

**Anglo-Scots Relations and Representations of Women,
1560-1612**

Joanna Bridget Gibbs

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Goldsmiths' College

University of London

ABSTRACT

The thesis contends that dramatists, pamphleteers and poets mobilised issues of gender in a bid to negotiate transitions in the relations between Scotland and England during the period 1560-1612. It examines the extent to which the sexual politics of, amongst others, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and Robert Greene are informed by concerns over the balance of power between Scotland and England if brought together in the formation of Great Britain.

The discussion opens with an investigation into the ways in which images of women were used to address the balance of power between territories. Chapter One explores the metaphor of union as marriage in tracts from the Edwardian and Jacobean union debates, Greene's The Scottish History of James IV, and Shakespeare's Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale. The chapter argues that, given the patriarchal basis of early-modern marriage, and with England most often figured as husband, Scotland as wife, the trope tends to perpetuate the discourse of English suzerainty. However, John Russell and Shakespeare are shown fruitfully to complicate the metaphor and the imperial meanings which accrue to it.

Focusing on selected texts from the Elizabethan Succession Debate--including Thomas Norton's and Thomas Sackville's Gorboduc and the co-authored play The Misfortunes of Arthur--Chapter Two reads representations of Mary Queen of Scots as an index of Protestant polemicists' conceptions of the impact the Queen's Catholicism might have on Scotland's place in a 'godly' nation.

Chapter Three argues that Macbeth, like The Misfortunes of Arthur, contains territorial divisions between Scotland's Celtic, Highland region and the Lowlands and

England. The Anglo-Lowland alliances of both dramas are shown to be informed by the discourse of suzerainty, and their Lowland/Highland divisions to suggest religious difference and the necessity of containing a Highland region implicitly identified with Catholicism.

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Introduction: Anglo-Scots Relations and the Representation of Women.

In dreams, a writing tablet signifies a woman,
since it receives the imprint of all kinds of letters.

Artemidorus.¹

The signifying potential of sexual politics in early-modern texts is traceable to the semiotic system in which the microcosm tended to be conceptualised in relation to the macrocosm. Indeed, the contention that '[p]olitical history has, in a sense, been enacted on the field of gender'² proves especially pertinent to Renaissance discourse precisely because of contemporaries' proclivity for thinking analogically. Jean Bodin's claim that to 'take up what is relative to political life' is to 'speak of the husband's power over his wife'³ might, for instance, be considered symptomatic of 'a profound understanding of the created world: that the...levels of existence correspond...that analogies existed between the macrocosm of the world and the microcosm of man.'⁴ In a context in which meaning is

¹Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, 2.45, quoted by Zeitlin (1981), Foley ed., p. 203, cited in Marina Warner, Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1985).

²Joan. W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', The American Historical Review, 91 (1986), 1074.

³Jean Bodin, the Six Books of the Republic (1576), cited in Merry. E. Wiesner, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 242.

⁴Frederick Kiefer, Writing on the Renaissance Stage: Written Words, Printed Pages, Metaphoric Books (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 1996), p. 98.

structured around 'relations of similarity'⁵ and 'hover[s] between equivalence and metaphor',⁶ the patriarchal relationship of the sexes is liable to be analogically connected with, or made figuratively to stand in place of, broader kinds of stratifications. Thus where early-modern texts are concerned, the 'effects of power and the expression of various kinds of authority are constant features of descriptions of...the relations between men and women.'⁷ The primacy accorded an analogical mode of imagining during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and which is most forcefully argued for by E. M. W. Tillyard and Michel Foucault has, however, sometimes been called into question. Renaissance scepticism, for instance, has been seen by some to dissolve what might at best have been an anachronistic, medieval way of seeing.⁸ Yet if scepticism did make vulnerable the tendency to think in terms of resemblances and similitudes, this state of affairs seems merely to have 'produce[d] the constant reiteration of the family/State analogy.'⁹

With the intersections between patriarchy in the home and broader kinds of social hierarchy enshrined as commonplace in contemporary thinking, woman's subjection to

⁵Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (London: Routledge, 1970), p. xxiv.

⁶E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1943), p. 107.

⁷Constance Jordan, Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 3.

⁸For a discussion of the impact of Renaissance scepticism on the analogical habit of mind, and the primacy or otherwise of this way of thinking, see Dymphna Callaghan, Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy: A Study of King Lear, Othello, The Duchess of Malfi and The White Devil (New York and London: Harvester, 1989), pp. 25-27, and Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (New York and London: Harvester, 1984), pp. 6-8.

⁹Callaghan, p. 3.

man was regularly mobilised to address wider relations of power. Questions of political responsibility, disparities in the balance of power, and bids to effect control across a range of discourses were all negotiated through the representation of women. Thus 'virgin martyr plays indict tyrants by displaying the destroyed body of their female victim. We see in the bleeding virgin the savaged body politic'¹⁰ because woman's suffering at man's hands provides a means of imagining the subject treated abusively by the powers that be. Similarly, the defiance of patriarchy encoded in the figure of the unruly woman was regularly taken up by political reformists to signify general dissatisfaction with inequities in the distribution of power.¹¹ With relations of power extending in multiple directions, man's assumption of control over woman was also used to figure mastery in discourses other than the overtly political. Lorna Hutson, for example, contends that 'the husband who "fashions" an unruly woman through his skill in the timely production of fictions...became an emblem of the socially transformative potential of humanist literary culture',¹² while Patricia Parker notes that 'a relation between order in discourse and the...hierarchical order of male and female...inhabits discussions of...tropes.'¹³ Here, as in virgin martyr dramas and the image of the 'woman on top', patriarchal authority forms the basis in relation to which discourses in addition to those integral to women's relations

¹⁰Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women, Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p. 179.

¹¹See Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe', in The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society, ed. Barbara. A. Babcock (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 147-190.

¹²Lorna Hutson, The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 11.

¹³Patricia Parker, Literary Fat Ladies, Rhetoric, Gender, Property (London and New York: Methuen, 1987), p. 112.

with men were conceived. That this tended also to be the case in considerations of property, land ownership and territorial relationships impacts significantly on an investigation of the ways in which Anglo-Scots relations were imagined at a time when the project for realising Britain effected fundamental changes in the balance of power between the two realms.

The importance of gender to the conceptualising of alignments internal to the nation and, more broadly, to the actual production of Britain, has not, however, been adequately established. Woman's centrality in early-modern appraisals of territorial matters has certainly been explored in the arena of texts dealing with land enclosure and, more extensively, with the discovery and plantation of the New World. Attention has also been paid to the part played by sexual politics in the figuration of nation in Shakespeare's history plays.¹⁴ Yet the ways in which writers repeatedly mobilised representations of women to provide a means of envisaging Scotland's relations with England in a united nation have been overlooked. The following chapters seek to rectify this oversight by demonstrating that, during the Edwardian union debate, the Elizabethan Succession Debate and the Jacobean union debates, differing visions of the kinds of relations to be implemented between the two kingdoms in a British polity were consistently promoted,

¹⁴See, for example, Cristina Malcolmson, 'The Garden Enclosed/The Woman Enclosed: Marvell and the Cavalier Poets' in Enclosure Acts, Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England, eds. Richard Burt, John Michael Archer (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 251-269, Louis Adrian Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery' in New World Encounters, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 177-217, Phyllis Rackin, 'Foreign Country: The Place of Women and Sexuality in Shakespeare's Historical World', in Burt and Archer, pp. 68-95, Jean. E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, Engendering a Nation, a Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories (London: Routledge, 1997) and Jodi Mikalachki, 'The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: Cymbeline and Early Modern English Nationalism', Shakespeare Quarterly, 46 (1995), 301-322.

and contested, by and through representations of women. The thesis's line of enquiry may mark a departure from the more usual preoccupation with how gender operates in material dealing with land enclosure, the settlement of America, and in Shakespeare's histories, but each chapter is nevertheless informed by insights afforded by the increasing body of work on these areas.

What critical discussions of these texts often note is that the Biblical categorising of women as men's property, together with the Aristotelian equation of woman with land, meant that man's dominion over woman tended to be understood in terms of the ownership of commodities generally, and of territory especially. Petruchio's definition of Katherina in Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew, for instance, in which Katherina is described as 'my goods, my chattels...my house,/My household stuff, my field, my barn,/My horse, my ox, my ass, my any thing',¹⁵ is informed by the Biblical placing of wife and maid, alongside ox and ass, as man's property. Importantly, however, the wife is not simply understood here, as in the Commandments, as one commodity amongst others, but is additionally produced as sign of her husband's status as owner. More particularly, when Petruchio, rounding off his inventory of the movables of which he has made Katherina the sign, states 'And here she stands. Touch her whoever dare' (III.ii.231), he also situates her in such a way that she symbolically demarcates the private space within which his property is contained.

In this respect, the play draws not only on the Commandments, but also on the Song of Songs and the concept of the hortus conclusus. It was this Biblical notion of

¹⁵William Shakespeare, The Taming of the Shrew, ed. Brian Morris (London and New York: Routledge, 1981), III.ii.228-230.

'sister' and 'spouse' as 'A garden inclosed'¹⁶ that allowed man's ownership of woman, and especially his control of her sexuality, to be understood as the possession of land. Peter Stallybrass points out that one of the immediate consequences of such a figuration was that any incursion by an interloper into the woman's body, access to which might be licitly determined solely by her male guardian or husband, tended to be portrayed as infringements of the latter's private property. He cites as an example of this Robert Toste's translation of Varchi, in which woman is understood as a commodity devalued by exchange. Toste, for whom woman's currency depends solely on the exclusivity of access that is the crux of possession, moves seamlessly between imaging woman as portable property and as private ground. Once that ground, changing hands, loses its private status, it diminishes in value accordingly. As Toste puts it, 'when this our high-pric'd Commodity chanceth to light into some other merchants hands, and that our private Inclosure proveth to be a Common for others, we care no more for it.'¹⁷ In a similar vein, to take liberties with another man's wife is, Stallybrass notes, imagined in Christopher Marlowe's The Massacre at Paris as making an unlawful excursion into that man's private land. The lover wishing to embark on a sexual relationship with another man's spouse is warned here that 'you...set up your standing where you should not; and whereas he is your landlord, you will take upon you to be his, and till the ground which he himself should occupy which is his own free land.'¹⁸ Likewise, Peter Smith notices the image of

¹⁶The Bible, Authorized King James Version With Apocrypha, eds. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4:12.

¹⁷Benedetto Varchi, The Blazon of Jealousie, translated by Robert Toste (London, 1615), cited in Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed' in Othello, Critical Essays, ed. Susan Snyder (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), p. 257.

¹⁸Christopher Marlowe, The Massacre at Paris, cited in Stallybrass, p. 257.

woman as land surfacing in John Webster's The Duchess of Malfi, when Ferdinand fantasises taking revenge on his sister for breaking his command that she remain chaste. Imagining himself able to 'Root up' the Duchess's 'goodly forests, blast her meads,/And lay her general territory...waste',¹⁹ the possessive brother figures himself as a storm, his sister as the terrain upon which he wreaks havoc.

