

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction	1
1 Mary Queen of Scots: A French Life	11
2 The Public Face of France's Relationship with the Queen, 1548–85	37
A courtly portrait of Mary Queen of Scots	39
The celebration of the union between François and Mary in 1558	43
The peace of 1559, the death of Henri II and the reign of François II	49
The war in Scotland, 1559–60	52
The French attitude to Mary and England following the death of François II, 1561–8	53
The imprisonment of Mary	61
'It is generally put into men's heads that they are only executed in England for conscience and not for treason': Persecution of Catholicism in England and the French Catholic press, 1582–5	72
Conclusion	78
3 The Huguenot Image of Mary Queen of Scots	79
4 Spreading News of the Execution: Mary Queen of Scots and the Parisian Catholic League	103
The disturbances at St Séverin	106
Print	109
Placards, images and verse	118
Sermons	121
Rumour	123
Orchestration	125
Conclusion	126

5 A Catholic Tragedy: The Radical Image of a Martyred Queen	128
The execution narrative	129
The image of the martyred Mary within the context of the 'English example'	140
The images of Mary Queen of Scots and England as radical propaganda	152
Conclusion	156
Conclusion	157
From politics to historical drama	157
<i>Appendix 1: House of Guise: Lines of Guise, Mayenne and Aumale</i>	160
<i>Notes and References</i>	161
<i>Bibliography</i>	212
<i>Index</i>	232

1

Mary Queen of Scots: A French Life

On 21 September 1548, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and fiancée to the dauphin François, arrived in Angers.¹ A spectacular *entrée* festival greeted her arrival. A rich display of tapestries produced a flow of colour, draping neatly from almost every building that lined the streets of the city.² On arrival, the royal party and, most likely, representative groups from the various social strata of the city, processed from the gate of Saint-Nicholas to the church of Angers.³ Guillaume Lerat, sieur de Beauchamp, then in his final year as mayor delivered the official *harangue* 'as if to the King' and a number of gifts were presented to Mary.⁴ Among these offerings from the citizens of Angers were luxury foods intended to symbolise the fertility of the Loire region such as sugared almonds, jams and a selection of ripe fruits including pears, prunes, plums and grapes. The Queen's governors, Lord Erskine and Lord Livingston, who had accompanied Mary on her stormy voyage from Scotland, were given a fine selection of red and white wine.⁵

High on the festival programme came a gun salute and a military parade.⁶ However, another event would have particularly amazed the gathered crowds. This was the rather unconventional performance of a foreign monarch, a young girl aged five, granting letters of remission to a number of carefully chosen, presumably high profile prisoners.⁷ The message that the *entrée* was attempting to transmit was very clear. It was an articulation, in ceremony, of Mary's royal status in France. The deliberate parallels between the events of 21 September 1548 and royal *entrées*, spectacles that welcomed newly anointed kings of France on their first visit to a city, would not have been lost on the population of Angers.⁸

That Mary's relationship with France should have taken such a course could not have been foreseen at the time of her birth in 1542. Certainly,

Mary's attractive dynastic position had always warranted serious political consideration. Her mother was none other than Marie de Guise, the daughter of Claude de Lorraine Duc de Guise and Antoinette de Bourbon-Vendôme, and thus a member of one of the most powerful noble families in Europe. More importantly, the tragic death of her father, James V, only six days after her birth at Linlithgow Palace near Edinburgh on 8 December 1542, brought Mary the crown of Scotland in her infancy, and with it a clear if strongly contested claim to the English throne.⁹ François I's broader foreign policy conditioned the French response to Mary's position. Preoccupied as he was throughout his reign by the conflict with Charles V, François I always remained far more attentive to events in Italy than in the British Isles. Nevertheless, he could ill afford to ignore the political situation across the channel. Of critical importance to French interests was Henry VIII's attempt to secure Mary's hand in marriage for his son, the future Edward VI, thereby subjugating Scotland to the will of the English crown. Uppermost in French policy towards Scotland, then, was the French desire to preserve the sovereignty of this country in order to maintain the option of a second front against England. To this end, François aimed to thwart any prospect of an English marriage for Mary, but did not yet cultivate any notion of securing her for France. In fact, in 1543, the French even attempted to unite the Scottish Queen with one of her own noble subjects.¹⁰ Three years later, in 1546, in order to cement a triple alliance between France, Denmark and Scotland, François I instructed his ambassador to offer Mary in marriage to the son of King Christian of Denmark.¹¹ There was no attempt made to capitalise on Marie de Guise's advantageous position in Scotland, and while the French did send significant military aid to the Scots to combat an aggressive and protracted English assault that historians have dryly labelled the 'Rough Wooing',¹² periods of expedition remained remarkably brief.¹³

The convergence of two events brought about a reorientation of French foreign policy and consequently a transformation in France's relationship with Mary. The first of these was the accession of Henri II to the throne of France following the death of François I in 1547. Henri favoured intervening in Scotland and England. In particular, such ambitions were reinforced and informed by the continuing rise of the Guise family at court, demonstrated by the appointment to the Privy Council of such favourites as the youthful Cardinal Charles de Guise, Mary Stuart's uncle.¹⁴ The second event that spurred the French into adopting a new attitude to the British Isles was the crushing defeat of the

Scots at the battle of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, on 10 September 1547. Pinkie was a triumph for Protector Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, representing the climax of the English policy of Rough Wooing. But while the battle brought defeat for the Scots, it proved to be little more than a Pyrrhic victory for the English – the standard outcome of Anglo-Scottish hostilities since the late thirteenth century. As the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency reported, ‘the [French] court could not have received a greater displeasure if the said loss had been inflicted on themselves’.¹⁵ For the Scots to withstand such abrasive English assaults, significant and timely French aid was imperative. It was in recognition of this that the Treaty of Haddington was signed in July 1548. In return for military and financial aid, the Scots were prepared to grant Henri certain Scottish strongholds and, more significantly, approved the marriage of their young Queen to the dauphin.

French investment in strengthening the Scots’ military defence against England was considerable and has been estimated at around two million livres tournois between June 1548 and April 1550.¹⁶ The war was protracted, due to the exigencies of a conflict characterised by the need to hold territory by the erection or occupation of strong points, such as at Inveresk, Luffness, Dunglass, Eyemouth, Home Castle, Lauder, Jedburgh and Old Roxburgh.¹⁷ For the French, the benefits of this policy were not immediately evident. In particular, the investment of money and troops was domestically unpopular. As the Spanish ambassador to France reported, Scotland came to be known in France as ‘the tomb of Frenchmen’.¹⁸ Despite this unpopularity, Henri’s pursuance of his bold dynastic policy led to significant gains, which came to be enshrined in the Peace of Boulogne signed on the 25 March 1550. English pretensions to the hand of Mary were abandoned, while England had little choice but to offer tacit recognition of an ever-increasing French presence in Scottish affairs.

It was within the context of this volatile political and military geography that Marie de Guise sent her daughter to be educated in France. Mary departed from Dumbarton on 29 July 1548, bound for the continent. Brest was the intended landing place for the fleet, but, following severe weather, it reached instead St Pol in Brittany on 15 August.¹⁹ From the moment of her arrival, Mary was treated with lavish honour. Elaborate *entrées* were organised for her as she crossed by land and by river barge from St Pol to Saint-Germain-en-Laye. In this, Henri II made it very clear that he wished Mary to be treated as ‘my own daughter’, and nowhere is this intention highlighted more dramatically than in

the preparations for the Angers *entrée*. A series of letters and council minutes, uncovered recently in the communal archives in Angers, reveal the preparations for this event.²⁰

The *entrée* was almost wholly orchestrated by the office of Henri II through his *valet de chambre* the Sieur de La Cabassoles. A standard letter written by Henri II to the various cities that were to receive the Queen's party illustrates his insistence on directing these festivals.²¹ In the following instance, the letter is addressed to the mayor, council and inhabitants of Angers and is dated from Mascon 23 July 1548:

As our very dear and beloved daughter and cousin the Queen of Scotland will shortly be arriving in our kingdom, we wish that by the towns and places where she will pass, that she should be well honoured and well treated as if she were our own daughter. And for this cause, we command and expressly entreat you that when the said Queen passes by our town of Angers you will come before her with the best company of high-ranking men that can be assembled in order to receive and honour her and make gifts of wines, fruits and other offerings as you will hear more about from our representative the Sieur de Cabassoles – the present carrier of this letter, our *valet de chambre*, whom you should trust as if you were dealing with me in person as such is our pleasure. He will also inform you of everything else that we wish to be carried out.²²

But while Angers had been informed that it would be on the route that Mary Stuart would take on her journey from the end of July 1548, the level of municipal participation in the organisation of the *entrée* was limited to dealing with practical detail, not with the grand political vision the event was intended to project. Such details included organising various painting projects, blocking plans to renovate the Hôtel de Ville lest the work remain incomplete on the arrival of the Queen, and planning the logistics of when and where the guards were to take their breaks.²³ One might suspect that even these smaller practical details were monitored very carefully by the King's representative La Cabassoles. The records even reveal that the speech the mayor of Angers was to deliver to the Queen was carefully crafted on his behalf.²⁴

This elaborate projection of Mary's regal status reflected a conscious campaign by Henri II to identify his reign with an ambitious foreign policy. Perhaps a better known example of the dramatisation of this identity came with Henri II's *entrée* into Rouen on 1 October 1550. The publication of a printed text celebrating this festival in 1551, filled with

magnificent woodcut illustrations of the celebrations, reveals an event ripe with symbolism and imagery.²⁵ The reconquest of Boulogne and the salvation of the Scots were the principal themes. But also, the *entrée* included the construction of a Brazilian camp replete with genuine natives; there was a mock sea battle, in which the French vessel triumphed over the Portuguese, while numerous classical representations were displayed including that of Hercules fighting the Hydra.²⁶ Henri's global ambitions were symbolised by his motto *Donec totum impleat orbem* (until it may fill the whole world), and his European ambitions by the image of the three crescents, taken to represent France, Scotland and England.²⁷ The presence of Marie de Guise, Mary's mother and Queen Dowager of Scotland lent additional weight to Henri's claims.²⁸ The more modest Angers festivities two years before anticipated the unity of France and Scotland; Mary Stuart was empowered with the authority of the French monarch to release prisoners. In addition, it was no coincidence that Mary's initial *entrée* festivities in 1548 took place at a time when Henri was himself making his initial royal *entrées* such as into Lyon on 23 September 1548 and into Paris in June 1549.²⁹

