited their needs.

Appendix

Although the study of individual Scottish broadside ballads has delivered important insights[305], in order to understand the use of the past in broadsides it is necessary to make a schematic analysis of the corpus of broadsides printed during the Marian civil war. Furthermore, using the whole corpus of Scottish ballads allows for a comparison with polemical practices during the Dutch Revolt and French Wars of Religion. I have thought it necessary to emphasize this point as it is still often overlooked. Andrew Pettegree, for example, discusses the role of song during the reformations in England, Scotland, France, Germany and the Low Countries.[306] However, he only addresses the Scottish case in his discussion of the role of song during Protestant services.[307] This is unfortunate, as this obscures the similarities between the countries in the field of polemical song. Furthermore, combining knowledge about polemical song in different countries can help understand the development of this kind of ballads and trace possible cultural transfer.

In Scotland, as in France, Germany and the Low Countries, there was a tradition of Protestant song, preceding the development of Protestant polemical song which played a part in civil strife.[308] According to Pettegree, these polemical ballads combined two distinct literary practices: religious song and secular poetry. He argues that it was a small step for poets to move from praising their patrons to attacking the enemies of their patrons.[309] However, as Roderick Lyall has shown, in Scotland there existed a secular poetic practice which was specifically geared towards insulting opponents, namely flyting.[310] A similar practice seems also to have existed in England. Adam Fox states that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England 'One of the most effective ways of holding someone up for ridicule at this time was to compose a railing rhyme or bawdy ballad about them.'[311] Perhaps French and Dutch poets had also rhymed against opponents preceding the religious conflicts, or perhaps they were inspired by the English and Scottish practices. However that may be, in all cases the polemical songs provided a bridge between the literate and the illiterate, between

[305] See for example the work of Mark Louglin or Amy Blakeway in the bibliography.

[306] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 40-75.

[307] Ibid., 64.

[308] Ibid., 55-65.

[309] Ibid., 68.

[310] Lyall, 'Complaint, Satire and Invective', 45.

[311] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 300-301.

the bourgeoisie and the less fortunate. According to Pettegree, 'This literature is popular in the widest sense that it was intended for a wide and disparate audience. The internal evidence suggests, however, that the verses were penned by men of education […]'.[312] The same can be said of Scotland, as its most renowned intellectual George Buchanan wrote at least two polemical ballads.[313] Similarities in consumption and usage can also be demonstrated by analysing memoires. Both educated Frenchmen and Scotchmen included ballads in their memoires, or transcribed them from memory.[314] Interestingly, these memoires also demonstrate that Catholics produced polemical ballads as well, even though they are usually associated with the Protestant cause. Furthermore, these memoires demonstrate that polemical ballads were spread widely and crossed party lines. In conclusion, polemical ballads were an important form of propaganda in the religious conflict of sixteenth-century Europe, as they build on familiar practices and appealed to a wide audience.

Even though most ballads were printed anonymously, Robert Sempill can be considered the author of the majority of the King's Party's broadside ballads.[315] With regards to the actual production, in 1568 Robert Lekpreuik was proclaimed the 'King's Printer for the space of twenty years' as a reward for his loyalty to the King's Party.[316] The ballads from the Marian civil war are printed in James Cranstoun's collection of 'Satirical poems of the time of the reformation'.[317] Cranstoun collected 48 ballads, produced in the years 1565-1584. Of these 48 ballads, 39 appeared during the Marian civil war. I have subjected these ballads to a schematic analysis, noting the time of production, the topic and the use of the past. As mentioned in chapter 2, the past can figure in different ways in these ballads. Biblical and historical analogies were quite common in early modern Europe, both as a means to prevent censorship and to shine a light on contemporary events. Analogies abound in these ballads, and therefore I have chosen to only mention explicitly the analogies that are extraordinary. In my analysis I have concentrated on a use of the past which goes beyond analogies.