As has been suggested, this tendency to depict woman as land, informed by the Biblical notion of the hortus conclusus, derived further impetus from Aristotle. In The Generation of Animals, Aristotle had envisaged 'the male as possessing the principle of movement and of generation, the female...of matter', claiming that '[t]his is why in cosmology...they speak of the nature of the Earth as something female.'²⁰ As Jeanne Addison Roberts points out, aligned with earth, woman was robbed of her role as co-creator of children and reduced to the position of passive receptacle of man's seed and inert medium through which man might realise the fruits of his industry.²¹ What is important for our purposes is that writers derived from this logic the ubiquitous trope of sex as ploughing, or an act of farming a woman's body. When, for example, in Shakespeare's Pericles the virtuous Marina resists a life of enforced prostitution, the

¹⁹John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, cited in Peter. J. Smith, Social Shakespeare: Aspects of Renaissance Dramaturgy and Contemporary Society (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1995), p. 70.

²⁰Aristotle, The Generation of Animals, cited in Smith, p. 68.

²¹See Jean Addison Roberts, The Shakespearean Wild, Geography, Genus and Gender (Lincoln and London: The University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 25. Ian Maclean notes, however, that by 1600 'many doctors write of the wrongs done to woman by Aristotle' and claims it is possible to argue for 'a feminist movement in medical spheres', within which the uterus was beginning to evoke 'admiration and eulogy for its remarkable role in procreation.' See Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 29-33.

pandar's response is that 'if she were a thornier piece of ground than she is, she shall be plough'd.'²² Here we see the equation between woman and land being used to promote a vision of oppositional women as wild terrain that men might legitimately 'cultivate' by force if necessary.

What such examples demonstrate is how easily, once woman is understood as property, she might be imagined as territory, and how commonplace the metaphorical associating of woman with land actually was. Given this state of affairs, it is unsurprising to find that images of women were often deployed to articulate writers' concerns over questions to do with land ownership. Cristina Malcolmson has, for instance, shown how extensively women figure in Renaissance discussions of land enclosure, with 'Marvell and the Cavaliers blend[ing] the female body with an eroticized landscape...to constitute the ground on which male aristocratic control over the property of England is tested and, in most cases, justified.'²³ Attention has, however, more often been paid to the ways in which the subjugation of foreign terrain was furthered through representations of man's dominion over woman. Time and again, critics have found that woman functioned in Renaissance colonial rhetoric as 'gendered sign of...territory to be conquered and occupied.'²⁴

We have seen that man's possession of woman and disputes over such possession were often articulated in terms of the ownership, defence of, and a desire to encroach upon, territory. It is important to note, though, that such rhetoric often carried

²²William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, ed. F. D. Hoeniger (London and New York: Methuen, 1963), IV.vi.144-145.

²³Burt and Archer, p. 9.

²⁴Parker, p. 131.

connotations of imperial exploration and acquisition. Often cited in this connection is John Donne's 'Elegie: To his Mistris Going to Bed', in which the experience of sexually desiring a woman is encapsulated in the metaphor of attaining exclusive ownership of the New World: 'O my America, my new found lande,/My kingdome, safeliest when with one man man'd.'²⁵ A further example of the imperial import of imaging woman as land can be found in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, in which Posthumus's and Iachimo's wager over whether the latter will succeed in seducing Imogen is depicted through figures of exploration and a rhetoric of 'gaining ground.'²⁶ Indeed, the metaphorical turn of these and other early-modern texts was so often towards eliding the attainment of access to a woman's body with the conquest of foreign territory that it required but a change of inflection to couch the urge towards territorial acquisition in a language of owning, and achieving control over, women.

America's allure for Europe was regularly understood as akin to the attractions woman might hold for man. One of the most fundamental observations made by critics working on Renaissance colonial discourse is that it tended to feminise America. Both Philippe Galle's and Jan van der Straet's widely circulated images of the New World personify the continent as a woman, and America was, of course, together with various of its locales, accorded a female name. The appellations 'Florida', 'Guiana' and 'Virginia' might, according to Peter Mason, 'be seen to invite the thrust of European masculinity', with 'Virginia connot[ing] both the virgin land awaiting its English suitors and the lack of...settled occupation by the natives [as well as] provid[ing] the justification for marriage

²⁵John Donne, 'Elegie: To his Mistris Going to Bed', *The Metaphysical Poets*, ed. Helen Gardner (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957), p. 54.

²⁶Parker, p. 134.

of the land to England as a return to the family fold.²⁷ Certainly, America was regularly conceived of as ‘a land to be desired’²⁸ after the manner of a virginal woman, available for penetration by the European male thus making of her his exclusive possession. The multiple contemporary images of America as ‘A country that hath yet her mayden head, never sackt, turned, nor wrought’,²⁹ were once again informed by the notion of the hortus conclusus. Arguably, the Biblical image of ‘spouse’ or ‘sister’ as sequestered garden or ‘fountain sealed’³⁰ to all but her husband or guardian, the latter having sole right of access to an otherwise closed, virginal female body, spoke to Europeans’ desires to gain a monopoly over America’s produce, plantations and peoples. A further means of articulating ownership of the New World was provided by the type of the American Amazon. Portrayed as aggressive, matriarchal, hostile to men and, in Raleigh’s words, ‘cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories’,³¹ Amazons were often aligned with the land they inhabited. This, as Alison Taufer and others have observed, enabled the Amazons’ forcible reincorporation into patriarchy to figure the

²⁷Peter Mason, Deconstructing America, Representations of the Other (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 26.

²⁸Christopher Columbus, Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus, translated and edited by Cecil Jane, Volume 1, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1930), p. 12, cited in Parker, p. 140.

²⁹Sir Walter Raleigh The Discoverie of the large, rich and beautifull Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa which the Spaniards call El Dorado...Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Raleigh, cited in Parker, p. 140. For further examples of the figuring of America as a virginal woman, see Parker, pp. 140-146.

³⁰The Bible, eds. Carroll and Prickett, 4:12.

³¹Raleigh, The Discoverie, cited in Montrose, p. 202.

Europeans' settlement of their American territory.³²

That these, and other representational strategies enabling of imperialism were particular not only to Europe's relationship with America, but also to more local territorial interactions, has not gone unremarked. Mason for one identifies in early-modern texts an 'associative form of alterity, in which the Celts are compared with...Amerindians [and thus] derive...from the new Other on the other side of the ocean'³³ a position relative to the English akin to that so often assigned Americans in European discourse. Indeed, critics have often observed the Renaissance habit of conflating different geographical locales and drawing comparisons between a range of locations in the course, most often, of discussing America's relationship with England. Yet slippages of this kind have been seen to occur primarily between America and Ireland, with Scotland rarely recognised as frequently discussed in similar terms to both these locations, and thus implicitly positioned, in its interactions with England, in comparable ways to these two territories.³⁴

The parameters of the territorial contexts to which critics so often confine their discussions seem rather narrow in light of the wealth of evidence recently afforded by Steven Ellis, Sarah Barber and Roger Mason for the imperial basis of England's relations

³²See Alison Taufer, 'The Only Good Amazon is a Converted Amazon: The Woman Warrior and Christianity in the Amadis Cycle' in Playing with Gender, a Renaissance Pursuit, eds. Jean. R. Brink, Maryanne. C. Horowitz and Allison. P. Coudert (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 36. For further discussions of the ways contemporaries utilised the domestication of Amazons to figure Europe's conquest of America, see Shepherd, p. 28 and Mason, p. 110.

³³Mason, p. 180.

³⁴See, for example, Paul Brown, 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the discourse of colonialism' in Political Shakespeare, New essays in Cultural Materialism, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, p. 55, and Barbara Fuchs, 'Conquering Islands: Contextualizing The Tempest', Shakespeare Quarterly, 48 (1997), 51.

not only with America and Ireland, but also with Scotland in the period that witnessed attempts to produce and stabilise the configuration of Britain.³⁵ If in moving beyond those parameters, this thesis departs from the current tendency to be preoccupied with how writers negotiated Anglo-American and Anglo-Irish relations, it is nevertheless, as has been suggested, substantially indebted to criticism concerned with the ways in which these interactions were represented in Renaissance texts. It is, after all, this body of work that, being largely responsible for establishing the interconnectedness in early-modern discourse of sexual politics with territorial concerns, has provided a basis from which to view the ways in which other kinds of territorial relations were envisaged.

In part, the thesis owes a debt to this material simply for enabling the recognition that figures often used to negotiate Anglo-American relations were also sometimes employed to structure Scotland's relationship with England. Chapter Three, for example, claiming that Shakespeare's recourse to the type of the American Amazon informs Macbeth's vision of regal union occasioning an imperial relation between England and the Highlands, owes much to recent discussions of the operations of sexual politics in early-modern representations of America.

More importantly though, the arguments put forward in the following chapters are all predicated on the same premise as underpins so much of the material on how territorial considerations were managed by means of representations of women; namely that a 'range

³⁵See Conquest and Union, Fashioning a British State 1485-1725, eds. Steven. G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London and New York: Longman, 1995), Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Scotland and England 1286-1815, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1987).

of discursive possibilities...converge[d] on [the] terrain [of] the category of woman',³⁶ including concerns over land ownership and the relations between territories. Indeed, the thesis's most significant debt is to a general approach that involves identifying 'the ways in which gender is used, or...effaced, in the service of so-called larger political interests.'³⁷ Such an interpretative model allows us to recognise that it is only by exploring how images of women were made to intersect with other areas of enquiry that we will begin adequately to comprehend both the configurations women were used to confer meaning upon, and what ideas contemporaries actually harboured about women. Joan Scott sums up the paradigm's central tenets when she exhorts critics to ask 'not only what is at stake in proclamations or debates that invoke gender to explain or justify their positions but also how implicit understandings of gender are being invoked and reinscribed.'³⁸

The following chapters demonstrate that the interpretative possibilities enabled by pursuing these lines of enquiry are multiple, and that an approach which asks such questions of Renaissance texts proves especially productive for assessing continuities and departures in the kinds of attitudes towards Anglo-Scots relations intimated by a text's treatment of gender relations. To acknowledge as much is, however, to touch on one of the potential dangers of seeing representations of women and the relations between the sexes in this way. As Carol Thomas Neely has pointed out, 'gender' tends to 'vanish...or turn...into something else' in criticism which finds in a text's handling of sexual politics a means of engaging with other areas of concern. Neely notes that critics who see images

³⁶Callaghan, p. 25.

³⁷Karen Newman, Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. xvii.

³⁸Scott, p. 1074.

of women and the relations between the sexes as conduits through which meanings are often directed elsewhere, tend to lose sight of the signifier in the course of investigating its relationship to the signified. Frequently, their methodology causes them to 'subordinate gender issues' in their efforts to get to grips with whatever those issues are being employed to address. Consequently, 'explorations of gender are blocked, displaced, or deferred'³⁹ in a criticism that usually claims to be feminist in orientation. It is thus the approach's feminist credentials which are most severely compromised when the signifier is reduced simply to a launching off point from which to discuss the referent. The effect of this, Neely observes, is to sideline factors pertaining directly to women's position in culture and, in so doing, inadvertently to marginalise women.