In the years that followed these celebrations, Mary enjoyed a lifestyle that exceeded other members of the royal family.³⁰ In a letter written by Henri II in 1548, he indicated that he wished Mary to 'march before my daughters, on account of the marriage to my son and because she is a crowned Queen, and as such I desire that she will be honoured and well served'.³¹ This period was to be one of the happiest in Mary's life, a time indeed that she was later to remember with great affection. Mary took precedence among the other royal and noble children, and shared 'the best room' with princess Elizabeth, who was to be the future wife of Philip II of Spain.³² Also among her playmates was her future husband, François, for whom, despite his sickly disposition, she held a genuine affection from an early age.³³ A sense of the conspicuous magnificence of the environment in which Mary was nurtured can be gained from accounts of the expenditure of the nursery. For 1551, a massive 18,321 livres tournois was required for the nursery.³⁴ Thirty-seven children belonging to noble families were brought up with the dauphin François and his sisters. To staff this household, there were one hundred and fifty officials, fifty-seven cooks and assistants, five to twelve purveyors of wine and one water carrier. Among the manuscripts in the British Library, there are some food bills for 1551. For just one day, 1 December 1551, the household required two calves, sixteen sheep, five pigs, seven geese, a selection of choice beef, chickens, pigeons, hares and one pheasant. Also ordered were 36 pounds of cutlets, calves feet,

partridges and larks, and no less than 72 dozen loaves. Five separate merchants provided the wine.³⁵ The accounts of Nicolas du Moncel, 'tailor to the Queen of Scots' for 1551 provide additional evidence, if any is required, of the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by Mary. Among the many items listed, are 'a bodice of purple satin intricately sewn, cost 7 sols, a surcoat and a pair of sleeves slashed from white satin, 15 sols. A head-dress of crimson satin, 7 sols 6 deniers. A dress of damask gold, bordered with braids of gold, banded with crimson satin, with the top of the sleeves embroidered, 46 sols'.³⁶ No less than three brass cases were required to store Mary's jewellery.³⁷

As to Mary's education, this was rooted firmly in the culture of the French Renaissance. The Scottish entourage that had accompanied Mary to France was quickly uncoupled from the young queen. According to Diane de Poitiers, various rivalries and tensions had built up from 1548 between the Scots and the staff of the royal nursery. Only the Queen's famous 'four Maries' who had accompanied her from Scotland remained.³⁸ These were Mary Stuart's maids of honour. Mary Beaton, Seaton, Fleming, and Livingstone were all of noble birth.³⁹ Even Mary's governess Lady Fleming was forced to return to Scotland in October 1551, following a brief affair with Henri II.⁴⁰ She was replaced by a French governess, Françoise d'Estampville, known as Madame de Parois. It was, however, to be another mistress of Henri II, Diane de Poitiers, who was eventually given principal responsibility for Mary's early education in France.⁴¹ William Bryce has suggested tentatively, probably correctly, that it was Poitiers' corrosive influence that poisoned the previously amicable relationship between Mary and Catherine de Medici.⁴² Alongside Diane de Poitiers, the Cardinal de Lorraine and Mary's grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon-Vendôme Duchesse de Guise, also had an important role in Mary's upbringing. From around 1552, for example, when his niece was around ten, the Cardinal acted as *gouvernant*, chaperoning her at various celebrations organised by the citizens of Paris to honour the royal family.⁴³ Mary was presented to the French public with a triple identity; a Stuart Queen, a Valois and a Guise.

An accurate account of Mary's early life is only partially possible, due to the genre of source material on which historians and biographers are forced to rely. It is often difficult to separate reality from fiction in accounts marked more by eulogistic hyperbole than historical accuracy. Despite this caution, there does seem to be a genuine sense in which Mary impressed the French King, the Queen, the dauphin and all those who knew her at court. Henri II wrote on seeing Mary

at Saint-Germain in 1549, that she was 'the most perfect child that I have ever seen'.⁴⁴ In a letter from the Cardinal de Lorraine to his sister, Marie de Guise, written at Saint-Germain on 25 February 1552, he wrote that:

Your daughter is growing so much every day in grandeur, kindness, beauty, wisdom and virtue that she is as perfect and accomplished in all honest and virtuous affairs as is possible. There are none in this kingdom, not a noble's daughter or another of lower or middling birth of any condition or quality, that can match her.⁴⁵

Besides a small body of court correspondence, often to Mary's mother Marie de Guise or between various ambassadors at court, the other principal source for this period of Mary's life are the remarks made by Pierre de Bourdeille, abbot of Brantôme. Beginning his career as a courtier in the clientele of the Guises, Brantôme was to be part of the group led by François de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, who accompanied Mary on her journey back to Scotland in 1561.⁴⁶ According to these sources, Mary had a 'very good and sweet voice' and enjoyed singing the songs of Clement Marot.⁴⁷ She played well on the cittern, the harp and the harpsichord. She danced with agility and grace, and learned needlework. Mary was proficient in several languages including French, Spanish, Italian and could understand Latin better than she could speak it. In fact, French was to be her 'natural' language – the language in which she would conduct the majority of her correspondence for the rest of her life. One incident noted by Brantôme occurred during this early stage in Mary's career. This was her assertion of the right of women, presumably noble women, to an education. This she delivered in a Latin oration in 1555 to Henri II and the French court in the great hall of the Louvre. Brantôme informs us 'that she did sustain and defend, against the common opinion, that it is very fitting for women to have knowledge of letters and the liberal arts'.⁴⁸ In fairness to Mary, she did her best to meet the demanding agenda that she had set forth. She developed, for instance, strong literary interests, 'she put aside for herself two hours a day to study and read. Above all, she liked poetry and the poets, especially Monsieur de Ronsard, Monsieur du Bellay and Monsieur de Maisonfleur'.⁴⁹

Mary's beauty was praised repeatedly. It was reported, for example, that at fifteen, 'her beauty shone out in the midday light so that it would outshine the sun itself as its zenith; such was the beauty of her body. As for her soul, it was just as beautiful'.⁵⁰ Particularly, admiration of Mary's charm was directed towards her maturing 'cultured' femininity;

it was an eroticisation consciously and unconsciously interwoven with a more masculine Scottish identity. Brantôme described Mary thus:

When she conversed with others, she used a very soft, sweet and agreeable speech, with a good majesty yet mixed with a very unobtrusive modest privacy and much grace. Even though her native tongue is in itself very rural, barbarous, ill sounding and unbecoming, she spoke it with such grace and fashioned it so that she made it seem very beautiful and agreeable when spoken by her – though not when spoken by others. Marvel at such virtue, such beauty and such grace, that can turn a language so crude and barbaric into something so elegant and fashionable. Even more astonishingly, even dressed as a savage (as I have seen her) and in the barbaric fashion of the savages of her country, she shines as a true Goddess beyond her mortal body and her barbarous and crude dress.⁵¹

On occasion – to impress the French court – Mary wore Scottish national dress. Even if this was for her, as her best known biographer Antonia Fraser has remarked, ‘definitely a form of fancy dress’, she recognised the advantages of its manipulation.⁵² Cleverly, Mary played on the sixteenth-century stereotype of the Scots.

From a broad examination of sixteenth-century French literature, we can reconstruct the contours of this stereotype. One fascinating account, written around 1558 by Estienne Perlin, entitled *Description des royaumes d’Angleterre et d’Escosse*, found that the Scots drank too much and were only hospitable in so far as they expected to receive some profit.⁵³ The French perception of the Scots was one that moved seamlessly between cultural condescension and admiration. This perception applied also to the Lowland Scots, even though they were considered far more humane than those who, resembling the Irish, lived to the north of the ‘rugged and terrible mountains’.⁵⁴

Admiration of Mary lay, at least in part, in the space between lavish court culture and humanity untamed; she was, albeit in the best possible sense, something of a curiosity. The French perception of Scottish wildness is best summarised by the section on Scotland to be found in François de Belleforest’s considerably revised edition of Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographie*, published in Paris in 1575. This Highland wildness was closely associated with a proud warrior spirit. Belleforest commented that:

They have wit . . . and when they apply themselves to something, they profit from it easily. They are proud and quick to vengeance.

Strong in war, they endure hunger, thirst and lack of sleep. Those who inhabit the central part are the best. They are well brought up and more human than the others, and they use the English language. Because there are hardly any forests, they make fire from black stone [coal] which they mine out of the ground. In the other part of the country, in the mountainous north, live a type of very hard and fierce people, which can be called savage. Those who live there are dressed in a cassock, with shirts dyed with saffron like those worn by the Irish and they walk with bare legs up to their knees. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, with a very broad sword and dagger, which cuts only on one side.⁵⁵

The next significant stage in Mary's French career came with her marriage to the dauphin François on 24 April 1558 in the magnificent cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. François was granted the crown matrimonial by the Scottish Parliament, a great tribute indeed to the political acumen of Marie de Guise, who had acted as regent of Scotland since 1554.⁵⁶ The marriage was an integral part of Henri II's foreign policy. In part, it was the culmination of a plan that had been ten years in the making. It was also the consequence of short-term domestic and international considerations which will be discussed further in the following chapter. By the terms of the less than secret marriage contract drawn up on 4 April 1558, if Mary died without heirs, Scotland would revert by Mary's 'pure and free gift' to France, as would 'all and such rights which do already or will appertain to the kingdom of England'.⁵⁷ Such an arrangement contrasts starkly with the fate of Philip in England. The contract made in November 1553 for his marriage to Mary Tudor indicated that under no circumstances could his heirs put forward any claim to the English throne.⁵⁸ The treaty bound Philip to uphold the laws of England, forbade him to promote foreigners to office or to possess any executive office of his own right.