Since the actions of the rebels constituted a break with the past, references to the distant past could be problematic, as this would only highlight the discontinuity. The

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[312] Pettegree, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion, 69.

[313] Mason, 'George Buchanan's vernecular polemics', 54-56.

[314] For France: Hamilton, Piere de L'Etoile, 149-152, 160-164. For Scotland: Blakeway, 'A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border', 1359.

[315] McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun"', 324.

[316] Ibid., 325.

[317] James Cranstoun (ed.), *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation,* Vol I, (Edinburgh, London 1891).

schematic analysis makes this problem visible, as appeals to the recent past vastly outnumber a reliance on the distant past. Furthermore, when the distant past is brought into play, it is only referred to in passing, without describing the events or people who are mentioned. Another manner in which the King's Party appealed to the past is by employing rhetoric related to the tradition of blood feud. Calls for revenge can be found in almost any ballad, while the rhetoric of blood feud is the most evident in the ballads surrounding the time of regent Moray's assassination. Besides providing a justification for their actions, the King's Party could also present the conflict in a specific manner to augment their authority. For example, if a ballad presents the conflict as a rebellion against James VI's government, this presentation does not question the legitimacy of James VI's coronation. Furthermore, by presenting the war as caused by political issues, the King's Party avoided the religious issues which cut across party lines and might also cause the intervention of foreign monarchs. I have noted the causes of the war given by the ballads, to analyse how the war was presented to the public. While religious rhetoric abounds, when the cause of conflict is mentioned it usually involves a secular or political motif. Most interestingly, as the war continued, the King's Party was able to denounce Mary's supporters as rebels. Thus with the passage of time, the tables were turned. The King's Party could now claim to defend continuity, as the rebellious Scots only fought under the pretence of Mary's restoration. As James VI's regime became the new normal, the manner in which James came to power no longer needed to be defended. As rebels became rulers, the supporters of a deposed Queen could be portrayed as a danger to royal authority and political continuity.

Title (abbreviated)	Topic	Publication (approximate)	Distant Past	Recent Past	Biblical analogy	Historical analogy	Cause of war	Call for revenge	Allusion to tradition of feud	War as unlawful rebellion against monarch
2. Verses underneath an Answer to a Challenge	Accusing Bothwell of murdering the King	April 1567		X			Murder of King	X		
3. […] declaring the Nobill and Gude inclinatioun of our King	Eulogie King, accusing Mary and Bothwell	May 1567	References to James I and James III	X	X	X	Mary unfit to be queen, murder of King as direct cause	X		
4. Heir followis the testament and tragedie of vnquhile King	King explains his fall as caused by his sins, a.o. giving in to Mary, warns others not to follow his example	June 1567	Emphasis placed on Darnley's old Steward lineage	X	X	X	Mary unfit to be queen, murder of King as direct cause	X		
5. Heir followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis	Encouragement to pursue just cause	June 1567	Reference to Fergus, first king of Scotland	X		The King's Party restores Scotland to the peaceful state as under Fergus	Murder of King by Bothwell	X		
6. Ane Exhortatioan derect to my Lord Regent	Advise to Earl of Moray after his assumption of the Regency	August 1567		X	X					
7. Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust quarrel	Defence of King's Party, Scots have the right depose bad sovereigns	August 1567	X	X	X	X	Mary is unfit to be queen, is rightly deposed, her supporters unjustly continue fighting			
8. Ane Ansr maid to ye Sklanderis yt blasphemis	Reacting to Queen's Party's attack of Regent Moray	August 1567		X		William the Conqueror was, just as Moray, a bastard, but is nevertheless revered	Murder of King	X		
9. A Rhime in defence of the Queen of Scots	Queen's Party defence of Mary, attacking Regent Moray	December 1568	Richard III of England (to show similarities with Moray)	X		X Most importantly: Moray as Richard III	Machinations Earl of Moray			Rebellion against Mary
10. Ane Tragedie, in forme of ane Diallog	Commemoration Regent Moray	Jan./Feb. 1570		X	X	X	Some Scots did not want Moray as Regent after Mary's voluntary abdication	X	X	Murder of Moray depicted as treason
11. The Complaint of Scotland	Lady Scotland mourns loved Regent Moray	February 1570	Reference to Fergus, first king of Scotland	X		Current state compared to peace under Fergus	Murder of King, followed by murder of Regent Moray	X		Murder of Moray depicted as treason