The contention that a paradigm which sees women as the focus for preoccupations 'which...exceed...woman at the same time as [they] make...of her their cause'⁴⁰ risks 're-producing patriarchy',⁴¹ serves as a warning to feminists of what is liable to occur if we ignore Scott's exhortation to attend not only to how the referent is positioned through recourse to sexual politics, but also to the impact that a text's production of woman as sign has for its understanding of women's place in the broader scheme of things. Certain mitigating factors do, however, make it understandable that some critics should have attended less to what representations of women tell us about the ways women were interpolated as subjects in this period, and more to the significance that a writer's

³⁹Carol Thomas Neely, 'Constructing the Subject: Feminist Practice and the New Renaissance Discourses', *English Literary Renaissance*, 18 (1988), pp. 11, 7, 9.

⁴⁰Jacqueline Rose, 'Sexuality in the Reading of Shakespeare: Hamlet and Measure for Measure in Alternative Shakespeares (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 95-118, cited in Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy*, p. xxxiv.

⁴¹Neely, 'Constructing the Subject', p. 7.

deployment of images of women might have for their consideration of other topics. We cannot, for instance, 'naively assum[e] that...women', as featured in Renaissance, or, indeed, prior and subsequent discourse, 'reflect or reveal the nature of women.'⁴² The relationship 'between Woman as representation [and] women as historical beings'⁴³ is, to be sure, a vexed one. When we turn to early-modern material, what we frequently find is that 'referentiality and the trace of a historical female subject are evacuated from the discursive scene even as the associative links between women' and whatever referent they are made to signify 'are reified.'⁴⁴ This immediately makes for difficulties with finding in the text any significant preoccupation with women per se, rather than with those issues women are used to address.

What we might describe as Renaissance texts' tendency to evacuate, or turn away from, actual women, is a direct consequence of their mobilising women as signs. As Marina Warner points out, in a context in which 'women attest the identity and value of someone or something else...meanings of all kinds flow through the figures of women' but these 'often do not include who she herself is.' The early-modern period provides just such a context, and its semiotic system is one in which

⁴²Neely, 'Constructing Female Sexuality in the Renaissance: Stratford, London, Windsor, Vienna', in Sexuality and Politics in Renaissance Drama, eds. Carole Levin and Karen Robertson (Lewiston and Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), p. 2.

⁴³Teresa de Lauretis, Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1987), p. 10. The difficulty of assessing that relationship is considered in Making a Difference: Feminist Literary Criticism, eds. Gayle Greene and Coppelia Kahn (London and New York: Methuen, 1985), pp. 18-19 and by Margaret J. W. Ezell in The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

⁴⁴Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss, 'Introduction: Minding the Story', in Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760, eds. Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

the changing representation of woman in text and image circles around the unanswered question, what is she? And, like a magnet twitching back from its like pole, it can never come to rest with an unchanging definition [for the] female form metamorphoses from one sign into another.⁴⁵

While women are prevalent in early-modern material then, a text's messages will nevertheless tend to go elsewhere than towards women simply because woman is made a medium, and her relations with men often, if not always, provide the basis from which the text addresses other subjects. '[E]xcluded from the study of rhetoric', for instance, women nonetheless 'figure...prominently in Renaissance English discussions of rhetoric...particularly in relation to questions of decorum and control.'⁴⁶ The grounds for women's inclusion in such discussions are not that they are deemed of any interest in their own right, whether as participants in, or agents who exert an influence upon, this discourse. Rather, although these texts make women prominent figures, their engagement is with order as it relates to language use, and women provide the vehicle through which to articulate that concern because their subjection was, as we have seen, considered the cornerstone of wider kinds of stratification. For this reason, women were used to produce meanings around, for instance, the appropriateness of prioritising one rhetorical figure over another, or to facilitate deliberations of the ways in which those who would master the discipline of rhetoric might judiciously manage the rhetorical figure itself. It was for this reason also that any utterance concerned with acts of ordering was liable to have recourse to images of women, whether that be, as we have seen, to differentiate between

⁴⁵Warner, p. 331.

⁴⁶Parker, p. 107.

property holders and their possession, or to discriminate hierarchically between territories.⁴⁷

Artemidorus's vision of woman as a writing table, a tool onto whom, and through whom, man inscribes his meanings, accords, therefore, with the place frequently ascribed women in Renaissance texts. To engage with the text on its own terms then, is often to participate in a process in which women evaporate into multiple areas of signification, such as those we have already identified and which, in the following chapters, we will explore in relation to prevailing deliberations of Anglo-Scots relations. In Chapter One, for example, we shall see that woman, in her capacity as wife, was used to connote Scotland's position in its relations with England in union, while Chapter Two shows how images of the Catholic Queen of Scots were employed to confer upon Scotland a kind of alterity traceable, ultimately, to a perceived Catholicism. Finally, Chapter Three discerns in Lady Macbeth and the witches attributes typical of the Amazon trope. The chapter demonstrates the ways in which that trope invokes associations with Catholicism and, causing these to accrue to the Highlands, positions that region in an imperial relation to the Lowlands and England whose alliance is seen to imply the shared Protestantism central to enabling the realisation of a united nation.

What is important to grasp for our current concerns though is that a failure to ask what the mobilising of women to enable particular understandings of a given referent tells us about a text's attitude towards women, is probably the result of a reading strategy insufficiently resistant to that textual trajectory in which women metamorphose into

⁴⁷Purkiss's findings with regards to texts which contributed to the 'woman debate' are relevant in this regard. She concludes that in these texts 'woman is less an object of interest in herself than a site of conflict between classes and discourses.' See Purkiss 'Material Girls: The Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate' in Brant and Purkiss, p. 74.

woman, and she, in turn, transposes meanings onto whatever she is made to signify. While it is tempting to read with, rather than against the grain of the text, to fail sufficiently to engage with the 'slippage between Woman as representation, as the object and the very condition of representation, and...women as historical beings'⁴⁸ is to accept the text's treatment of women. As Neely rightly suggests, to do as much is to be complicit with an attitude towards the female subject in which, with her image considered endlessly appropriable, she is implicitly understood as malleable and available to be dissolved of significance in her own right. Such effacement rhetorically enacts the disempowering of women in the world beyond the printed page. Hence, to avoid 're-producing patriarchy'⁴⁹ by replicating this disenfranchising process we need, when considering woman as sign, to question how woman relates to women.

This question is often raised in discussions of the Renaissance stage. As far as women were concerned, early-modern conditions of performance might be taken as paradigmatic of the position so regularly assigned women in broader kinds of discourse. Indeed, with boys playing women, the latter were largely missing from the scene of representation in any capacity other than as signs.⁵⁰ The question often posed in this connection is how the sign of woman, in the person of the cross-dressed boy, was conceived by contemporaries. That the boy actor was, in practice, perceived straightforwardly as a woman, is suggested by illustrations to play quartos which visualise

⁴⁸De Lauretis, p. 10.

⁴⁹Neely, 'Constructing the Subject', p. 7.

⁵⁰It is not entirely the case that women were absent from the public stage. Stephen Orgel has recently unearthed evidence of some professional actresses working in London, and Moll Frith appeared at the Fortune in 1611. See Orgel, Impersonations, the performance of gender in Shakespeare's England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 4-8.

women characters with their breasts exposed.⁵¹ Such evidence indicates play-goers willingly participated in the transvestite convention and, as E. J. Jensen has argued, made the imaginative leap from the boy on stage to the sexed body of the woman whose part he played.⁵² However, to ascribe too rigidly to the notion that, reading off from the artificial to the actual, contemporaries naturalised what, on stage, was merely conventional, would be to deny the homoerotic potential of using boys to represent women.⁵³ Suggestively though, John Rainoldes's dispute with William Gager over the rights and wrongs of the latter breaking the injunction in Deuteronomy against cross-dressing in order that he might stage a play, resulted in Gager being 'forced to deny that acting was...a cover for [homosexual] action.'⁵⁴ On a stage as self-reflexive as this was, the convention of having boys play women was often revealed as a convention, and the effect of this was sometimes to enable allusions to same sex activity. Such is the case in the induction to Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew. When the page is made to play

⁵¹For a discussion of the relationship between these illustrations, stage directions requiring the exposure of the breasts, and the transvestite convention, see Peter Stallybrass, 'Transvestism and the 'body beneath': speculating on the boy actor' in Erotic Politics, Desire on the Renaissance Stage, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p. 69.

⁵²Jensen argues that like 'any convention in any art form, the use of boy actors in female roles was a practice that audiences accepted without confusion.' See Jensen, 'The Boy Actors: Plays and Playing, Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 18 (1975), 6, cited in Kathleen McLuskie, Renaissance Dramatists (New York and London: Harvester, 1989), p. 100.

⁵³The homoerotic dimension of the transvestite stage is argued for by Lisa Jardine in Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (New York and London: Harvester, 1983), pp.9-36, and Jonathan Goldberg, Sodometries: Renaissance Texts and Modern Sexualities (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992). For a discussion of the category of 'homosexual' in the period, and the difficulties with positing a specifically homosexual identity, see Dollimore, Radical Tragedy, pp. xxxvii-xl.

⁵⁴Orgel, Impersonations, p. 34.

the part of a woman whom Sly has been tricked into believing is his wife, the tinker's demand for his conjugal rights generates humour around the possibility of homosexual activity being licensed by transvestism. Yet to consider the cross-dressed boy primarily as a device for generating such meanings would be to claim the drama engaged with women's choices and experiences without having any real commitment to them, but only to what this subject matter enabled in terms of an exploration of same sex desire. This would be to see boys in drag as encouraging men's involvement in plays at the cost, potentially, of alienating female play-goers by reducing their concerns to vehicles through which to articulate men's desires. However, the high proportion of women in the audience suggests they were attracted to the drama and derived enough pleasure from it to want to keep coming back for more.⁵⁵

The appeal for women of play-going is liable to have been due to multiple factors. It has, however, been argued that it might in part have been precisely because women were represented on stage by boys. Phyllis Rackin and others have claimed that the practice of having boys play women's parts showed gender roles up as cultural constructs and matters not of nature but of convention. Unfixing the notion of essential difference so often called upon to justify women's subjection to men, the theatre, in this view,

⁵⁵See Jean. E. Howard, 'Women as Spectators, Spectacles, and Paying Customers' in *Staging the Renaissance, Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, ed. Kastan David Scott and Peter Stallybrass (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 68-74. Orgel points out that we need to be cautious when speculating over 'whether there was anything in the transvestite theatre itself that might have been positively appealing' to women. He does, however, posit a logic for women identifying with the boy in drag, claiming that for 'a female audience, in a culture as patriarchally stratified as that of Renaissance England, to see the youth in skirts might be to disarm and socialize him in ways that were specifically female, to see him not as a possessor or master, but ...everything...that the...woman herself is supposed to be.' See *Impersonations*, pp. 77 and 81.

released a liberating kind of knowledge.⁵⁶ This is liable to have been especially empowering for women, and would better account for their notable presence at plays than the claim for the drama's overwhelmingly homoerotic orientation. Ultimately, women's investment of time and money in the activity of play-going might be explained in multiple ways. What it does suggest though is a level of involvement that bespeaks some connection being made between the auditorium and events onstage and, within that context, between actual women and woman as signified by boys in drag.