With the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to François, came a formal solidification of relations between Scotland and France. The Scottish Parliament in 1558 granted French subjects in Scotland the same privileges as native Scots; the reverse also held true across the channel.⁵⁹ This marriage, together with the death of the Catholic English monarch Mary Tudor in November 1558, marked an acceleration of Franco-Scottish pretensions to the crown of England.⁶⁰ Mary's coat of arms was quartered with that of England and displayed publicly. It is hardly surprising that Elizabeth I and her government viewed these developments with increasing alarm, seeing behind Mary's pretensions the ambitious designs of the house of Guise.⁶¹

Nevertheless, despite the formal symbols of unity between France and Scotland, the relationship between the two countries was by no means firm. While concern for defence made some form of alliance with France welcome, increasing nationalistic reaction had already occurred during the 1550s against France's ever-increasing encroachment into Scottish government. The political efforts of Marie de Guise had managed, through patronage, to build a cross-confessional pro-French basis of support in Scotland. However, as early as 1555, some signs of friction could be discerned, primarily in the French garrisons in Scotland. This tension was exacerbated by frequent delays in the payment of military wages, resulting in relaxed discipline. In 1555, an Act was passed which made it an offence to 'speak evil of the queen's grace and of Frenchmen'.⁶² However, there was a subtle but important change in this act when compared with that of 1424, repeated in 1540, which indicated a strong shift in Scottish feeling. The 1555 Act was punishable only 'according to the quality of the fault in their bodies and goods at the Queen's Grace's pleasure', not, as before, by death.⁶³ While we should be careful not to overplay Scottish antagonism towards the French, it is clear that there was a significant degree of resentment during the 1550s directed against the presence of Frenchmen in the Scottish government. For whilst the highest secular office was granted to a Scottish magnate, the Earl of Huntly, the man closest to the figure of central authority and power, Marie de Guise, was a Frenchman named Yves de Rubay.⁶⁴

Certain feelings of resentment towards the French, a growing movement in Scotland towards Protestant reform and developing sympathetic connections with the English shifted Scotland away from its 'auld alliance' with France into an albeit shaky and hesitant political orbit with its traditional enemy.⁶⁵ Marie de Guise had attempted to pursue a policy of religious toleration, but fears soon developed that she had changed this policy under pressure from France. The Reformers revolted against the regency of Marie, expelled her from the capital Edinburgh and deposed her on 21 October 1559. France sent troops to Scotland to combat the rebels. An unsuccessful expedition launched from Normandy directed by Marie's Guisard relatives in 1559–60 eager to ensure their family interests abroad, served simply to push the Scots further towards the English. The Scots appealed to England for support in March 1560. Despite English involvement, the failure of the French expedition to regain control over Scotland and suppress the rebels might also be explained by internal problems.⁶⁶ This failure sealed the fate of French interests in Britain, a fate reinforced by the eclipse of Guise power at court, and the death of the regent from dropsy in June. By the

Treaty of Edinburgh of July 1560, a victory indeed for Scottish Protestantism, France agreed to put an end to its influence in Scotland. The French also consented to the English demand to stop using English armorial bearings, although Mary herself refused to agree to this. For her, as one of her sternest critics, Jenny Wormald, has observed, undoubtedly correctly in this instance, 'political reality waited upon empty gesture'.⁶⁷ With the death of François II in December 1560, soon after his succession to the throne, came the formal end to the military alliance between France and Scotland. With hindsight, 1560 signalled a decisive change in Scotland's political relationship with France, even if in social, cultural, architectural, commercial, artistic, literary and educational terms, the two countries were to continue to develop close links.⁶⁸

1560 was to be a year of grief and transition for Mary. Mary left the court and made her way to Rheims, the archiepiscopal city of her uncle, the Cardinal de Lorraine, where she retired to the monastery of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames. Renée de Lorraine, her aunt, was abbess there.⁶⁹ Respecting the traditional forty days of mourning for her husband François II and grieving also for her mother, Marie de Guise, Mary was encouraged to return to Scotland in 1561. As Brantôme later recounted, at this point

She wished a hundred times more to reside in France a simple dowager, and to be content with Touraine and Poitou that were given to her as her dowry, than to go reign there in those savage lands. But Messieurs her uncles . . . advised her to do so, even pressed her (I will not say for what reasons), a decision they nevertheless thoroughly repented of afterwards.⁷⁰

This comment cannot be seen entirely as artistic flourish. However, the situation was not as clear-cut as this source suggests. Mary must have recognised for herself, even in this sad period of her life, the broad opportunities available to her in Scotland. Remaining in France was not necessarily the most attractive option, in part due to the limited political opportunities available to a Queen Dowager. Moreover, Mary's position in France, had she remained, would have been further compromised by her strained personal relationship with Catherine de Medici, her powerful mother in law. On one occasion, Mary humiliated Catherine by calling her a 'merchant's daughter'; it was a remark that Catherine was not to forgive.⁷¹ Despite the many positive factors encouraging Mary's return to a land where she could rule, albeit a land

in political and religious crisis, there can be little doubt of the essence of truth in Brantôme's touching comment that, 'the Queen broke down in tears and said that she would miss the pomp, the attentions, the magnificence and the superb mounts of France that she had enjoyed for so long, but that she would be patient now that her paradise was to be exchanged for a hell'.⁷² On her arrival in Scotland, Mary may well have felt a longing for the country she knew best, and which had treated her with such conspicuous magnificence.

Mary attempted to take a great deal of France back with her on her return to Scotland. It did not impress an ostensibly Protestant country weary of French influence that Mary chose to surround herself with Frenchmen. The records of Mary's household are incomplete, but from Mary's correspondence and a series of lists drafted in 1548–53,⁷³ 1560–1,⁷⁴ 13 February 1566–7 and an *état* drawn up five years after her imprisonment by Elizabeth I in 31 July 1573,⁷⁵ we can trace the personnel attached to the Scottish Queen.

Among those who accompanied Mary back to Scotland from France were Mary Seaton, Mary Beaton and Mary Livingston. Also accompanying her were members of the Beaucaire family, also called Peguillen.⁷⁶ Marie de Beaucaire had been in Mary's household since at least 1553. Perhaps it was her daughter that is referred to in the list of her Scottish household for 1566 and 1573 as 'Mademoiselle de Pinguillon'. Gilbert de Beaucaire, sieur de Peguillen, is mentioned from 1553 onwards as acting as Mary's master of the household. Another member of the Beaucaire family, François de Beaucaire was to function in Mary's Parisian council. Other individuals who accompanied Mary to Scotland included Léonard de Chaumont, seigneur d'Esguilly, another master of the household paid by Mary from at least 1560, Philibert du Crocq, an 'Eschoincons', and Claude de Parcheminier, who acted as one of Mary's secretaries. In addition, Mary was to retain several members of Marie de Guise's household, including her *comptroller* Bartholomew de Villemore, her master of the household Jean de Bussot, and also her apothecary, several *valets de chambre*, and a secretary, all of whom were French.⁷⁷ The high incidence of French names on the 1566–7 and 1573 lists is notable, both in terms of those in active service and those receiving pensions. These lists highlight Mary's refusal to be ruled by public opinion in Scotland on an issue so close to her heart. In many respects she was more prepared to compromise on the issue of her religion than deny her French tastes and connections.

These lists also highlight the decline in Mary's fortunes over the course of her career. From around 140 members in her employ in 1568,

Mary paid only 60 staff by 5 February 1569 following her imprisonment by Elizabeth, 16 by 1571, and a mere nine in 1572 following the symbolic retribution exacted by Elizabeth on Mary for the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.⁷⁸ While the *état* of 1573 lists expenditure for the household at 15,000 *livres tournois*, the majority of this was paid as pensions. Besides Mary's general munificence, another aspect worth noting about these lists is the particular pension paid in 1566–7 and in 1573 to her grandmother, the Dowager Duchesse de Guise, who was to receive 800 *livres tournois* per year.⁷⁹ Other links to the Guise–Lorraine household included her doctor, [Jacques] de Lugerie who received 300 *livres tournois* per annum. A one time priest in the diocese of Mans, Lugerie was also a doctor of medicine and acted, at various times, as vicar to the Cardinal de Lorraine.

Among the personnel that joined Mary in Scotland around 1561 but which cannot be found in the later *états*, was the famous Catholic preacher and prolific author, René Benoist who acted as Mary's confessor.⁸⁰ An oasis of Catholicism, Mary's household maintained the right to hear mass in what was a Protestant nation, and a Protestant country legitimised by Mary. The boundaries were quickly drawn, though, when René Benoist and Nicolas Winzet⁸¹ were encouraged to leave the country after the alleged discovery of Catholic printing emanating from Mary's household in Edinburgh.⁸² The nature of these offences, if real, remain opaque. Certainly no copies of any such books have survived and indeed one might doubt whether the resources of the primitive Scottish printing houses of the day would have permitted the easy dissemination of such writings in printed form.⁸³ It seems equally likely that Benoist and Winzet had been circulating Catholic writings in manuscript or perhaps even texts brought with them from France. That is, if the charges had not been trumped up simply to force their departure.

In Scotland, Mary continued to cultivate her interest in literature, revealed by the albeit incomplete records of her library.⁸⁴ While Italian, German, Spanish, Greek and Latin books can be found among her collection, English books of any genre are rare. Mary's predominant interest appears to have been in French literature, including *The 'Epistles of Ovid in Frenche Meter'*,⁸⁵ and *'Elegie upoun the Deid of Joachim de Bellay'*.⁸⁶ Pierre de Ronsard, the celebrated 'prince of poets' of the Pléiade school, seems to have been Mary's favourite French poet, and amongst her collection could be found *The First Buik of the Novallis of Ronsard*,⁸⁷ two editions or copies of *The Misereis of the Tyme Present be Ronsard*,⁸⁸ alongside *Ane Ansuer to Ronsard* – one of several pieces put into circulation by the Huguenots in opposition to Ronsard's *Discours*.⁸⁹ While Ronsard's inter-

est in Mary was transitory, reflecting the political realities of the period, Mary's interest in Ronsard remained firm. An edition of his poetry was to reach Mary in captivity at Sheffield, at which time Mary promised to send via her secretary to England, Claude Nau, two thousand écus and 'a vase which was decorated with a rock representing Parnassus and Pegasus. Above it read: To Ronsard, the Apollo from the spring of the Muses.'⁹⁰

While Mary maintained a pronounced affection for France, politically her relationship was to become strained and remained so from the moment of her arrival in Scotland in 1561 until her death in 1587. In the two years that followed Mary's return, 1561–3, relations with France were particularly tense. Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, remarked that there were no closer relations between Scotland and France than between Scotland and Moscow.⁹¹ In fact, this was a gross exaggeration, yet it did reflect just how strained relations had become between the two countries. Mary continued to maintain close contact with her Guisard relatives. However, Paul de Foix, the French ambassador in London, showed grave concern that the ancient alliance between Scotland and France was no longer a priority for the Queen, who inclined more towards forging surer relations with Elizabeth, from whom she sought guarantees as to her succession.⁹²

The primary issue of contention between France and Mary during this period was the choice of her second marriage partner. Between 1561 and 1563, her Guisard relatives, particularly the Cardinal de Lorraine, had hoped to renew the family's fortunes, and reanimate the hopes of British Catholics by marrying Mary to Don Carlos, the son of Philip II. A Spanish ambassador, don Alvaro de la Quadra, was sent to Scotland in 1563 to begin the negotiations. Catherine de Medici opposed such a marriage, and presented instead two alternatives – either Charles IX or his brother, Henri Duc d'Anjou. Mary refused both, and it is perhaps worthwhile to pause and speculate why. Marriage would have enabled Mary to return to France and a life of considerably greater comfort. Certainly, as the Queen consort of the King of France, she would have enjoyed a position of far greater international prominence. Was the decision to refuse personal or political? If political, it may well be that Mary had calculated that the Scottish nobility would simply not stomach a second French alliance. If one takes into account that the revolution of 1559 was at least in part a war of liberation against French domination, then retreat to France may well have been, in effect, an abdication. Mary was growing in confidence, and may well have felt that her position as an effective ruling monarch in Scotland outweighed

the attractions and comforts of France. There were also personal feelings. Mary had not wished to return to the tutelage of Catherine de Medici, and the proposed husbands were at this point still children. By this stage, moreover, Mary was also beginning to fall for the charms of Henry Lord Darnley, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Lennox, who himself had a strong claim to the English throne. Mary's decision does show the extent to which her relationship with France had changed in the years since her return.