Title (abbreviated)	Topic	Publication (approximate)	Distant Past	Recent Past	Biblical analogy	Historical analogy	Cause of war	Call for revenge	Allusion to tradition of feud	War as unlawful rebellion against monarch
12. The Regentis Tragedie ending with ane exhortatioun	Commemoration Regent Moray	15/16 February 1570	Reference to storming Roxborough Castle 1460	X	X	X	Hamilton's killed the King and the Regent, supposedly for Mary	X	X	Hamilton's refered to as traitors
13. The Deploratioun of the Cruell Murther	Attack on house Hamilton as murderers of Regent Moray	February 1570	Reference to cruel ancestors of murderer	X	X		Murder/treason by Queen's supporters	X	X	Hamiliton's refered to as traitors
14. The Kingis Complaint	King James VI mourns Moray	March 1570		X	X	X	Murder of King, followed by murder of Regent Moray	X	X	Queen's Party refered to as traitors and those who deny James VI's coronation
15. The Exhortatioun to all plesand thingis	Commemoration Moray	1570		X	X	X	Some Scots wrongfully want to restore Mary	X		Hamilton's referred to as traitors
16. The Cruikit liedis the blinde	Attack Maitland of Lethington	1570	Reference to Maitland's treasonable conduct in 1559-60	X			Maitland's machinations			
17. The Poysonit Schot	Assassination Moray	March 1570		X		X	Some Scots refuse to accept James VI as king		X	Murder of Moray depicted as treason
18. The Admonitioun to the Lordis	Appeal to revenge Moray's death and choose a worthy successor	1570					House of Hamilton wants supreme power	X	X	Hamilton's depicted as rebels, they want to kill James VI and rule themselves
19. Maddeis Lamentatioun	Maddie, fictive Edinburgh woman, mourning Moray	1570	Reference to Fergus, first king of Scotland	X		Moray as good as Fergus	Murder of Regent Moray	X	X	Murder of Moray depicted as treason
20. Maddeis Prodamatioun	Attack Hamilton's	April 1570		X	X		House of Hamilton wants supreme power, pretence restoring Mary	X		Murder of Moray depicted as treason
21. The Spur to the Lordis	Encouragement to pursue just cause	1570		X	X	X	Some Scots wrongfully want to restore Mary	X		Murder of Moray depicted as treason
22. The Bird in the Cage	Attack Maitland of Lethington	April 1570		X	X	X	Machinations Maitland of Lethington	X		