If on stage 'a symbolized female presence gives and takes value and meaning in relation to actual women',⁵⁷ so too does the figure of woman in broader cultural discourse. The notion of the hortus conclusus and the binary typing of women as 'godly mother' and 'witch' constitute forms of representation that, as Stallybrass suggests, 'had real effects' for women. Where the eliding of women with land worked to enforce the notion of women as men's possessions, the concepts of the demonic mother and diabolical witch, when 'applied to actual women, constitut[ed] them as sinners and criminals to be

⁵⁶See Phyllis Rackin, 'Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 102 (1987), 29-41. For general discussions of the subversive meanings enabled by the transvestite convention and cross-dressing in the world of the plays, see Catherine Belsey, 'Disrupting Sexual Difference: Meaning and Gender in the Comedies' in Alternative Shakespeares, ed. John Drakakis (London and New York: Methuen, 1985), pp. 166-190, Peter Stallybrass, 'Transvestism' in Zimmerman, pp. 64-83, Orgel, Impersonations, p. 82, Jean. E. Howard, 'Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', Shakespeare Quarterly, 39:4 (1988), 418-440 and Juliet Dusinberre, Shakespeare and the Nature of Women (New York and London: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 231-271. For the counter claim that playing with gender roles works to enforce notions of essential difference, see Clara Claiborne Park 'As We Like It: How a Girl Can Be Smart and Still Popular' in The Woman's Part, Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare, eds. Carolyn Ruth Swift Lenz, Gayle Greene and Carol Thomas Neely (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 100-116.

⁵⁷Warner, p. xx.

purified or exterminated.’ Such figurations served, Stallybrass claims, to legitimate the ‘infanticide’ and ‘witch craze[s]’⁵⁸ in which women suffered the consequences of the ways in which they were portrayed. More broadly, the widespread deployment of women as signs bespeaks a perspective in which women are valued first and foremost as currency, hence replicating the central tenets of patriarchy. Accordingly, as critics of this process, we must avoid falling into step with the text’s attitude towards women. As Neely has made clear, it is in practice all too easy ourselves to treat women as currency by envisaging them as signs, then proceeding to concentrate only on what they signify. While recognising ‘women are mostly inscribed by their absence’, we need then consciously to ensure ‘this absence is noted, and interrogated’⁵⁹ even as we engage with how the referent in question is being portrayed by means of the figuration of women.

Focusing on the ways images of women’s relations with men impacted on texts’ perceptions of Scotland’s relations with England, this thesis’s emphasis is towards looking at how the signifier structured and helped shape the ways the referent was perceived. However, in the course of pursuing this line of enquiry, attempts have consistently been made to explore the kinds of ideas about women, and attitudes towards the balance of power between the sexes, which variously informed, and are encapsulated within, the text’s handling of sexual politics. Chapter One, for example, considers how beneficial the notion of the companionate marriage actually was for women as well as

⁵⁸Stallybrass, ‘Patriarchal Territories’ in Snyder, p. 260. Newman and Catherine Belsey also discuss the relationship between representations of woman as witch and witch trials, as well considering the possible logic behind some women’s identification with the type of the witch. See Newman, p. 65 and Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 178-191.

⁵⁹Neely, ‘Constructing the Subject’, p. 16.

examining the kinds of meanings occasioned by the metaphorical application of marriage to unification. Likewise, deliberating the imperial import variously of depictions of Mary Stewart and of the Amazon trope in texts concerned with Anglo-Scots relations, Chapters Two and Three attend also to the attitudes towards sexual politics which these images bespeak. If, therefore, the overall preoccupation of the thesis is with the effects that figurations of women had on texts' treatment of Scotland's relations with England, the consequences of particular kinds of representations for current ideas about women and their position in relation to men are nevertheless held in view.

Arguably the most significant potential pitfall with a paradigm that understands 'women and sexuality [as] the site of larger cultural [configurations] and a means to the end of talking about them'⁶⁰ is thus a tendency to lose sight of what a text's representation of women means for actual women. However, a further possible problem with such an approach has to do with its founding assumption that women, and the relations between the sexes, necessarily signify in the ways so far suggested. The paradigm, for instance, presupposes that a transaction took place between writer and reader based, as we have seen, on a shared understanding that the intersection of microcosm and macrocosm enabled the patriarchal relation of the sexes to signify broader relations of power. Writers might accordingly anticipate that their readers would interpret figuratively, and readers expect texts to work metaphorically and allegorically, with sexual politics allowing the former to provide, and the latter uncover, latent as well as manifest meanings.

The notion that such a transaction was ever the norm has, however, been seen by some as a residue of the outmoded vision of a Renaissance that shared one universal

⁶⁰Neely, 'Constructing Female Sexuality' in Levin and Robertson, p. 2.

conceptual language instead of various ways of making meaning.⁶¹ Certainly, early-modern scepticism, for instance, ‘emphasising disparity rather than similarity’, did render analogical thinking vulnerable. But it did not, as we have seen, put paid to ‘order’ being ‘founded on manipulation of family and sex difference.’⁶² On the contrary, the family/state analogy continued persistently to be called into play, with women’s relations with men mobilised to generate all those kinds of meanings discerned in our discussion so far. More damaging then to a paradigm that reads women as signs than the claim that, following Jacob Burckhardt and E. M. W. Tillyard, it misleadingly posits a single, unified semiotic system, is Orgel’s contention that contemporaries privileged not signification, but rather the semblance of it. Within this view, writers dressed up as signifiers what were in fact red herrings, propelling their readers to seek out particular meanings in a process pointless, because none were intended, but pleasurable to a period that enjoyed the appearance of complexity which is the hallmark of the ‘occluded text.’ Claiming that ‘the age often found in incomprehensibility a positive virtue’, Orgel argues that it is less if, than why this should be the case that ‘is the real textual question.’ He goes on to speculate as to the logic behind writers favouring the opacity he posits, arguing that what Spenser, when referring to The Faerie Queene, described as its ‘dark conceit’, and Jonson as the ‘more removed mysteries’ of his union masque Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and

⁶¹See William Shakespeare, The Winter’s Tale, ed. Orgel, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 10-11 and Parker, p. 6.

⁶²Callaghan, p. 27. Julia Briggs notes ‘the scheme [had] long been under attack...from the humanists [,] Neoplatonists...philosophers [and] pioneering scientists’ but that ‘so comprehensive was it that no single alternative system could replace it, and the overall framework survived into the eighteenth century, albeit punctured in several places.’ See Briggs, This Stage-Play World: English Literature and its Background 1580-1625 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 21.

Barriers at a Marriage, were aspects of a style designed to induce in readers the 'satisfaction' of sensing 'that they participated in a world of higher meaning.'

This conclusion seems fair enough, but contradicts Orgel's broader thesis that the inclusion of deliberate opacity rendered these, and other Renaissance texts, 'radically indeterminate.'⁶³ After all, if Spenser and Jonson did seek in these texts to invoke for their readers a sense of higher meaning, as almost certainly they did, then in doing so they implicitly imposed a limit to their texts' indeterminacy by suggesting meaning was, ultimately, available. Their texts' indeterminacy was not, as such, far reaching, but local, a problem for the reader, the dimensions of which were, finally, resolvable--if not by the reader her/himself.

That this should be the case is suggestive. The reader is produced here as a fallible figure who in places flounders in a text in which they sense that, at points, hidden meanings might be brought to light, but in the pursuit of which their own interpretative agency proves to be of no avail. In this respect, this reader's position is similar to that of fallen man. With her/his judgement clouded, post-lapsarian man looks to God for illumination and can only hope that, through keeping faith with God's promise, salvation will come in the next life for, while the signs of God's presence are everywhere in this world, his kingdom is finally beyond its bounds.⁶⁴ By the same token, within the model of writing and reading that Orgel proposes, the signs of meaning are in the text, but the

⁶³The Winter's Tale, ed. Orgel, pp. 10, 12, 10, 11, 10.

⁶⁴See Foucault, p. 26, Briggs, pp. 18 and 27 (who also provides evidence of prevailing scepticism regarding the possibility of discerning the signs of God in nature), and J. P. Sommerville's discussion of contemporary debates around the notion of natural law in his Politics and Ideology in England 1603-1640 (London and New York: Longman, 1986), pp. 15-17.

referent itself is finally beyond the grasp of a hopeful reader who feels it to be available in a realm that surpasses their own understanding.

When situated in the context of prevailing belief in a providentially ordained universe, a writing style that deliberately privileges textual opacity might, therefore, be seen to be informed by the expectation that there will be a resolution to the quest for illumination, but that this will only, ultimately, take place elsewhere. Were this to be the case, the effect of textual ambiguity would not be to induce a felt experience of radical indeterminacy and the impossibility of ever securing definitive meaning. On the contrary, the occluded text would be more likely to affirm for readers a conviction in the necessity of keeping faith with the promise that, while the final revelation is not to be had in this world, it is to be looked forward to in the life to come. Indeed, a theological belief system always ultimately posits a signified which, being per force transcendental is also, in its entirety, always beyond the subject's comprehension.

Once we accept that a stylistic tendency to include signifiers that do not appear to correlate with any given referent was liable to have been informed by religious belief, we must also concede that the text's meaning is, in the final analysis, more likely to be stable than indeterminate. Yet Jonson, as Orgel points out, did not seem to feel that the meaning of his material was stable. His tendency to provide explanatory glosses is taken by Orgel as a sign of the text's meaning eluding readers precisely because of the Renaissance predilection for producing what appear to be signifiers that, in effect, do not tie up with particular referents. Hymenaei is a case in point. Jonson characteristically backed up this masque with an explanation of what he had meant by one of his body/state analogies.⁶⁵

⁶⁵For the footnote to this effect which Jonson added to the printed version of Hymenaei, see D. J. Gordon 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union' in The

But, be this as it may, we need to be cautious about extrapolating from Jonson's extra-textual commentary underlying truths about early-modern texts being occluded in ways that perplexed readers and necessitated additional explication of their meanings. Jonson's reasons for reasserting what he had meant in a given utterance may, after all, have had less to do with forestalling or responding to readers' expressions of confusion, and more with his own desire not to relinquish his authorial sovereignty as guarantor of meaning, thereby retaining for the author an authority not otherwise afforded him within the current operations of cultural production.⁶⁶

More to the point for our purposes is that Jonson does not feel the need to elucidate any of the meanings made available in Hymenaei by the family/state analogy. Yet the relations of the sexes in marriage--put to work to produce a whole range of meanings around the idea of union, the most topical of which has to do with Scotland's regal union with England--are the main means by which this masque makes meaning.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Jonson does not retrospectively comment on any of the significances accruing to the

Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975), p. 161.