Mary's choice of marriage partner was to backfire badly, for the subsequent history of her marriage is one of calamity. Darnley's jealous and unbalanced nature led to the murder of Mary's advisor, David Riccio, while his failure to attend the baptism of his son, the future James VI, swung Mary's anger against him. While no firm evidence exists to link Mary to the events at Kirk o'Field in Edinburgh, which saw the death by strangulation of Darnley on the evening of 9 February 1567, her subsequent marriage to James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, implicated in the assassination, did much to provoke widespread anger. The French government sent Nicolas de Neuville, sieur de Villeroi, Secretary of State under Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV and Louis XIII, to Scotland with instructions from Charles IX. These instructions leave little doubt that Charles IX recognised Mary's complicity – tacit or otherwise – in the events at Kirk o'Field. Charles's path was a delicate one, however. He wished neither the alienation of Scotland nor of Mary, as shown by the following letter:

The King wishes the sieur du Croc to know that the desire and principal intention of His Majesty is to keep the kingdom of Scotland under his obedience, without allowing it, under the pretext of certain follies which have arisen, to retract from his rule or to seek a master other than himself. He is willing to do favours and help the Queen of Scots, but nothing which would result in the loss and ruin of his kingdom or damage the allegiance to the King and his affairs.⁹³

Following Mary's deposition by the Scots and subsequent military defeat at the Battle of Langside in 1568, she fled on 16 May to England in the miscalculated hope that Elizabeth would aid her restoration. Considered a threat to national security, Mary remained incarcerated in a number of secure locations, mainly at Sheffield but also in places such as Tutbury and Chartley. During the period of Mary's imprisonment, from 1568 to 1587, the French were caught in a difficult diplomatic situation. On the one hand, they had some desire and obligation to help

Mary, Queen Dowager of France. On the other, they had to consider very carefully the more overwhelming need to preserve the international balance of power. Following Mary's imprisonment, Charles IX sent an embassy to London led by the sieur de Poigny, with the aim of negotiating a treaty between the two queens and the restoration of Mary to the throne. While this embassy was unsuccessful, Charles declared formally that 'the King of France will stop at nothing in order to preserve the rights of the Queen his sister in law'.⁹⁴ Catherine de Medici spoke with Henry Norris, saying that, 'the Queen of England had promised to see her restored, but if she delayed the matter the King would send 3,000 footmen thither'.⁹⁵ That no more decisive action was undertaken against Elizabeth, despite such threats, can be explained primarily by their fear of Spanish power, especially in the Netherlands. It was this fear of universal monarchy that convinced Charles IX to sign the Treaty of Blois with England in April 1572, confirmed in London in 1575. It omitted all references to the imprisoned Queen of Scots, to her considerable and understandable annoyance.⁹⁶ Charles IX and Henry III both recognised that the opportunity for any alliance against England was conditioned by political and economic circumstances. France was debilitated by civil war, there was a need to circumscribe the power of Spain, and in any case, the political climate in Scotland was such that, as a Protestant country developing ever-closer links with England, it hardly encouraged conditions for a successful alliance with France. The result was, of course, a complicated and difficult situation. One curious diplomatic conundrum involved the need to open relations with Scotland, despite the fact that the monarch was, technically, an usurper of the throne. The need for a permanent embassy, established from early 1582, was solved only by the approval of Mary herself for its existence.

But if formal relations with Mary were those of, in Professor Greengrass's well-turned phrase 'benevolent inactivity', what of the reaction of the house of Guise?⁹⁷ The often hysterical attitude to the Guise affinity found in English diplomatic correspondence was not entirely unjustified. While they could ill afford to act as patrons and employers to gentry outside France, they did involve themselves closely with seminary activists. It was their favour that allowed Cardinal Allen to establish the seminary at Reims, and had permitted the establishment of the Jesuit college at Eu, in Normandy, to which the Duc de Guise provided an annual pension. Moreover, as Greengrass notes, 'Guise patronage came to dominate the geography of the Catholic migration from the British Isles to France'. Nevertheless, after 1560, Guise assistance and finance for plots which sought to secure Mary's release was limited to

the period between April 1578 and January 1585. In 1583, in opposition to the diplomatic policies of the crown, an invasion of England supported by the Spanish and the Guise faction had only just failed to set sail from the ports of Upper Normandy.⁹⁸ For the most part, however, Scotland and England were subordinated to France in the priorities of the Guise.⁹⁹

During the period of her imprisonment, Mary was eager to remain informed of affairs in France. An extensive network of correspondence relayed information on all manner of matters, both domestic and foreign. The principal channels of communication can be established from her correspondence. James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador in Paris to the court of France and head of her council, was Mary's principal source of information. Beaton received by far the largest salary and in addition was rewarded with ecclesiastical benefices.¹⁰⁰ Other figures responsible for informing Mary of events in France include Henry Kir, Monsieur de Courcelles, Michel de Castelnau and his successor as French ambassador in Scotland from September 1585, Monsieur de L'Aubespine de Chateauneuf. On 31 March 1586, Mary wrote a letter to Monsieur de Mauvissière in which she thanked him 'affectionately for the trouble that you have taken since your departure from this kingdom in conveying to me news from France. I have taken singular pleasure in the few communications that I have received from there. It will always be the case that I will feel in my heart and affection the good and ill that befalls the crown there, following the strict obligation that I have towards it'.¹⁰¹ This was, of course, something of an understatement. For despite her captivity, Mary was undoubtedly more fully aware of developments in France than 'most provincial governors'.¹⁰² This constant stream of information between Mary and the continent, despite the use of cipher, was closely monitored by the English intelligence service, and was, with hindsight, to be the source of her undoing.¹⁰³

Central to Mary's interests in France was her dowry. By the terms of her marriage contract ratified on 19 April 1558, Mary was assured an annual dowry of 60,000 *livres tournois* in the event of François's death without heirs.¹⁰⁴ This was to be 'located and assigned in and on the duchy, county, lands and lordships of Touraine and Poitou' – those same lands that had previously provided the dowry for Eleonor of Austria.¹⁰⁵ Besides the remuneration that such lands provided, Mary was entitled to appoint royal offices in areas under her control. This revenue and influence was to be a source of ever-increasing problems and frustrations for Mary; she was never to realise the full amount promised to her

by the contract of 1558. The initial evaluation of revenues from these lands in 1561 revealed a shortfall which resulted in the further allocation of land in Champagne in partial compensation.¹⁰⁶ As Champagne was a frontier region, the Paris *parlement* did not permit Mary to nominate offices in this territory, as was her right in the other areas under her control.¹⁰⁷ Despite these shortcomings, until 1568, while Mary remained the reigning monarch in Scotland, the revenues provided by her dowry proved more than sufficient to finance a large household of 174 salaried posts. Some of Mary's personnel resided in France, where Mary maintained a prominent council to manage her dowry.

The deteriorating conditions that Mary was to endure during her English captivity, particularly at Tutbury, were mirrored by increasing difficulties in securing the revenue from her dowry in France. Various factors contributed to a dwindling in the real value of Mary's dowry. These included the past over-forestation of her lands in Epernay and St. Ménéhoud, the negative economic impact of periods of depression exacerbated by the Wars of Religion,¹⁰⁸ and alienations of land particularly during the reign of Henry III. In 1576, for example, the county of Touraine – part of the lands given to Mary – was granted to François duc d'Alençon in 1576, a grant naturally opposed by the Scottish Queen.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, attempts to compensate Mary for her deteriorating dowry did not go uncontested. Madame de Montpensier, for example, disputed Mary's rights in Senlis and Vitry, royal domains to the north of Paris granted in compensation for lands allocated to François duc d'Alençon.¹¹⁰ Another alienation relating to a part of the duchy of Poitou, which came to be known as the Secondigny affair, cost Mary around 6,000 *livres* in legal costs by 1574.¹¹¹ This affair was not settled by the time of Mary's execution in February 1587. Even in her will, Mary referred to the law suit and even allocated, optimistically, the monies which would result from its successful resolution in her favour, including setting aside 'five hundred francs for the relief of the poor of Reims'.¹¹² Towards the end of her life, Mary made constant complaints of her impecuniness. On 6 February 1585, for instance, she wrote to Monsieur de Mauvissière, 'I have written to you presently as I find myself in very great need of money. This forces me to disturb you at this time so that you can do everything in your power to pay promptly what my treasurer asks of you, by letter of credit or any other means, the terms of which I have duly made clear to him and enclosed in this present dispatch. I urge you to pay this to him and send him back to me at your earliest convenience'.¹¹³ The imprisoned Queen of Scotland was even obliged to raise loans in London, and borrow from the earl of Arundel and from her secretary.¹¹⁴ A statement of revenues owed by Henri III to

the Scottish Queen, drawn up after her execution in 1587, outlined a debt of 164,595 *écus 27 sous* and 1 *denier*, an amount that equalled eight years of revenues of her original allocation of 60,000 *livres tournois* per annum.¹¹⁵

Mary's council based in Paris managed her French interests. Evidence relating to this council is frustratingly sparse. Working from Mary's correspondence and the various *états* of Mary's household, Mark Greengrass has largely succeeded in reconstructing the composition of this council. At its head was Mary's 'protector', Charles Cardinal de Lorraine, to December 1574, succeeded by Louis I Cardinal de Guise to March 1578. Following the death of the cardinal, it is likely that this position rested unofficially with the Guise family. The position of protectorship was one with formal authority, including primacy in Mary's council, the right to dispose of the seals of the chancellor and dispense revenues of the council in the form of pensions.¹¹⁶ The Parisian council was, at least in part, an extension of the Guise patronage network, often to Mary's anxiety if tacit resignation. That the position of protector was not just one of title is clear from Mary's request that her trusted ambassador in France and convener of her Council, the Archbishop of Glasgow, James Beaton,¹¹⁷ approach the Cardinal to allocate certain posts in her duchy.¹¹⁸