Title (abbreviated)	Topic	Publication (approximate)	Distant Past	Recent Past	Biblical analogy	Historical analogy	Cause of war	Call for revenge	Allusion to tradition of feud	War as unlawful rebellion against monarch
23. The hailsome admonitioun	Appeal to Grange to support King's Party	April 1570	Grange family owes prestige to James V, reference to Grange's courage in Reformation Rebellion 1559-60	X	X	X	Some Scots wrongfully want to restore Mary	X	Grange owes position to Regent Moray, therefore should revenge his death	Murder of Moray depicted as treason
24. The Tressoun of Dunbartane	Attack on Queen's keeper of Castle for shooting during attempt for negotiation and sheltering murderer of Moray	May 1570		X		X	Some Scots wrongfully want to restore Mary			Queen's Party depicted as traitors
25. Ane Ballat of ye Captane of the Castell	Qeen's keeper of Edinburgh Castle attacks opponents	February 1571	Reference to Reformation Rebellion 1559-60	X			Self-serving nobility			Rebellion against Mary
26. The Exhortatioun to the Lordis	Encouragement to pursue just cause	May 1571	Reference to Reformation Rebellion 1559-60	X	X		Some Scots wrongfully want to restore Mary	X		Queen's Party rebels against King James VI
27. Ane admonitioun to my Lord Regentis Grace	Warning to Regent against bringing English forces into Scotland	November 1571	X	X		X	Unspecified			Insimuation rebellion against James VI's Regent
28. The Bischoppis lyfe and testament	Damning account of the life of the murderer of Regent Moray	1571	Life story starting around 1511	X			House of Hamilton wants supreme power			Bischop is denounced as a rebel
29. A Lewd Ballet	Catholic ballad attacking Reformed ministers	December 1571		X	X					
30. My Lord Methwenis Tragedie	Commemoration Henry Steward, second Lord Methven, killed by Queen's Party	March 1572	Ancestry Henry Steward, Methven's	X	X	X	Attempt to usurp crown, starting with the murder of the King	X	X	Insimuation rebellion against James VI's Regent
31. Ane Premonitioun to the bamis of Leith	Warning to King's Party not to thrust Queen's Party during current negotiations for peace	Sep./Oct. 1572	X	X	X	X	Scots pretending to defend the Queen's authority			
32. The lamentatio of the Comounis of Scotland	Attack on Grange, who holds Edinburgh Castle and refuses to surrender to King's Regent, as a result of which the commons suffer	1572		X	X		Unspecified, but current plight caused by "Grange's treason"	X	X	Grange rebels against James VI and his regent, he has received other unnamed rebels in the castle

Title (abbreviated)	Topic	Publication (approximate)	Distant Past	Recent Past	Biblical analogy	Historical analogy	Cause of war	Call for revenge	Allusion to tradition of feud	War as unlawful rebellion against monarch
33. The Lamentation of Lady Scotland	Lady Scotland laments the state of her realm	March 1572	Reference to James V	X			Scots pretending to defend the Queen's authority			According to Lady Scotland, James VI was crowned with Mary's consent, consequently the bewailed treason refers to actions of the Queen's men
38. Ane new Ballet set out be ane fugitiue Scottisman	Account of St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, in passing denouncing Mary and the French alliance	August 1572	X	X		X	Scottish civil war not mentioned			Unspecified, but according to the ballad Mary killed Darnley, an event which is compared to the massacre
39. The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh	Account of the siege which was accomplished with English assistance, under while pleading for an alliance with England	May 1573	X	X	X		Unspecified			Insinuation rebellion against James VI's Regent

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Images

- Image 1, front page
  Detail from the processional frieze in the Great Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, portraying nearly all the major players mentioned in this thesis
  Artist: William Brassey Hole
  Medium: mural painting
  Date: 1898
  Accessed: 12-7-2020, National Portrait Gallery, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/159703/processional-frieze-great-hall-scottish-national-portrait-gallery?page=0&artists%5B15047%5D=15047&search_set_offset=10
- Image 2, page 20
  Portrait of King Francis II and Queen Mary in Catherine de' Medici's book of hours
  Artist: unknown
  Medium: miniature
  Date: c. 1558
  Accessed:12-7-2020,
  https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francois_Second_Mary_Stuart.jpg
- Image 3, page 31
  Portrait of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley
  Artist: unknown

Medium: Painting

Date: 1565

Accessed: 12-7-2020, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/portrait-of-mary-queen-of-scots-and-lord-darnley-c-156

- Image 4, page 44

  Broadside ballad ‘The King’s Complaint’

  Artist: written by Robert Sempill, printed by R. Lekpreuik

  Medium: print

  Date: 1567

  Accessed: 12-7-2020, Early English Books Online, https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/2248544098?accountid=12045