⁶⁶For Jonson's literary self-fashioning, see Richard Helgerson, Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1983). Stanley Fish considers the rhetorical strategies Jonson deployed to carve out some semblance of independence for the author in a patronage structure in his 'Authors-Readers: Jonson's Community of the Same', Representations, 7 (1984), 26-58. For the impact on Jonson and other writers of the shift away from patronage to literary production being viewed as a professional enterprise, see P. Sheavyn, The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967) and J. W. Saunders, The Profession of English Letters (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

⁶⁷For discussions of the metaphorical application of marriage to Anglo-Scottish union in Hymenaei, see Gordon, pp. 169-174 and Leah S. Marcus, 'Cymbeline and the Unease of Topicality' in The Historical Renaissance, New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 141-142.

marriage of Lady Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex which provides the masque with its subject matter and the fundamental signifier through which it alludes to unions other than those of the couple whose nuptials it celebrates. His commentary is directed instead towards what, in the broader schema of the masque, is a fairly subsidiary strand of signification, and his dominant method of making meaning through mobilising a representation of the relations between spouses is left unelucidated.

This arguably suggests that sexual politics provided so common a way of signifying engagement with other areas of concern that Jonson takes it as a given that his audience will interpret marriage figuratively as well as literally. Moreover, he could assume that his readers would recognise that one of the more prominent referents wedlock was being used to signify was England's recent alliance with Scotland. Jonson could make that assumption precisely because the deployment of sexual politics to provide meanings additional to those relating directly to the relations between the sexes had, in the course of the Jacobean union debates, made 'the comparison between the union and marriage...a very obvious one [which] came easily to'⁶⁸ contemporaries.

The following chapter demonstrates just how common the marriage metaphor was during the debates of 1603-10. The claim that 'metaphor...is the means by which the less familiar is assimilated to the more familiar, the unknown to the known'⁶⁹ bears directly on the reason for the trope's popularity. As we shall see in Chapter One, it was favoured especially by King James, and by unionists generally, who, using the domestic relation of the spouses to make tangible a political configuration that, for many, was inconceivable,

⁶⁸Gordon, p. 169.

⁶⁹John Middleton Murray, Countries of the Mind: Essays and Literary Criticism (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 2, cited in Kiefer, p. 107.

hoped to render union more acceptable. To this end, Scotland was often situated as the wife in the equation, and England as her spouse. The effect of such a figuration, resonating as it did with the patriarchal basis of early-modern marriage, was to alter the balance of power between Scotland and England in ways which spoke to the widely held belief that to be countenanced, union must be based on English precedence. The metaphor was also sometimes appropriated by writers seeking to question the imperial basis of England's relations with Scotland in the structures of union and nation. In either case, the trope's function was coercive, its purpose being variously to persuade readers into accepting, or questioning, given understandings of these formations. To be effective in this respect, the marriage metaphor must, of course, be intelligible to readers.

How readily readers interpreted marriage figuratively as a means of alluding to unification is, tellingly, suggested by a comment made in response to *Hymenaei*. John Pory's observation that, as far the masque's 'Nuptial Union' was concerned, 'here the Poet made an apostrophe to the Union of the Kingdoms',⁷⁰ shows marriage being read as a sign of the recent territorial alliance. Pory immediately identifies a sign is at work in the text, grasping without any difficulty whatsoever that marriage is a signifier and unification its referent. At this time of heightened sensitivity to questions to do with union, many other readers are also liable to have identified in texts in which wedlock features prominently the lineaments of metaphor or allegory. Reading figuratively, after the manner of Pory, they too are likely to have decoded the meanings made around the relations of

⁷⁰John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, in *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, ed. John Nichols, Volume 2, (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), p. 33, cited in Gordon, p. 169.

the kingdoms in union by means of representations of the relations between spouses.⁷¹ Furthermore, beyond the immediate context of the Jacobean union debates, sexual politics are equally as likely to have been understood as signifying an engagement with Anglo-Scots relations owing, as we shall see, to the preoccupation prevalent throughout the Edwardian union debate and Elizabethan Succession Debate with realising a union and thereby founding a British nation.

These claims will be substantiated in detail in the follow chapters. What is important for our current purposes is simply to recognise that, if in some instances texts are, as Orgel contends, deliberately opaque, in others they invite readers to pursue particular meanings, sometimes, indeed, doing both things at once. *Hymenaei* is a good example of a text that is at points deliberately obscure but which, on the whole, provides intelligible ways of making meaning. If in places signifiers do not correlate with given signifieds, by and large they do, with the sign, as we have seen, being grasped and interpreted accurately. Moreover, when the signifier is denied a specific referent, the opacity this produces is less likely to have made the text ‘radically indeterminate’⁷² than, for the reasons of religious belief identified earlier, to have rendered its meaning stable.

While we are exploring how texts might have produced, and readers retrieved, meaning, it is worth also considering briefly some of the problems posed by the notion that Renaissance writers often sought to generate meaning intertextually. Chapter Three, for example, finds *Macbeth* forging links with texts by, among others, George Buchanan and

⁷¹Marcus notes that, as well as Pory, other ‘contemporaries took note of *Hymenaei*’s ‘political allegory [and] were able to read its essential elements.’ See Marcus, p. 134.

⁷²*The Winter’s Tale*, ed., Orgel, p. 10.

Raphael Holinshead, which, in turn, are seen to have ramifications for the ways in which contemporaries might have envisaged Malcolm's relations with his English allies, and the Lowland's interaction with England. Such an argument presupposes that writers deliberately made intertextual connections with other material in the hope that their readers would identify those links and find particular meanings being released by the resonances set up between the primary text and its intertext. However, some members of Macbeth's audience would not have had familiarity with the texts in question, and those who did may not have found the theatrical context conducive to enabling the sort of considered reflection necessary to identifying and pursuing this kind of allusion. Such is always the case with the performance text. But even were a text to be consumed as literature, there is no guaranteeing that connections of this nature would be made.

In a discussion of Macbeth, Alan Sinfield stresses the importance of envisaging 'diverse original audiences, activating diverse implications in the text.'⁷³ At the same time, however, he argues that Buchanan's The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time provided a context in relation to which some viewers interpreted the play, and claims that that intertextual association disturbed for them many of its manifest meanings. While we should not assume that such a disturbance necessarily occurred, neither, therefore, should we underestimate the extent to which Shakespeare and other writers had recourse to intertextuality as a technique for generating meaning, and readers as a strategy for decoding texts. It is, indeed, highly likely that Macbeth 'palter[s] with us

⁷³Alan Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history, ideology and intellectuals', Critical Quarterly, 28 (1986), 73.

in a double sense⁷⁴ by providing not only apparent, but also intertextually coded meanings that reflect back on its surface messages in ways that alter their import in the manner argued for in Chapter Three.

Of course, even if we concede that writers often sought to establish connections with other texts as a way of providing meaning, and that they frequently used sexual politics in a bid to signify engagement with broader areas of interest, we cannot assume readers responded in the ways necessary to activating the text's potential messages. As Catherine Belsey rightly suggests, 'no form can unilaterally determine the response of the audience. The moralities could not guarantee their emblematic intelligibility; the scenic theatre could not insist on a humanist reading.'⁷⁵ By the same token, writers who had recourse to intertextuality or mobilised the relations of the sexes as signs could not rest assured that their techniques would be recognised or, if they were, that such strategies would be made to speak in the ways they may have desired. Yet some of *Macbeth*'s audience do appear to have read intertextually, and some of *Hymenaei*'s certainly interpreted figuratively.⁷⁶ For those readers who, as it were, took their own interpretative way, there were thus others whose attention was at once captured, and directed in the ways required, by these kinds of textual strategies.

When Foucault asserts that the Renaissance was 'a world of signs [in which] the space inhabited by immediate resemblance becomes like a vast book [that] bristles with

⁷⁴William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Kenneth Muir (London and New York: Routledge, 1951), V.ix.20.

⁷⁵Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, p. 26.

⁷⁶See Marcus, pp. 134 and 141-142, and Gordon, pp. 169-174.

written signs...All that remains is to decipher them'⁷⁷ he does, to be sure, underestimate the difficulties inherent in the whole business of inscribing and retrieving given meanings. Equally, in its assumption of a single, uniform way of seeing, Tillyard's vision of an 'Elizabethan World Picture'⁷⁸ neither allows for disparities in ways of conceptualising, nor for the precarious nature of contemporaries' endeavours to provide and access particular messages. But to claim that such an enterprise was so fraught as to ensure texts were 'radically indeterminate'⁷⁹ is to go to the opposite extreme and substitute for the confidence of these critics in a stable, accessible semiotic system, a lack of faith in the efficacy of any such system. Replacing the ease of communication proposed by Foucault, Tillyard and others with a sense that the tendency of the early-modern text is always towards aporia, this view divests the text of political agency. After all, to be able to assume a position in a given debate, such as those which in the 1540s, 1560s and again at the turn of the century surrounded the prospect of Scotland being united with England, a text must have strategies that will allow readers to access its perspective on the issues in question. Arguing that representations of women and the relations between the sexes often provided just such a strategy, this thesis takes the view that while the so-called 'Elizabethan World Picture'⁸⁰ was not in fact a world view, it nevertheless constituted a dominant way of seeing, and that for the many readers who would, undoubtedly, have missed the significances that so regularly accrued to sexual politics, others would not.

Accepting that the methodology underpinning the thesis does thus have potential

⁷⁷Foucault, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁸Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture.

⁷⁹The Winter's Tale, ed. Orgel, p. 10.

⁸⁰Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture.

pitfalls, with possible problems pertaining especially to the approach's feminism and the assumptions it makes about matters of interpretation, it can, however, still be argued that once these are recognised, they can be avoided. Divested of such difficulties, the paradigm, as Louis Montrose and others have argued, proves particularly productive for interpreting Renaissance texts.⁸¹ Indeed, as each subsequent chapter will demonstrate, its recognition of the interconnectedness of sexual politics with wider areas of concern allows the approach to do more than bring a range of attitudes towards Anglo-Scots relations into view. This is useful in itself, but what this model also enables us to see, and which no other methodology could so well illuminate, is how far prevailing ideas about the relations between the sexes were endemic to ordering and cohering contemporary understandings of Scotland's changing relationship with England. That fact established, what Montrose identifies as the paradigm's flexibility comes into play. In addition, for instance, it illuminates the ways images of women were used to position Scotland in an inferior, oppositional, and equal relationship with England in the configurations of union and nation, and to negotiate tensions around the balance of power between, and religious positions assumed by, the two realms within these formations. Were it not for the approach's grasp of the signifying potential of sexual politics, these aspects of contemporary texts would remain hidden from view. The multiple meanings generated around Anglo-Scots relations by way of the representation of women would then be invisible to us, and their import for prevailing and subsequent perceptions of the relations between the sexes and the two kingdoms would remain unavailable for us to assess, and to learn from.

⁸¹For discussions of the approach, see Montrose, p. 177, Scott, pp. 1053-1075, and Newman, p. xvii-xviii.

Chapter One: The Marriage Metaphor and the Literature of the Jacobean Union.