Until 1574, Mary's Council based in Paris was marked by its professionalism and influence in French political life. An analysis of the composition of the Council reveals that its personnel were both prominent and well connected. Of the nineteen members of the Council in 1566, two were also members of the *chambre des comptes* in Paris, while three were senior lawyers in the Parisian courts. François de L'Aubespine, Mary's chancellor, was *président* of the *grand conseil* and a senior figure in the French legal hierarchy; he also served on the queen mother's council.¹¹⁹ Mary's treasurer, René Dolu, was also well-connected: he had relatives in such high-ranking positions as president in the *chambre des comptes* and *secrétaire des finances*. The Council maintained strong connections with the Guise family – François de Beaucaire, sieur de Puyguillon was a servant in the clientele of the Guise, used by the Guise as the 'straw' bishop of Metz. His brother was Jean Beaucaire from a long line of royal servants; Jean himself served under François I. Another member of the Council, Pierre Hotman, was also the treasurer for the Cardinal de Lorraine. His son, Charles Hotman, who succeeded him in 1585, became one of the founder members of the League in Paris, and member of the Paris *Sixteen* until his death in 1587.¹²⁰

1574 seemed however to mark a revolution in the calibre and policy of this council. As Mark Greengrass has noted, it can be characterised

from this date less as a body of skilled administrators and more as a group of domestic servants enjoying contacts with the exile Catholic community in France.¹²¹ François de Beaucaire de Puyguillon retired and François de L'Aubespine was replaced by Gilles du Verger, president of the *présidial* at Tours, who was himself later replaced by Jean de Champhuan, sieur de Ruisseau brother-in-law of Claude Nau, Mary's secretary in England. Mary's suspicions of mismanagement in her Council mounted, undoubtedly fuelled by the restless frustrations of imprisonment and the deteriorating ability of her council in Paris to realise the full extent of her promised dowry. In September 1574, for instance, Mary urged James Beaton to investigate the loss of 5,000 francs under the suspicion that either Hotman or M. Ferrarius, her treasurer, had embezzled.¹²² Mary also became annoyed at the continued reluctance of her council to pursue new objectives. One can follow in her correspondence developing conflict with her treasurer René Dolu over the way in which her income should be spent, with Dolu preferring to save and invest while Mary advocated spending more on the exiles.¹²³ Mary, eager to secure the assistance of the Catholic exiles to bring about her release, accused Dolu of acting more in the interests of Henri III than her own, and he was finally dismissed in 1581.¹²⁴ He was replaced by M. de Chérelles, whose brother was an agent for the French ambassador in England from 1585 and in contact with Mary at Tutbury.

There is no clearer symbol of the new direction Mary wished her Council to adopt than the appointment in 1574 of Thomas Morgan, a Welsh exile and conspirator, closely followed by the appearance of the equally notorious Charles Paget. Thomas Morgan himself became a target of Protestant polemic.¹²⁵ A good sense of the man's aims can be gained from the confession of Guy Fawkes following the Gunpowder plot, when he mentioned Morgan's name as one who had proposed exactly the same thing in Queen Elizabeth's time.¹²⁶ Mary's council had, in effect, become a nest of conspiracy.

The example of David Chalmers demonstrates equally clearly why the threat posed to Elizabeth and the English government by this council was minimal, and ironically worked to their ultimate advantage.¹²⁷ James Beaton and Mary Stuart were both enthusiastic advocates of the Scots College in Paris.¹²⁸ Whether cultural advancement or image-making was on their mind when they provided David Chalmers with a pension is difficult to ascertain.¹²⁹ Certainly, Chalmers was a grateful recipient of monies given, and was undoubtedly closely associated with members of Mary's council. In 1579, he produced a trio of works – the *Histoire abrégée*, a second text entitled *La Recherche des singularitez*, and

finally *Discours de la legitime succession des femmes*.¹³⁰ All three texts reinforced, albeit at tiresome length, Mary's legitimacy and right to the throne of England. What James Beaton, Mary Stuart or her Council did not recognise, however, was that from around 1573 until his return to Scotland in 1582, Chalmers also operated as a double agent for Sir Francis Walsingham, the head of the most advanced intelligence service in the early modern world.¹³¹ The necessarily concealed nature of intelligence operations, combined with the deliberate destruction of sensitive documents, makes a full assessment of the penetration of Mary's council difficult to establish. That this council was a focus for dissent ironically served the better interests of the Elizabethan regime. Through their deep penetration of this council, they were aware of the most serious conspiracies against their Queen.

From a detailed list contained in the Calendar of State Papers for 1580, it is clear that Walsingham maintained an alert eye on the composition and activities of the *émigré* community in Paris, and in France more generally. This document may also have been used to target recruitment, no doubt with some success. The names on this list are divided into various categories, including 'great practisers'. Although this phrase suggests that the figures were well known to English intelligence, their reputation has not survived to this day, with the exception of Thomas Morgan whom we will discuss below. Such names include Brackford (a pensioner of the Queen of Scots), Clitherowe, Thomas Evans (a companion of David Chambers [sic for Chalmers]), Hiliard, Orton, Sudgrave, Warbutton and Watson.¹³² As well as being kept informed from an administrative level of events in Mary's council through such agents as David Chalmers (to 1582), Walsingham may well have maintained agents in more prominent and influential positions.

Mary's council operated as a hub for various conspiracies directed against Elizabeth, drawing together exiled Catholics and the Guise family. For reasons discussed above, the French monarchy under Charles IX and Henri III sought to distance itself tactfully but firmly from association with the plotting element among the dissident exile communities in France. It was in this context that Thomas Morgan, the practical head of Mary's council in Paris, was, in an effort to appease Elizabeth in the aftermath of the Parry conspiracy, arrested by Henri III in 1585 and placed in the Bastille.¹³³ Nevertheless, until 1585, plotting did take place of which the French crown was undoubtedly aware. As an imprisoned Catholic sovereign, whom many in England and abroad considered to be the legitimate monarch of England on account of Elizabeth's illegitimacy, Mary became the willing focal point of conspira-

cies that sought to secure her release and place her on the throne in Elizabeth's place.

Mary had plotted against Elizabeth almost from the moment of her imprisonment. Three unsuccessful conspiracies against Elizabeth in the 1580s were to form the basis for Elizabeth's decision to execute Mary. The first of these was the Francis Throckmorton plot, a conspiracy that boasted a celebrity cast, including figures such as the Pope and Philip II, who underwrote the total cost of the enterprise, Henri, Duc de Guise, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Henry Howard. On discovering this plot, Francis Walsingham was so shocked by the extent of Mary's contact with the outside world that he demanded her removal to a more secure location – Tutbury. A second plot named after its prime mover, William Parry, was uncovered in 1585 by the ever-vigilant intelligence service. In this particular case, Mary was not directly implicated, though Parry was quick to name Thomas Morgan as his partner in crime.

Decisive retribution followed the English government's discovery of yet another plot against the English Protestant state. The scene had been set by Mary's removal to Tutbury. Here, she had been starved of correspondence from the outside world from December 1584. When contact was offered via a brewer by way of a water-tight container in a beer cask, Mary, with eager naivety, was understandably overjoyed. However, this service was one engineered by Walsingham. From the moment Gilbert Gifford landed on English soil with the nascent plan in 1585, the intelligence services were fully aware of the evolving Babington conspiracy. Also functioning as *agents provocateurs*, the service influenced the conspirators by overestimating Spanish preparations for invasion, spurring them to even more treasonous designs – principally the assassination of Elizabeth. The information amassed during these conspiracies, and possibly others that have not come to light, provided a rich seam of evidence necessary to bring Mary to trial, and gave Elizabeth the upper hand against militant Catholic nobles in England who had corresponded with Mary during this period.

Other factors that motivated or encouraged the English government's decision to execute Mary in February 1587 included the potential consequences of her various illnesses. A document recently acquired by Cambridge University Library outlined a reply to Henri III, who had interceded unsuccessfully to urge that the sentence of execution be commuted on the grounds that Mary had little time left. The document retorted 'the shorter time the Scots Quene hath to live heare in this world the more hast hir complices will thinke they have to achive to

her wicked intencons'.¹³⁴ The converse possibility was, of course, equally galling; that if Mary should outlive Elizabeth, then a Catholic would by rights succeed to the throne of England. Internationally, increasing brinkmanship between Spain and England from 1585 intensified the need to eliminate the Queen of Scots, who remained a focus for division and conspiracy in the kingdom.

On 14 and 15 October, therefore, under the Act of Association, Mary was indicted. Ten days later, on 25 October, the Star Chamber at Westminster declared Mary guilty of complicity to assassinate Elizabeth. Predictably, Parliament placed pressure on Elizabeth to pronounce the sentence of death, which with some hesitation was decreed on 4 December 1586. Two months later, on 1 February 1587 following the old style calendar, Elizabeth signed the death warrant, and even then she was to claim, in a display of professional dramatics, that her last minute decision to stay the execution had been countermanded. Through intelligence and Henri's established pattern of behaviour towards Mary, Elizabeth undertook the execution of a legitimate Catholic sovereign with strong ties to France in the knowledge that the action would not result in war.

Elizabeth had carefully prepared the ground. In 1586, she had sent extraordinary embassies to both Henri III and James VI following the Babington conspiracy. She did this in order that they might exhibit proof of the conspiracy and place before their eyes other evidence to sway the monarchs against Mary, such as her correspondence with Spain promising her rights to England and Scotland should James fail to convert to Catholicism.¹³⁵ Mary could not simply be deserted. When news reached the French King of the likelihood of Mary's execution, Henri sent Pomponne de Bellièvre, his most experienced politician and diplomat, on an embassy to negotiate a reduction in Mary's sentence. Bellièvre had three audiences with Elizabeth, on 7 December, 15 December 1586, and on 6 January 1587.¹³⁶ His rhetorical talents, however, proved insufficient to prevent the execution. Bellièvre departed London on 13 January; Mary was executed the following month at Fotheringhay castle in Northamptonshire. To a large extent Pomponne de Bellièvre's failure had been due to the terrible cards he had been authorised to bring to the diplomatic table. In promising only 20–30,000 écus to come from Mary's own dowry, alongside a pledge from the Duc de Guise not to involve himself further in conspiracies against the English Queen, Henri III had to all intents and purposes distanced both himself and the French state from Mary's plight.¹³⁷ Henri III was even willing to tolerate an abusive letter written by Elizabeth on 18 January 1587 which

accused the French King of attempting to protect a murderess; it ended: 'Your estates, my good brother, do not allow you to have too many enemies'.¹³⁸ The English understood and were perhaps made to understand the French position. Leicester, for example, writing to his brother in law, the count of Bedford, remarked that while the French publicly protested against the indignity with which Mary was treated, this stemmed from propriety. Leicester assured Bedford that no action would follow from French words.¹³⁹

That Henri failed to save the life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and Queen Dowager of France, diminished him in the eyes of the French public. That he did not adopt a stronger stance is even more surprising given the rumours circulating in France about his relationship with Elizabeth. On 25 November 1586, the head of the League wrote to the Spanish ambassador, 'you have seen the departure of Bellièvre for England to strengthen the offensive and defensive alliance with the Queen of England, and provide the means to advance it'.¹⁴⁰ This opinion was furthered by Bernardino de Mendoza. Writing on 22 December 1586 to Alexandre Farnese, he indicated that the deliverance of Mary Stuart was the 'moindre souci de la cour de France' – the least of the French court's worries.¹⁴¹

Henri recognised well the diplomatic situation with which he was faced. Bellièvre indicated to Elizabeth the position of the French monarchy, that 'if the Queen of England does not give these arguments any consideration, but wishes to proceed with such a harsh and extraordinary judgement, the French crown could do nothing other than resent it as a particularly serious offence'.¹⁴² There is no evidence to suggest that Henri gave his tacit agreement to the execution of Mary; in fact, quite the contrary.¹⁴³ Yet, Henri simply did not have enough diplomatic currency to alter the English judgement, nor was he in a position to go to war over Mary Stuart. Henri and Elizabeth both knew it. According to one sympathetic account, following the execution, Henri suffered 'mortelles inquiétudes' in deciding how to react to the situation.¹⁴⁴ His reaction was to freeze French diplomatic links with England. Yet only three months later, and in defiance of French public opinion, normal diplomatic relations were quietly restored.

Until the very moment of Mary Stuart's execution at Fotheringhay on 18 February 1587, following the continental calendar,¹⁴⁵ Mary focused her attentions on France. The first request contained in Mary's last will and testament, drawn up according to the printed version 'the morning of my death, this Wednesday 20 February',¹⁴⁶ was that services be conducted for her soul in the *basilique* of Saint Denis to the north of Paris,

the traditional resting place of the French kings, and at Saint Pierre in Reims, closely associated with the Guise family.¹⁴⁷ Mary asked that she be buried in Reims, a symbolically defiant gesture. Elizabeth refused this last request. After all, it would have been too risky to send Mary's body back to France, lest it intensify efforts to make the Scottish Queen a martyr or inflame French public sentiment against England. Mary was instead buried in Peterborough Cathedral. To Reims, Mary also requested that a contribution be given from her funds 'for the relief of the poor of Reims'.¹⁴⁸ Land at Trepigny was to be given to her cousin Guise for use by one of his daughters,¹⁴⁹ and the principal executor of her will was to be none other than the Duc de Guise.¹⁵⁰ Mary's intentions, as expressed in her last will and testament, remained largely unfulfilled. In contravention of her final wishes and despite the considerable monies owed to her by Henri III discussed earlier and her request that her dowry should continue to be paid a year after her death, by a royal edict of March 1587 in which Mary was respectively referred to as his 'late sister in law', all of Mary's dowry lands reverted to the crown.¹⁵¹ In her final letter, written at 2.00am on the morning before her execution, Mary wrote to Henri III:

It remains for me to beg you as Most Christian King, my brother in law and old ally, you who have always protested your love for me, to give proof in all these points of your virtue as much out of pity – to relieve me – as to free my conscience, and help me in something I cannot resolve without you, that is to reward my grieving servants and pay their wages.¹⁵²

Henri dismissed his obligation to recompense Mary's servants, and it was left to Philip II, through his ambassador Bernardino Mendoza, to pay the wages and pensions that were due.

The sentiments and problems that marked the nature and execution of Mary's final wishes were indeed a fitting final tribute to her troubled relationship with France. Personally, of course, Mary considered herself French. She continued to cultivate this attachment, born from her years as the golden child at Henri II's court, after her return to Scotland in 1561, surrounding herself with Frenchmen and news from France. Politically, Mary's relations with France took rather more surprising turns. From 1561 to her execution in 1587, Mary presented persistent and thorny problems for France, largely of her own making. The French response to these problems was, effectively, to cast the Queen of Scots and Dowager Queen of France into the political wilderness. The French

could ill afford to too closely associate themselves with Mary, for to do so would complicate even further their relationship with the Scots and more importantly exacerbate tensions with the English at a time when the Spanish threat demanded the need for a powerful ally, albeit an unfamiliar one. The demands of international politics short-circuited the call of international Catholicism.

Index

Note: publications mentioned in the main text have been included in this index.

-
- Advertissement sur le pourparlé*, 86–7
Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 151
Agnes, St, 151
Albret, Jeanne d', 87
Alençon and Anjou, François Duc d',
28, 69, 75, 77, 78, 103, 119, 125,
155
Allen, William, Cardinal, 26
Alloa, 92
Alva, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo,
Duke of, 98
Amboise, 90
Amboise, Conspiracy of, 84, 95
Anabaptism, 130
Angers, *entrée* of Mary, 11, 14, 15, 39
Angoulême, Henri Duc d', 44
Anjou, François Duc d', 28, 69, 75,
77, 78, 103, 119, 125
Anroux, Hiérosme, 108–9
Anroux, Nicolas, 113
Arc, Jeanne d', 67
Armada, 153
Arundel, Philip Howard, 20th Earl of,
28
Ascoli, George, *La Grand-Bretagne
devant l'opinion française*, 6
Augustin, St, 136, 140
Aumale, François Comte d', 42

Babington Conspiracy, 32, 33
Baif, Jean Antoine de, *Chant de joie*,
46
Ballads, 4
Barnaud, Nicolas
Le Miroir des françois, 99
Le Reveille-Matin, 94–9, 99
Barnavi, Elie, *Le Parti de Dieu*, 104
Baumgartner, Frederic, *Radical
Reactionaries*, 105
Beale, Mr, 90
Beale, Robert, 130, 139
Beaton, James, Archbishop of
Glasgow, 27, 29, 30, 31, 101, 132
Beaton, Mary, 16, 22

Beaucaire, François de, 22, 29, 30
Beaucaire, Gilbert de, Sieur de
Peguillen, 22
Beaucaire, Jean de, 29
Beaucaire, Marie de, 22
Beaugué, Jean de, *Histoire de la guerre
d'Escosse*, 42–3
Beaune, Renaud de, *Oraison funèbre*,
117–18, 119, 122, 132, 134, 137,
150–1
Bedford, Earl of, 34
Bellay, Eustace de, 44
Bellay, Joachim du, 17, 23, 41
*Hymne au Roy sur la prinse de
Callais*, 46, 50
*Tumulus Henrici Secundi Gallorum
Regis Christianis*, 50
Belleforest, François de, translator and
editor of Münster's *Cosmographie*,
18–19, 66–7
Bellièvre, Pomponne de, 33, 34, 123,
125, 148, 153
Belloy, Pierre, 113
*De l'Autorité du Roy et crimes de
lèse-majesté*, 113
Benoist, René, 23, 121
Traité du sacrifice évangélique, 60–1
Berry, Duchesse de, 44
Berton, Barthélemy, 87
Berwick, 153
Beza, Théodore, 98
Bichon, Guillaume, 155
Blackwood, Adam
Histoire, 148
La Mort de la Roynne d'Escosse,
135–8
Martyre de la Reine d'Escosse, 120–1,
135–8, 139
Blois, 111, 155
Treaty of, 26, 64, 66, 69, 70, 78, 89
Boèce, Hector, *History and Chronicles
of Scotland*, 69
Boleyn, Anne, 55, 144, 152
Booksellers, 67, 80, 105, 112

- Bothwell, James Hepburn Earl of, 25, 68, 86, 91–2, 93
- Boucher, Jean, 114, 121
- Boulogne, 13, 15, 155
- Bourbon, Antoine de, Roy de Navarre, 37, 44, 55
- Bourbon, Charles, Cardinal de, 123
- Bourbon, Marguerite de, 47
- Bourgoing, Dominique, 134, 136, 137
- Boursault, Edme, *Marie Stuard*, 159
- Brackford, 31
- Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, Abbot of, 17, 18, 21–2
- Brief discours de la tempeste et fouldre advenue en la cité de Londres*, 54–5
- Buchanan, George,
De Jure Regni apud Scotos, 92–3
Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse, 64, 65, 88–93, 99, 102
- Buffet, Michel, 115
- Caen, 82, 84, 116
- Calais, 39, 46, 47, 50, 83
- Campion, Edmund, 72–5, 143, 150
- Carroll, Stuart, 107
- Carron, Gilles, 112
- Castelneau, Michel de, Sieur de la Mauvissière, 27, 28, 51
- Castilians, 64, 66
- Cateau-Cambresis, 49–50
- Caumont, Jean de, *Advertissement des Advertissemens*, 107, 118, 140, 143, 145–6, 147
- Cawod, John, 80
- Cecil, William, 55, 57, 59, 62, 77, 80, 81, 82, 84, 89, 90, 100, 103, 124, 152
Exécution de justice, 99
- Chalmers, David, Lord Ormont, 30–1
Histoire abrégée de tous les roys de France, 30–1, 68–71
- Champuhon, Jean de, 107
- Charles V, 12, 37, 85
- Charles VII, 67
- Charles IX, 24, 26, 31, 58, 61, 64, 69, 81, 89, 97
- Charron, Jean, 117
- Chartley, 25
- Châtellerault, 51
- Chaumont, Léonard de, Seigneur d'Esguilly, 22
- Chenonceau, 51
- Chérelles, M. de, 30
- Chesneau, Nicolas, 67
- Christian of Denmark, 12
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 90–1
- Clement VII, 101
- Clitherowe, 31
- Clutin, Henri, Sieur d'Oisel, 85
- Coligny, Gaspard de Châtillon, comte de, 65
- Condé, Louis Prince de, 44, 47, 83, 85, 87
- Conradin, 101
- Considerations sur le meurdre commis en la personne de feu Monsieur le Duc de Guyse*, 155
- Constantine, 101
- Continuation des choses plus célèbres*, 62–3
- Coulumbel, Robert, 68
- Courcelles, 27
- Coventry, 62, 63
- Creighton (or Crichton), Father William, 75
- Crespin, Jean, 129
- Croc, Sieur du, 25
- Crocq, Philibert du, 22
- Curés, 105, 107, 108, 109
- Curl, Gilbert, 131
- Darnley, Henry Lord, 25, 61–2, 65–6, 86, 91–2, 93, 157
- Day, John, 89
- Day of the Barricades (12 May 1588), 1, 104, 105, 126–7, 154, 158
- de Medici, 95
- Dénézé sous Doué, 95–6
- Denmark, 12
- Diefendorf, Barbara, *Beneath the Cross*, 5
- Discours aux françois sur l'admirable accident de la mort de Henry de Valois*, 155
- Discours des cruautés et tyrannyes qu'a fait la Royne d'Angleterre*, 73–4
- Discours des troubles nouvellement advenus au royaume d'Angleterre*, 62–3
- Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe, fait au mariage*, 43–5
- Discours moral de la paix*, 49
- Discussions, 4, 109
- Dolfín, Giovanni, 123
- Dolu, René, 29, 30
- Don Carlos, 24
- Douceur, David, 115