Wives are “images”; that is, they are not to be protected as the thing itself, whatever that may be, but only as its figuration. What wives stand for [is] the ability of the state to reproduce itself.¹

In 1603, with the accession of James VI to the English throne, the crowns of Scotland and England were united. Regal union precipitated debates concerning the implementation of further forms of unification. These were conducted in parliamentary sessions in 1603-4 and 1606-7 and, more broadly, in the general discussions of union which have come to be known as the Jacobean union debates. A distinctive feature of these debates, which lasted from 1603 to approximately 1610, was the kind of metaphorical language so often used to discuss Scotland’s relations with England in union and the configuration of nation. Metaphors in which marriage and twins image the kingdoms in union, and a child the emergent nation, proved a staple feature of pamphlets, treatises, graphic representations, plays, royal proclamations, and, in the case of the marriage trope, even featured on a united coinage. While it has been argued that ‘these metaphors...were specific to the [union] controversy’² of 1603-10, none was in fact exclusive to the Jacobean union

¹Constance Jordan, Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 43.

²Donna. B. Hamilton, ‘The Winter’s Tale and the Language of Union 1604-1610’, Shakespeare Studies, 21 (1993), 229. The metaphor of Scotland and England as siblings

debates. That said, the regularity with which these figures occur in Jacobean union discourse does suggest that contemporaries felt these tropes to be especially suited to articulating enabling ways of seeing Scotland's relations with England in union. Particularly prominent in this respect is the metaphor of union as marriage. Of the twenty-eight tracts written between 1603 and 1605 on the subject of union, seven have recourse to the marriage metaphor.³ It also surfaces in poetry, royal proclamations, and, as we shall see, forms the structuring principle of Ben Jonson's Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of

and Britain as their common mother does occur frequently in Jacobean union discourse, but had also surfaced during the Edwardian union debate when James Henrisoun employed it in his An Exhortacion to the Scottes, to conforme themselves to the honorable, expedient, and godly union betwene the two realmes of England and Scotlande of 1547. The marriage metaphor is more often found in material written after, rather than prior to, the Jacobean union debates. Although Greene used it in the 1590s, it was made popular during the debates of 1603-10 and resurfaces in texts concerned with parliamentary union, as well as more recently in discussions of devolution. John Spreull, for instance, writes in 1705 that 'tho England join with us in union...they will not be married to a beggar, with whom they should find nothing but a louse in our bosom the first night', and in 1995 the Reverend Robert Waters informed a startled Scottish Constitutional Convention that, as a Scot involved in a union with England, he felt he had 'married a prostitute.' See Spreull, dedication to An Accompt Current betwixt Scotland and England Ballanced, cited in Brian. P. Levack, The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1707 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 145 and Reverend Waters, cited in The Scotsman, 1 December 1995, p. 7.

³Of the seven tracts which use the metaphor, only one is Scottish. This is John Russell's Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun betwixt the tua ancienne realmes of Scotland and England, eftir thair lang trubles, thairby establishing perpetuall peace to the posteriteis of baith the nationes, presentlie undir the gracious monarchie and impyir of our dread soverane, King James the Sixt of Scotland, First of England, France and Ireland. Other tracts which employ the trope are Sir Henry Savile's Historicall collections, left to be considered of for the better perfecting of this intended union between England and Scotland set down by way of discourse, Sir William Cornwallis's The Miraculous and Happie Union of England and Scotland, Bacon's Of the Union, John Thornborough's two tracts The Joiefull and Blessed Reuniting the two mighty and famous kingdomes, England and Scotland, into their ancient name of Great Brittain and A Discourse plainely proving the evident Utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie Union of the two famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and the anonymous Rapta Tatio: The mirrour of his Maiesties present government, tending to the Union of his whole Iland of Brittonie.

Masque and Barriers at a Marriage as well as proving central to the meanings made available by Robert Greene's The Scottish History of James IV and Shakespeare's Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale.

The most oft cited instance of the marriage trope is King James's claim that 'I am the husband, and all the whole isle is my lawful wife.'⁴ Here the King, presenting himself as a husband, claims a right of ownership over the island which, cast as wife, acquires the status of a possession in accordance with the Biblical categorising of wives as their husbands' property. More often, however, it is England and Scotland that are figured as entering into a marriage following the union of crowns. Thus the 'Epitaph on the Union' contends 'The world the temple was, ye priest ye King,/ ye sponsored payre two Realmes, ye stay ye Ring.'⁵ Likewise, an anonymous tract of 1604 exhorts the two kingdoms to 'Marry then and make the bond holy', and, in 1605, King James argued that because 'Union [is] the...Essence of Divinity [it is as] the Bond of Marriage.'⁶

The evident popularity of this metaphor is explicable in terms of the applicability to prevailing developments in Anglo-Scots relations of the specific meanings accruing to marriage in the period under discussion. Two aspects of contemporary thinking on marriage proved especially relevant to the current interest in Scotland's relations with England in union. These, as will be demonstrated in due course, were the notion of the

⁴King James, from a speech given to Parliament in 1603, cited in Bruce Galloway, The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1986), p. 20.

⁵'Epitaph on the Union', cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 161.

⁶Anon and King James, from a speech given to Parliament in 1607, cited in D. J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union' in The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon, ed. S. Orgel (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: The University of California Press, 1975), pp. 169-174.

companionate marriage and debates concerning the importance of church ceremony to ratifying fully a couples' relationship. Yet, more pressing for an understanding of the kinds of cultural work performed by the marriage metaphor than either of these aspects of deliberations of matrimony, was the patriarchal basis of the early-modern marriage. That marriage was informed by a power relation has significant repercussions for the kind of nation which the trope, by frequently helping to articulate, went some way towards realising. Within the terms of the metaphor, whichever kingdom is cast as wife necessarily partakes of the subordinate position that, although subject to a certain amount of appraisal, nonetheless continued to be ascribed woman in marriage. That it is Scotland which, as we shall see, tends to be implicitly and less often explicitly presented as the wife, suggests that despite regal union and discussions over instituting further forms of unification, many English writers continued to think in terms of conquest and consolidation.

While the concept of union which we find in the discussions of 1603-12 marks a major departure from prior understandings of the basis on which the kingdoms might conduct their relations, the discourse of suzerainty nevertheless continued to inform the Jacobean union debates.

Traceable to the legend of Brutus who

had supposedly founded a Britain, long since dissolved, in which Scotland's relations to England were those of vassal kingdom to Over-lord, suzerainty was predicated on principles similar to those which underpinned the early-modern marriage. As in wedlock, in which woman was deemed man's property and subject, so within the discourse of precedence Scotland was considered England's to claim and control. Indeed, by figuring Scotland as England's wife, writers might image unity without relinquishing the concept of Scotland being inferior to, and justifiably governed from, England. Made to operate in this manner, the figure might project amity, but without offering any corresponding concession to the notion of parity and, rhetorically at least, union be realised on England's

terms by figuratively implementing suzerainty as the basis of an emergent Britain. When put to work in this way, the marriage trope usefully accommodated the recent shift towards a situation of alliance, while simultaneously articulating the principle that England might claim the right to command Scotland in a nascent British nation. However, if the metaphor enabled suzerainty to survive regal union and moves towards effecting closer relations between the two kingdoms, it also provided a means of questioning the validity of English precedence as a foundation for a stable British state.

In order to substantiate these claims, it is necessary firstly to demonstrate that a belief in suzerainty informed the thinking of many writers who contributed to the Jacobean union debates. Establishing the centrality of suzerainty during the Edwardian union debate and the Elizabethan Succession Debate will show that the discourse was not dispelled by regal union. Having ascertained that suzerainty survived the transition towards territorial alliance, we will be in a position to consider the ways in which the marriage trope was made to afford inclusive ways of imagining union, as well as functioning more often to enforce, and sometimes to challenge, England's claim to precedence within this formation.

The discourse of suzerainty first crossed over from the pages of histories and royal decrees into the province of pamphlet writing in the 1540s when the Scots reneged on the Treaty of Greenwich of 1543. The treaty had bound the Scots over to accept Henry VIII's proposal that Mary Stewart be betrothed to Edward Tudor and the two realms be aligned by way of a marriage that might lead to union. The Scots' *volte face* occasioned a flurry of pamphlet activity in which unionists employed the discourse of precedence to argue that, rather than being a sovereign kingdom, Scotland was a fief of England and ought to comply with a marriage understood as a potential vehicle for a union predicated upon English supremacy.

However, while suzerainty was a concept central to the Edwardian union debate, it can be traced back beyond the 1540s, being outlined for perhaps the first time in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regnum Britanniae of 1136. Here Geoffrey claimed, in the words of Henry VIII's Declaration which draws on Galfridian history, that Brutus 'had thre sonnes [of whom he] appoynted Albanact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called Englande: unto whom as being the elder sonne, the other two brothers shuld do homage, recognisyng and knowleagyng hym as theyr superior.'⁷ Geoffrey's account of the distribution of the three kingdoms during Brutus's reign afforded a basis from which it might be argued that 'if feudal rules of primogeniture were applied, England's seniority among the British monarchies was abundantly clear.'⁸ While Geoffrey himself made little of the notion of suzerainty, 'his many disciples elaborated the British History in such a way as to make...explicit their belief that the kingdom of the Scots was in the past and remained in the present a mere principality subject...to the kings of England.'⁹ With the central tenets of the discourse concretised, suzerainty was henceforth available as a means through which to claim precedence. Thus Edward I had recourse to it in 1301, Henry IV utilised

⁷Marcus Merriman, 'James Henrisoun and 'Great Britain': British Union and the Scottish Commonweal' in Scotland and England, 1286-1815, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1987), p. 88.

⁸Roger. A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain' in Scotland and England, ed. Mason, p. 62.

⁹Mason, 'Scotching the Brute', in Scotland and England, ed. Mason, p. 62. For a discussion of the reception of the British History and the Tudor appropriation of the myth of Brutus, see T. D. Kendrick, British Anti quity, (London: Methuen, 1950), pp. 35-45. For the emergence of empiricist historiography, and consequent rejection of Galfridian history and the Brutan myth, see Stuart Piggot, Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination, Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), pp. 59-60.

it to exact homage from Robert III in 1401 and, in 1542, Henry VIII evoked it in order to assert that no King 'hath more juste title, more evident title, more certayn title, to any realme...than we have to Scotland.'¹⁰

The aggressive imperialism of King Henry's claim to own Scotland, promoted likewise in Protector Somerset's An Epistle Exhortatorie and in Nicholas Bodrugan's Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande hath to the Sovereigntie of Scotlande, would hardly appear to have been the most persuasive means of cajoling the Scots into abiding by the Treaty of Greenwich. Yet some of the 'Assured Scots', those north of the border who supported Henrician policy and of whom Robert Henrisoun was perhaps the most vociferous, not only accepted, but themselves promoted England's claim to Scotland. As a Scot who envisaged union as the circumstance that would empower Scotland to assume a prominent role in determining the future of a godly Britain, Henrisoun may have strategically advocated Scotland's place as fief of England in order to justify a convergence of the two realms.¹¹ However, in culling from the Brutus legend the argument that, because Scots 'were britons at the beginning',¹² they should embrace union and strive to fashion a nation such as had existed in the time of Brutus, Henrisoun conceded that any such nation would be controlled by England. It has been claimed that Robert Wedderburn's anti-union treatise Complaynt of Scotland of 1549 is liable to have been sniping at Henrisoun when it criticises 'orateurs of Inghland' who 'at there protectors

¹⁰Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p. 63.