- East Ham Press, 74
 Edinburgh, 12, 20, 23, 64, 66, 89, 91, 93, 94
 Treaty of, 21, 52, 53, 54
 Edward II, 154
 Edward VI, 12, 47, 55
 Eleanor of Austria, 27
 Elior, George, 73
 Protestation faicte par la Royne d'Angleterre, 82–3, 84, 85, 99
 Elizabeth of Valois, 15
 Emmanuel I, Charles Duke of Savoy, 120, 124
 Intelligence service, 27, 31–2, 33
Entrée ceremonies, 11, 13–15, 39, 43, 46, 47, 51
 Epernay, 28
 Epernon, Jean-Louis Nogaret de La Valette, duc d', 111, 154, 155
Epistre de la persecution meue en Angleterre contre l'église chrestienne, 74, 75, 76
Epistre envoyée au tigre de la France, 84
 Erskine, John 5th Lord, 11
 Espence, Claude d', *Oraison funèbre*, 54
 Estampville, Françoise d' (Madame de Parois), 16
 Etienne, Henri, *Discours merueilleux de la vie, actions et déportemens de Catherine*
 Etienne, Robert, 84
 Eu, 26
 Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, 151
 Eusebius, 139
 Evans, Thomas, 31
Exhortation aux catholiques de se réconcilier les uns aux autres, 140–1, 145
 Exiles, 30, 31, 64, 75, 76, 77, 78, 94, 102, 106, 107, 119, 122, 133, 145, 146
 Farnese, Alessandro, Duke of Parma, 34, 104
 Ferrarius, M., 30
 Février, Jean, 68
 Flanders, 87, 147, 152
 Fleming, Mary, 16
 Flodden, Battle of, 38
 Foigny, Jean de, 59, 64
 Foix, Paul de, 24
 Fontaine, Charles, *Odes, énigmes et épigrammes*, 41
 Fotheringhay, 33, 34, 103, 128, 131, 136, 138, 153, 159
 Fouquelin, Antoine, *La Rhétorique française*, 41
 Foxe, John, 76
 François I, 12, 29, 40, 47, 70, 95, 118
 François II, 5, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 27, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48–9, 50, 51–2, 53, 67, 78, 81, 84, 85, 95–7, 157
 Fraser, Antonia, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 18
 Gadoulleau, Michel, 68
 Garnier, Robert, 149–50
 Gaverston, Piers, 154
 Gay, Jean, *Histoire des scismes et hérésies des Albigeois*, 55, 57, 81, 143
 Geneva, 85, 94, 98, 102, 142
 Gibier, Eloy, 52–3, 82
 Gifford, Gilbert, 32
 Gilmont, Jean-François
 '*Le Pseudo-Martyre du Vaudois Pierre Masson*', 129
 '*Les Premières éditions de La Place*', 84–5
 Gondy, Sieur de, 132, 133, 134, 135
 Gordon, Jane, 91, 93
 Goulart, Simon, *Memoires de l'estat de France sous Charles neufiesme*, 98–9
 Gousté, Claude *Traicté de la puissance et autorité des roys*, 80
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de, 49
 Greengrass, Mark, 26–30
 Gregorian Calendar, 124
 Gregory, Brad, *Salvation at Stake*, 129–30, 139
 Grévin, Jacques, *Hymne à Monseigneur le Dauphin*, 45–6
 Guise, house of, 64, 81, 83, 85, 86–7, 88, 92, 95–7, 103, 158 (see also under separate listings)
 Guise, Anne d'Este, Duchesse de, 47, 51
 Guise, Antoinette de Bourbon-Vendôme, Duchesse de, 12, 16, 23
 Guise, Claude de Lorraine, Duc de, 12
 Guise, François de Lorraine, Duc de, 17, 39, 42, 44, 46, 47, 55, 56, 59, 81, 84, 85, 87–8

- Guise, Henri de Lorraine, Duc de, 26, 32, 35, 75, 111, 122, 126, 152
 assassination of, 111, 119, 125, 153, 155, 158
- Guise, Louis I de Lorraine, Cardinal de, 29, 40, 42
- Guise, Louis II de Lorraine, Cardinal de, 122, 126
 assassination of, 111, 112, 125, 153, 155, 158
- Guise, Marie de, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 37, 38, 41, 42, 48, 52, 53, 54, 60
- Guttery, Robert, 137
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 2–3
- Haddington, Treaty of, 13, 37
- Hamilton, James, 2nd Earl of Arran, Duc de Châtellerau, 65
- Hamilton, Jean, 122
- Hansius, Edward, 73, 74, 143
- Haultin, Pierre, 99
- Hay, John
Certaines demandes concernant la Christian religion, 76
Demandes faictes aux ministres d'Escoce, 75–6, 77
- Henri II, 5, 12, 13, 14–15, 16, 19, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 85, 88
- Henri III, 2, 10, 24–6, 28, 30–5, 68, 71, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 103–5, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 122, 123, 125–7, 128, 141, 143, 153–5
Edict du Roy pour la vente et aliénation, 154
- Henri IV, 77, 78, 126, 127, 128, 140, 141
- Henry VI (of England), 67
- Henry VIII (of England), 12, 55, 56, 152
- Histoire de nostre temps*, 87–8
- Histoire merveilleuse et espouvantable advenue en Angleterre*, 67
- Histoire véritable de la conspiration de Guillaume Parry*, 99–100
- Hotman, Charles, 29, 30, 103
- Hotman, François, *L'Histoire du tumulte d'Amboise*, 84
- Hotman, Pierre, 29, 30
- Howard, Lord Henry, 32
- Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, 32, 62, 64, 65, 89, 93, 97
- Images, 4, 42, 50, 75, 106, 115, 119–20, 121, 126
- Iphigeneia, 151
- James V, 12
- James VI, 25, 33, 61, 68, 69, 75, 91, 100, 132, 133, 134, 153, 154
- Jesuits, 26, 72–6, 100
- Joinville, Treaty of, 156
- Jondorf, Gillian, *Robert Garnier and the themes of political tragedy*, 150
- Jugge, Richard, 80
- Kelso, 38
- Kent, Earl of, 131, 136
- Killegrew, Henry, 90
- Kingdon, Robert, *Myths*, 94–7
- Kir, Henry, 27
- Kirk o'Field, 25, 91
- Kyffin, Maurice
A Defense of the Honourable sentence of the Queene of Scots, 100
Apologie du defense de l'honorable sentence, 100–2
- L'Aubespine, François de, 29, 30
- L'Aubespine, Guillaume de, 27, 123
Discours de la mort de très-haute Madame Marie Stouard, 130, 132, 134
- Labitte, Charles, *De la démocratie*, 105
- La Cabassoles, Sieur de, 14
- La Guesle, Jacques, *Remonstrance à la Roynie d'Angleterre*, 148–9
- La Maison Neufve-Berruyer, Jehan de, *L'Adieu des neuf Muses*, 46
- La Place, Pierre de, *Commentaires de l'estat de la religion*, 84–6, 99
- La Planche, François de, *La Legende de Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine & de ses frères*, 99
- La Quadra, Alvaro de, 24
- La Rochelle, 84, 87, 99, 101
- La Rouere, Jerome, *Deux sermons funèbres*, 50
- La Tapie d'Aurillac, Jean de, *Chantz royale*, 46
- La Trahison decouverte de Henry de Valoys*, 155
- League, 2, 10, 29, 34, 100, 103–56
- Lebigre, Arlette, *La Révolution des curés*, 105
- Le Bossu, Jacques, *Deux devis, d'un catholique*, 121, 155

- Le Féron, Jean, *Le Symbol armorial*, 41–2
- Le Havre, 83
- Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 34, 59, 77
- Lerat, Guillaume sieur de Beauchamp, 11
- L'Histoire de la mort que le R.P. Edmond Campion*, 75, 150
- L'Histoire et discours au vray du siège qui fut mis devant la ville d'Orléans par les anglois*, 67
- L'Homme, Martin, 45
- L'Innocence de Marie Roine d'Escoce*, 63–7
- Les Quinzes signes advenuz és parties d'occident, vers les royaumes d'Escoce & Angleterre*, 140
- Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross, 63, 101
- Harangue funèbre sur la mort de la Royne d'Escoce*, 133–4, 135, 137
- Oraison funèbre sur la mort de la Royne d'Escoce*, 116–17, 132–3, 137
- L'Estoile, Pierre de, 104, 107, 113, 114, 119, 120–3, 126
- Licinius, 101
- Lincoln, William Wickham, Bishop of, 138
- Linlithgow, 12
- Literacy, 4, 106
- Livingston, Alexander 5th Lord, 11
- Livingston, Mary, 16, 22
- London, 26, 28, 33, 47, 52, 66, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 100, 123, 125, 130, 131, 132, 135
- Lorraine, Catherine Marie de, Duchesse de Montpensier, 28, 106, 126
- Lorraine, Charles Cardinal de, 12, 24, 29, 37, 42, 45, 48, 59, 84, 85, 87–8, 95, 96, 99
- Lorraine, Claude de, 12
- Lorraine, Jean Cardinal de, 16
- Lorraine, René de, 42
- Lorraine, Renée de, 21
- Louvain, Faculty of Theology, 114
- Lucca, 95
- Lucinge, René de, 120, 123, 125
- Lugerie, [Jacques] de, 23
- Luther, Martin, 95
- Lyons, 15, 50, 59, 61, 79, 85, 100, 153, 159
- Madeleine de Valois, 70
- Maisonfleur, M. de, 17
- Marcourt, Antoine, 118–19
- Martyrdom, 5, 35, 72, 73, 74, 76, 103, 107, 108, 119, 120, 121, 128–56
- Mary Queen of Scots**
- arrival in France, 11, 13–15, 39
- bibliographical information on, 6–9
- Bothwell, relationship with, 25, 61–2, 86, 91–2, 93
- Casket Letters, 66, 86, 93
- Council in Paris, 29–31, 75, 103, 107
- Darnley, implication in assassination of, 25, 61–2, 65–6, 86, 91–2, 93, 157
- Darnley, marriage to, 25, 61, 91
- departure from France, 21–2
- depiction of Mary's death, 103–56
- depiction of Mary during her life in France, 39–53
- deposition, 25, 62, 86, 92–3
- dowry, 6, 27–9
- dynastic claims, 12–15, 19–20, 25, 31–2, 40–1, 47–9, 50–3, 55, 57–8, 63, 69–70, 77, 81
- early education and lifestyle at court, 13–19, 39–43, 92
- Elizabeth, relationship with and alleged conspiracies against, 31–2, 62, 83, 89, 98, 99–102, 157
- England, flight to, 25, 93
- England, imprisonment, 6, 8, 24–7, 28, 61–72, 86, 93, 98, 158
- England, imprisonment, the case of Mary's supporters, 61–72, 97–8, 100–2
- execution, 5, 33–4, 100–2, 103–58
- final letter to Henri III, 137
- final wishes, 35, 154
- financial problems, 28–9
- François II, death of, 21
- François II, marriage to, 5–6, 19–20, 37, 39, 43–52, 85, 157
- Guise, depictions of relationship with, 81, 81–102
- Harangue de Marie d'Esteuart*, 59–60
- household based in Edinburgh, 6, 22–3
- Huguenot image of, 79–102
- letters from, 101
- library, 23

- marriages, other proposed, 24–5
 news of her death, 5, 103–56
 Rizzio, relationship with and
 murder of, 25, 61, 66
 Marot, Clement, 17
 Masson, Pierre, 129
 Mauvissière, Michel de Castelneau,
 Sieur de la, 27, 28, 51
 Maximinia, 101
 Medici, Catherine de, 16, 21, 23, 24,
 25, 26, 47, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, 61,
 63, 71, 79, 81, 82, 94, 95, 96
 Meetings, 4, 109
 Melvin, 131, 132, 133, 136
Mémoires contenant le vray discours,
 76
 Mendoza, Bernardino de, 34, 35, 128,
 132
 Michaelangelo, 95
 Michiel, Giovanni, 37, 45
 Middelburg, 98
 Moncel, Nicolas du, 16
 Monluc Bishop of Valence, Jean de,
Apologie contre certaines calomnies,
 8, 56
 Montchrestien, *L'Escossoise*, 159
 Montmorency, Anne de Constable of
 France, 13, 37, 38, 39, 42, 55, 56,
 81, 88
 Montmorency, François de, 57
 Montpensier, Catherine Marie de
 Lorraine, Duchesse de, 28, 106,
 126
 Moray, James, Earl of, 65, 66, 76, 90
 Morgan, Thomas, 30, 32, 100
 Mornay, Philippe du Plessis, 113
 Münster, Sebastien, *Cosmographie*,
 18–19, 66–7

 Nantes, 121, 155, 164 note 21
 Naples, André King of, 101
 Naples, Charles of, 101
 Nau, Claude, 24, 131
 Nau, François, 107
 Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, Roy de,
 37, 44, 55
 Navarre, Henri, Roy de, 77, 78, 126,
 127, 128, 140, 141
 Navarre, Jeanne Royné de, 101
 Navarre and Naples, Margaret, Royné
 de, 44
 Nemours, Treaty of, 104, 141
 Netherlands, 26, 75, 77, 98, 104, 147,
 151

 Neuville, Nicolas de, sieur de Villeroi,
 25
 Norfolk, Thomas Howard, Duke of,
 32, 62, 64, 65, 89, 93, 97
 Norris, Henry, 26
 Northern Rebellion, 62–3, 89, 93, 97,
 143
 Northumberland, Sir Thomas Percy,
 8th Earl of, 62

 Orléans, 51–2, 67, 79, 82, 84
 Orléans, Charles Duc d', 44
 Orléans, Louis d', *Advertissement des
 catholiques anglois*, 113–14, 118,
 141, 142, 152, 159
 Orton, 31
 Osorius, Jérôme, *Les Graves et saintes
 remonstrances*, 57–8, 67, 142,
 143

 Paget, Charles, 30
 Pallier, Denis, *Les Recherches*, 105
 Parcheminier, Claude de, 22
 Paris, 1–2, 7, 15, 16, 18, 19, 27, 28,
 29, 30, 31, 34, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44,
 46, 47, 49, 51, 55, 57, 58, 65,
 75, 76, 80, 82, 84, 100, 103–7,
 109, 111–19, 121–7, 132, 134,
 137, 153, 155
 Parma, Alessandro Farnese Duke of,
 34, 104
 Parry, William, 31, 99–100
 Parsons, Robert, 74–5
Épître de la persécution, 143, 146–7
 Pasquier, Estienne, 111–12
 Pasquier, Estienne (Mary's secretary),
 131
 Paulet, Amias, 131, 133
 Percy, Anne, *Discours des troubles*,
 143
 Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland,
 Sir Thomas, 62
 Perlin, Estienne de, *Description des
 royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*,
 18, 47–8
 Peterborough Cathedral, 35, 138
 Pettegree, Andrew, 7, 96
 Philibert, Emmanuel Duke of Savoy,
 38
 Philip II, 15, 19, 24, 32, 35, 37, 39,
 62, 85, 98, 103, 106, 132
 Philippe, Pierre, 82
 Phillips, James Emerson, *Images of a
 Queen*, 6, 129, 132

- Pius IV, 95
 Pius V, 72
 Pinkie, Battle of, 13, 37
 Placards, 93, 109, 118–21
 Poigny, Sieur de, 26
 Poitiers, 40, 153
 Poitiers, Diane de, 16
 Poitou, 21, 27, 28, 135
 Politiques, 56, 95, 97, 98, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115, 145, 155
 Poulain, Nicolas, 107, 109, 120
 Preaching, 105, 106–7, 108, 109, 114–15, 121, 126
 Prévost, Jean, 107, 108, 109, 121
 Privilege Granting, 43, 45, 46, 52, 53, 56, 57, 67, 68, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 112, 115, 117, 118, 143, 144
 Public Opinion, historiographical discussion of, 2–6
 Public Sphere, 2–3
 Puritanism, 97
- Racaut, Luc, *Hatred in Print*, 5
 Randolph, Thomas, 24
Récit véritable du grand temple et clocher de la cité de Londres, 54–5
 Regnault, Charles, *Marie Stuard*, 159
 Reims, 21, 26, 35, 51, 59, 64, 107
 St Pierre, Reims 35, 137
 Reitres, 111
Responce à l'injuste et sanguinaire edict d'Elizabeth, 159
 Ridolfi plot, 63, 89
 Rizzio, David, 25, 61
 Rigaud, Benoist, 52–3, 61, 121
 Roigny, Michel de, 115
 Rolland, Nicolas, *Remonstrances très humbles au Roy*, 113, 154
 Rome, 100
 Ronsard, Pierre de, 17, 23–4
Elegie sur le despart de la royne Marie, 59
Elegies, mascarades et bergeries, 58–9, 68, 77
Nouvelle Continuation des amours, 40, 41
 Rouen, 14–15, 39, 46, 75, 84, 153
 Rough Wooing, 12–13, 42
 Rouille, Guillaume, *Promptuaire des médailles*, 71
 Rousset, Jean, 52–3
 Rowlands, Richard (also known under the pseudonym Verstegan), 106
- Theatrum Curdelitatum Haereticorum Nostre Temporis*, 106, 143, 147–8, 152, 154
 Rubay, Yves de, 20
 Rumour, 10, 109, 123–5, 153
 Ruthven, Lord, 75
 Rutland, Earl of, 131
- Sacconay, Gabriel de, *Regis Angliae Henrici huius nominis octavi*, 55, 143
 St André, Marshall, 55
 St Andrews Book Project, 6–9, 110
 Saint Bartholomew's Day and impact, 2, 23, 65, 68, 94, 99, 102, 116, 158
 St Denis, Paris, 34, 137
 Sainte Marthe, Monsieur de, 111
 St Ménéhoud, 28
 Saint Quentin, Battle of, 38, 39
 St Séverin, 106–9, 120, 126, 147
 Scotland
 Church of, 76
 civil wars, 64–5, 66
 foreign policy, 12–13, 15, 19–21, 24–5, 37–8
 French depictions of, 18–19, 42, 47–8
 planned invasion of, 75
 resentment against French, 20, 22, 24, 38
 War and Reformation, 20–1, 52–4, 84, 85
 Scots College, Paris, 30
 Scribner, Robert, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 4
 Scott, John, *Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary Queen of Scots*, 7
 Seaton, Mary, 16, 22
 Seize, 105
see also League, 2, 10, 29, 34, 100, 103–56
 Senlis, 28
 Sermons, 4, 10, 121–3, 153
 Seure, Sieur de, *Protestation*, 52–3, 79, 80
 Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset, 13
 Sheffield, 24, 25, 89
 Shrewsbury, George Talbot, 6th Earl of, 131, 132
 Sidney, Sir Henry, 82
 Sixtus V, 98
Bulle de Reconciliation, 115

- Smith, Sir Thomas, 90
 Solway Moss, Battle of, 38
 Song, 4
 Sorbonne, 56, 117
 Spain, 15, 24, 26, 32, 33, 34, 49, 64, 75, 77, 81, 88, 104, 106, 123, 147, 153, 156
 Stafford, Edward, 77, 100, 106–7, 108, 124
 Stafford, Thomas, 37
 Stewart, William, Earl of Lennox, 75
 Stirling, 91
 Strozzi, Pierre, 45
 Stuart, Jean, Constable of Scotland, 67
 Sudgrave, 31
 Sypher, Wylie, *'Faisant ce qu'il leur vient a plaisir'*, 5
- Tannenbaum, Samuel and Dorothy, *Marie Stuart – A Concise Bibliography*, 7
 Tahureau, Jacques, *Les Poésies*, 40
 Tarent, Duc de, 101
 Theatre, 4, 130, 152
 Thou, Auguste de, 122, 126
 Throckmorton, Francis, 32, 55, 79–80
 Throckmorton, Nicholas, 82
 Toulouse, 159
 Tournon, 76
 Tours, 30, 52, 79, 80
 Tragedy, 128, 149–52
 Trepigny, 35
 Troyes, Treaty of, 58
 Tudor, Mary, 37, 48, 152
 Turner, Robert, *L'Histoire et vie de Marie Stuart*, 137, 138, 142, 148
 Tutbury, 25, 28, 30, 32, 62
- Urban VI, 101
- Valois, Claude de, 48
 Valois, François de, 28, 69, 75, 77, 78, 103, 119, 125, 155
 Valois, Marguerite de, Duchesse de Berry, 44
 Venice, 123
 Verger, Charles du, 30
 Verres, Gaius, 91
 Verse, 120–1
 Verstegan, Richard (pseudonym for Richard Rowlands), 106
Theatrum Curdelitatum Haereticorum Nostre Temporis, 106, 143, 147–8, 152, 154
 Villemore, Bartholomew de, 22
 Vitry, 28
- Wales, 123
 Walsingham, Francis, 31, 32, 130
 Walsingham, Thomas, *Histoire tragique et memorable de Pierre de Gaverston*, 154
 Warbuton, 31
 Watson, 31
 Watson, David, 'The Martyrology of Jean Crespin', 129
 Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 4
 Westminster Conference, 33, 64, 86, 88
 William of Orange, 151
 Wingfield, Robert, 135, 136, 138
 Winzet, Nicolas, 23
 Wolf, Heinrich, 98
- York Conference, 64, 86