¹¹See Arthur. H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1979), pp. 97-116.

¹²James Henrisoun, from the Exhortacion, in The Complaynt of Scotlande, ed. J. A. H. Murray (1872), cited in Merriman, 'James Henrisoun' in Scotland and England, ed. Mason, p. 91.

insistance hes set furtht ane buik quhair be thai intende to preue that scotland vas ane colone of ingland quhen it vas fyrst inhabit.¹³ Were this to have been the case, then it would appear that some of Henrisoun's compatriots were understandably uncomfortable with what may have been a well intentioned plan to embrace suzerainty in order to fashion for Scotland a place in an anticipated Protestant Britain.¹⁴

Whether or not this was the case, for our present concerns it is important simply to recognise that suzerainty loomed large in material published during the Edwardian union debate of the 1540s. It was not, however, until the 1560s, following Mary Stewart staking her claim to the English throne, that precedence began to become a staple feature of a broader spectrum of texts than histories and pamphlets alone. Initially though, the Marian claim occasioned a pamphlet war in which both Mary Stewart's problematic standing with regards to Henry VIII's will and 'religious objections were subsumed in disputing foreign or native claims.'¹⁵ Tracts such as the anonymous Allegations against the surmised Title of the Queen of Scots and the Favorers of the Same of 1565, posing the question of whether, as a Scot, Mary Stewart was entitled to accede to the English throne, sought to block a prospective Stewart succession by calling on the English common-law rule against alien inheritance. The handling of the alien inheritance issue in the Elizabethan succession pamphlets brought back into focus the discourse of suzerainty, the impact of which was as strongly felt in the 1560s as it had been during the pamphlet

¹³The Complaynt of Scotland, cited in Merriman, 'James Henrisoun', pp. 86.

¹⁴Henrisoun's sense of the proposed marriage between Mary Stewart and Edward Tudor as providentially ordained to draw Scotland and England together into one Protestant nation is discussed in Merriman, 'James Henrisoun', pp. 88-90.

¹⁵Marie Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p. 23.

war of the 1540s.

According to English common-law ruling, Scotland was a foreign country. Consequently, prior to the verdict of 'Calvin's Case' in 1607, Scotland's citizens had no right to inherit property in England. Thus John Hales argued in 1563, in his A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England, that Mary Queen of Scots was 'foreign [and] therefore unable to inherit anything according to the laws of England.'¹⁶ If, however, Scotland could be proved to be within the jurisdiction of England, the Stewart claim might be upheld despite objections based on English common-law ruling. Striving to surmount the obstacle of foreign birth, Stewart apologists fell back on the Brutus legend and attendant myth of suzerainty. Most famously, Edward Plowden and John Leslie elaborated arguments culled from the Brutus story which they used to promote the notion that Scotland, being a homager to England, was hence a fief of the Southern state. Denying Scotland independence and claiming it to be, in accordance with 'olde authentic stories',¹⁷ merely part of England, the English lawyer and Scottish Bishop sought alike to argue the Queen's case on the grounds that she was a native of England rather than sovereign of a foreign country.

Hence, the campaign waged in the 1560s by pro-Marian writers reactivated interest in the question of whether or not Scotland was independent from England, or merely an extension of its dominions. However, if in the 1540s such questions had been deliberated primarily within pamphlets, treatises and histories, by the 1560s the precedence issue was beginning to spill over into the genres of pageant, poetry and drama.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁷Anon, The Complaynt of Scotland, cited in Merriman, 'James Henrisoun' p. 88.

Material produced during the Elizabethan Succession Debate will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. For our present purposes, we need only note that the renewed focus on precedence exacerbated tensions in Anglo-Scots relations. Of course, while the Elizabethan Succession Debate did prove acrimonious, by 1603 the succession had been settled in favour of a Scottish claimant. Given this state of affairs, we might be tempted to interpret King James's accession to the English throne and attendant union of the crowns as providing an amicable solution to the turbulence engendered by his mother's bid to acquire a kingdom which, in due course, would fall to her son under less dramatic circumstances. However, in light of precedence having continued to be deliberated across the period 1540-1560, in which union remained a possibility rather than an actuality, it seems unlikely that with the realisation of union the issue should simply evaporate. Rather, the parliamentary sessions given over in 1603-4 and 1606-7 to discussing the ramifications of regal union and the possibility of implementing legal and commercial union reverberated with assumptions of precedence.

In 1604, Sir Edwin Sandys argued that, with regards to formulating a name which would indicate that two erstwhile independent realms were now united in one nation, the 'Scots should yield and accept the famous name of England.'¹⁸ Similarly, the debate which took place in 1606-7 over uniting the legal structures of the two realms gave rise to tracts which overwhelmingly saw legal union in terms of 'Scottish submission to English law.'¹⁹ Indeed, by this stage in the proceedings one English member of parliament was explicitly 'assert[ing] England's suzerainty, demanding Scots submission [and] acknowledgement

¹⁸Galloway, *The Union*, p. 20.

¹⁹*The Jacobean Union, Six Tracts of 1604*, eds. Bruce Galloway and Brian P. Levack (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1985), p. xxxvi.

of England's 'precedency and preferment.'²⁰ Accordingly, the 'debates in the English commons...created resentment towards England and opposition to union in Scotland', with the parliamentary session of 1606-7 instigating 'an immediate and rapid deterioration in relations between the countries - as had the parallel session in 1604.'²¹

The high profile accorded the discourse of suzerainty by moves to effect further forms of unification could only conspire to compound the anxieties many Scots harboured about the union project. The Scottish writer John Russell, in his Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun of 1605, voiced his fears that the English were attempting 'to mak Scotland ane pendicle [appendage] of thair realme'²² and that his country would thus become simply a satellite of England should plans for any further union than that of the crowns be put into effect. These anxieties were in turn echoed by Thomas Craig in his De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus. Indeed, the prospect of Scotland being made to acquiesce to policies implemented in London with a view to protecting England's interests in a British nation was simultaneously being contemplated by many of Russell's and Craig's compatriots, for whom regal union appeared 'the first step in the establishment of the new English empire.'²³

Suzerainty was thus palpably present throughout the union debates. That this was the case confirms the shortcomings of the view that, from 1603 onwards, longstanding antagonisms between the two realms simply gave way to amity and a mutual desire to

²⁰Galloway, The Union, p. 106.

²¹Ibid., pp. 119 and 128.

²²Russell, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun in Galloway and Levack, p. 97.

²³Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 223.

realise further forms of convergence than the solely dynastic. Such a view has often been informed by a tendency to work the Jacobean union into a causal relationship with the Union of Parliament and consider 1603 as prefiguring 1707 in a providential pattern involving the two countries realising respective destinies as parts of one united nation.²⁴ Employing a rhetoric of destiny involves constructing the movement from regal union to the dismantling of Scotland's parliament as part of God's grand scheme, the effect of which is to render Scotland's marginality and England's centrality in the British nation inevitable rather than contingent. Such a providentialist approach is predicated on that teleological understanding of history which, describing 'the inception of a particular movement in terms of its subsequent historical development' tends to 'ignor[e] elements contemporary to the inception which were working against, perhaps even contradicting it.'²⁵ Indeed, the paradigm paradoxically, but perhaps necessarily, occludes the very discourse of precedence that its own interpretative strategy works implicitly to promote.²⁶

It may no longer be considered legitimate to envisage 1603 as part of an inexorable drive towards 1707, but the period of the Elizabethan Succession Debate is still too often understood as 'the beginning of the better understanding between England and Scotland that was in time...to lead to the incorporating union of the two kingdoms.'²⁷

²⁴William Ferguson notes this 'tendency to regard the ultimate union of England and Scotland as something natural and pre-ordained' in his Scotland's Relations with England, A Survey to 1707 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1977), p. 54.

²⁵Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries (New York and London: Harvester, 1984), p. 7.

²⁶For the tendency of providentialist historiography strongly to 'reinforce English cultural ascendancy' see Murray. G. H. Pittock, Jacobitism (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 3.

²⁷Ferguson, p. 74.

Certainly, the years between approximately 1560 and 1603 were characterised by amity arising from a shared Protestantism which impacted on writers' conceptions of Anglo-Scots relations in ways that will be considered in the following chapter. In the meantime, however, we need only note that conflicting views of the basis of Scotland's relations with England in a British nation posed serious obstacles to implementing further forms of union than the dynastic. Indeed, once the Jacobean union has been extracted from a forced relation to 1707, the notion that an irresistible drive towards union and ever more harmonious relations occurred either between 1603 and 1707, or between 1560 and 1603, appears increasingly questionable.

The contention that 'some fifty years...is not too long for men to have forgotten the old world'²⁸ is particularly pertinent to the union debates, during the course of which the past continued at every stage to inform the present. That memories of distant and more recent conflicts surface in material written on the subject of union is unsurprising when the circumstances surrounding previous attempts to unite the kingdoms are taken into consideration.²⁹ Edward I's union plans had collapsed into the brutality of the English invasions of Scotland in the 1300s, and those of Henry VIII crumbled into the savage

²⁸Jenny Wormald, 'Gunpowder, Treason, and Scots', *Journal of British Studies*, 24 (1985), 166.

²⁹Savile, for instance, recollects the English victory at Musselburgh prior to the abortive Edwardian union project in his *Historicall collections*, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 207-208. Russell concedes that 'hatrent irreconcilable' has historically dominated Anglo-Scots relations in his *Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun*, see Galloway and Levack, p. 78, and Robert Pont describes 'as fresh in memorie' the religious 'dissent' which put paid to the Edwardian union. Pont also remembers the 'many yeares warr and such horrible effusions of blood' by which the English 'have attempted...to bring the Scots to their subjection.' See Pont, *Of the Union of Britayne, or conjunction of the kingdomes of England and Scotland, with the bordering British Ilands into one monarchie, and of the manifold commodities proceeding from that Union. A Dialogue*, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 6 and 28.

military campaigns of 1544-1547. While fear of an actual resumption of hostilities is unlikely to have influenced attitudes towards the present union, the topic nevertheless remained one to which accrued a range of anxieties arising from a history of tension and confrontation.

Previously deliberated, union had never before been ratified, being, in the words of one contemporary, a 'rare and great matter...whereof there is no precedent.'³⁰ Confronted with the unprecedented, interested parties felt the want of a common conception of the configurations of union and nation. Attempts to define Britain in the commons debate of April 1604, in which diverse names were proposed for the nascent nation, engendered confusions and emphasised the need for a shared, uniform understanding of that formation. From the relatively ornate 'Britania magna' to the risibly literal 'Trianglia'³¹ the nation was variously, and differinglly, described. Such divergences bespeak difficulties not only in naming, but in the broader epistemological terrain of conceptualising a British state. Faced with the unknown, contemporaries turned to history to unearth examples of unions that might provide a model for the kinds of relations to be established between Scotland and England in the newly formed nation. Beyond the mythical model of a Brutan Britain, however, history provided no prototypes of a plural state in which Scotland might retain sovereignty and agency in a nascent British state.

³⁰Anon, Hampshire Record Office, cited in Brian. P. Levack, 'Toward a More Perfect Union: England, Scotland and the Constitution' in After the Reformation, Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter, ed. Barbara. C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 62.

³¹Sir Henry Savile, Historicall Collections, and Anon, The Divine Providence in the misticall and reall union of England and Scotland both by nature and other coherences with motives for reconcilinge such differences as may now seeme to hinter the same, cited in The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, pp. 209 and 245.

Rather, history afforded evidence in support of the discourse of suzerainty, in so far as the past provided only instances of unitary states within which one kingdom's institutions of government had been absorbed into those of another.

Participants not only looked to European precedents, but turned also to the Anglo-Welsh union of 1536 as a potential template for the current union.³² Alluded to by John Dodderidge and Sir Henry Spelman and held up as a model for Anglo-Scots union by King James, England's alliance with Wales had been effected through conquest. Hence, the King's expressed desire for Scotland's position to be akin to Wales in its relation to England in union could only further fuel the Scottish council's concern that their country's standing in the emergent nation was to be that of a conquered province. Anxiety on this score was further justified in 1607 when the King declared to the English parliament that Scotland would 'with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland and those other remote and northern shires';³³ namely a principality in a nation envisaged as an English empire. Hence, for Scots 'who took...historical precedents seriously, the union project...was a dangerous novelty.'³⁴

However, if the lessons of the past afforded Scots grounds to fear union as the occasion that would allow for the subjugation of their kingdom, just such a fear also informed the imaginings of many English participants in the union debates. As early as 1602, Sir John Harington observed that where during the Edwardian union debate many in Scotland had been anxious that their country might be conquered by England, 'some

³²For a discussion of the treatment of European precedents in the union tracts, see Galloway, The Union, pp. 44-45.

³³King James, from a speech to the English Parliament in 1607, cited in Levack, 'Toward a More Perfect Union', p. 63.

³⁴Levack, The Formation of the British State, pp. 215-216.

English fear the like now, foolish fears of men, that commonly draw on by fearing that which they most fear.³⁵ For the English to be anxious on this count does seem foolish when we consider that it was their country which had consistently issued claims to precedence. Such anxieties become more understandable, however, when considered in terms of a history in which the Scots had, for centuries, been viewed as antagonists (Shakespeare's 'weasel Scot [who] Comes sneaking'³⁶ up on England) and aliens, religious 'others' aligned by Robert Wilson in his Three Lords and Three Ladies of London of 1588 with the Catholic French under the guise of the character 'Fraud.'³⁷ English misgivings about the union project may have been occasioned by different historical imperatives from those unsettling many Scots, but the end result of shared apprehensions was the same, inducing in both countries a wariness about union. This may sporadically have translated into outright recalcitrance, but of the twenty-eight tracts written on the subject of the union, the majority endorse the principle of unity. Indeed, in many of these tracts, as in other kinds of union discourse (Samuel Daniel's A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme and Anthony Mundy's The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia, for example), union is aligned with notions of strength and stability.

To understand the tendency to concede to the principle of unity at a time of widely felt apprehension about the union project, we need to take into account that to 'oppose

³⁵Sir John Harington, A Tract on the Succession to the Crown, cited in Levack 'Toward a More Perfect Union', p. 59.

³⁶William Shakespeare, King Henry V, ed. T. W. Craik (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), I.ii.170-171.

³⁷Robert Wilson, The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, cited in A. J. Hoenselaars, Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1642 (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992), p. 44.

unity as a principle was...reasonable, because it implied denunciation of the union of the crowns and therefore of James's own sovereignty.³⁸ In such a context, reluctance might be signalled by extolling unity 'and then recommen[ding] limitations on further union.'

Thus Spelman

began his treatise with a demonstration of unity as strength, only to conclude on a negative note: 'let us see what manner of union it is that must supporte this our greatness and felicity. Is it union of lawes, Union of freedomes, union of inheritance? No, but union of our loves, of our strength, of our obedience.'³⁹

That 'obedience' should be settled on as the crucial ingredient for furthering the union does suggest reluctance rather than heartfelt commitment. But not all writers provide evidence that might call into question the veracity of their avowed support for unity. Often, an expressed desire for the concord between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism that might enable the realisation of a Protestant nation indicates a genuine subscription to the unionist cause, as, for example, in the case of the Scottish lawyer Russell.⁴⁰ Russell is, however, exemplary in so far as his Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun expresses anxieties about the practical application of the unionist ideal which a theoretical commitment to that ideal fails to assuage. Here, as in other union tracts and the broader terrain of the debate itself, questions around whether union ought to give rise to a unitary

³⁸Galloway, The Union, p. 34.

³⁹Spelman, Of the Union, cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 34. For a discussion of tracts which do support the principle of unity and of arguments employed to promote union, see The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁴⁰In Russell's Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun 'distraction of religion is intimately connected with distraction of kingdoms', as is also the case in Pont's Of the Union. See The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. lx.

or a plural state dog deliberations on specific issues.

Indeed, however compelling the idea of unity, disagreement over the fundamental question of the basis of Scotland's relations with England in a British nation caused widespread dissatisfaction with the union project. This manifested itself in parliamentary and public arenas alike. Consternation on the part of the parliaments is suggested by the King's sporadic appeals to England's parliament to show solidarity and to Scotland's to recognise England is not hostile to its interests. At the same time, the royal injunction on anti-Scots invective in the drama suggests playwrights were catering to play-goers' negative perceptions of the union project. The French Ambassador's claim that '[t]he little sympathy between the two nations [is] the reason...they will never...join with another, as the King wishes'⁴¹ further intimates the moribund state of popular opinion with regards to regal union and plans to institute further forms of unification.

In a context such as this, in which what the French Ambassador described as 'sympathy' was so palpably lacking, the rhetoric of a union of 'love'⁴² and 'Hearts and Affections'⁴³ was unlikely adequately to convey the message that a history of suspicion and mistrust had really given way to an amity sufficient to enable the kingdoms confidently to commit to fashioning a stable British state. Furthermore, to claim that a transition towards a loving engagement of hearts and affections was currently in evidence was to

⁴¹The French Ambassador, cited in Ferguson, p. 103. For similar sentiments expressed by the French and Venetian ambassadors, see Galloway, The Union, pp. 23 and 80.

⁴²Doddridge, A Brief Consideracion of the Unyon of the Twoe Kingedomes in the Handes of One Kinge, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 105.

⁴³Francis Bacon, Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, cited in Claire McEachern, The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 140.

risk highlighting disparities between the unionist ideal and the divisive actualities of the debate itself. Under such circumstances, a more coercive rhetoric was needed than one which merely referred to a state of affairs devoutly to be wished for. The marriage metaphor, providing a means of imagining union and nation in terms of love and mutual affection, answered precisely to the needs of the moment. Adequately to understand the ways in which the marriage trope met those needs, it is necessary to address those aspects of debates about marriage which resonated with deliberations regarding Scotland's relations with England in union in ways that made the figure especially suited to considering the configurations of union and nation.



The concept which had the most immediate bearing on the marriage metaphor's capacity to project notions of mutuality and reciprocity between Scotland and England in union was that of the companionate marriage. When in 1549 Archbishop Thomas Cranmer added to the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer a reference to 'mutual companionship',⁴⁴ a narrow definition of marriage as the arena in which legitimately to propagate children and satisfy sexual appetite was officially expanded to encompass a vision of mutuality as necessary to realising domestic harmony. In the Book of Common Prayer, as in much Protestant commentary on matrimony, domestic concord is seen to

⁴⁴Mary Beth Rose, The Expense of Spirit, Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 104.

depend largely on the shared emotional investment of husband and wife.⁴⁵

As outlined in John Dod's and Robert Cleaver's A Godlie forme of householde Government of 1598, the companionate ideal concurs with the vision of ideal union promoted by various writers who mobilised the marriage metaphor. In their conduct manual, Dod and Cleaver argue, along the lines of other Protestant commentators, that marriage 'must be a mutual promise, that is, either party must make it to the other...both the man and the woman [else] it is no true and perfect contract.'⁴⁶ A similar language and sentiment inform the claim that, as far as union is concerned, 'at this marriage if you will...make the contract sure'⁴⁷ it is crucial, as King James declared to the English parliament in 1607, that the kingdoms 'as it were kiss the other.'⁴⁸ In King James's rhetoric, Scotland's and England's mutual reciprocation of one another's affections is deemed necessary to realising in the arena of unification the true and perfect contract envisaged in Dod's and Cleaver's vision of the spouses matching each other's advances in a spirit of shared sincerity.

We have seen how far union was felt to be imposed on high by the royal

⁴⁵As Rose points out, Protestant discourse 'unites love with marriage and conceives of marriage...as the foundation of an ordered society [,] compar[ing] marriage to the church and the state.' Noting that such an analogy was not a Protestant invention, she emphasises that the widespread dissemination of that analogy and concomitant identification of marriage with mutual affection was 'a new development in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English life.' See Rose, p. 4.

⁴⁶John Dod and Robert Cleaver, A Godlie forme of householde Government (London, 1598), cited in Rose, p. 148.

⁴⁷Anon, Rapta Tatio, cited in D. J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei' in The Renaissance Imagination, ed. S. Orgel, p. 169.

⁴⁸King James, from a speech to the commons in 1607, cited in Michael J. Enright, 'King James and his island: an archaic kingship belief?', The Scottish Historical Review, 55 (1976), 39.

command, to be a union of 'obedience'⁴⁹ to a royal will at variance with the subjects' desires. Arguably, by drawing on the affective ideal, the marriage metaphor transposed to the field of Anglo-Scots relations the mutuality of affection largely missing from the terrain of the union debate itself. Moreover, beyond simply providing the sense of sympathy that was on the whole absent from current discussions of unification, the trope might intimate that mutual emotional investment was fundamentally necessary if the two parties were fully to ratify their contract.

While an adequate consolidation of the Jacobean union was rarely understood in terms of parliamentary alliance or any actual uniting of the Presbyterian with the Anglican church, it was thought to depend on forms of union beyond the solely regal. Northampton's insistence that 'it behooves us all not only with a word to wish but with our whole industry to provide that England and Scotland...may kiss one another' is informed by what for many union apologists was the fear that legal and commercial union, as well as unity of offices, might not, in the event, be realised. Under such circumstances, the union would be rendered partial and vulnerable to fragmentation. Sufficiently to permit any such eventuality occurring, Northampton advises that 'as in that union by matrimony so in this of policy let us be careful to provide as well by counsel as by caution that quod deus coniunxit homo non separet.'⁵⁰ Only, is the overall suggestion here, by forcefully combining words with actions will apologists for union be able to combat resistance to the effecting of a committed union. Such a union, figuratively understood in terms of the

⁴⁹Spelman, Of the Union, cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 34.

⁵⁰Northampton, from a speech to Parliament of 1606, cited in Linda Levy Peck, Northampton: Patronage and Policy in the Court of James I (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), p. 190.

kingdoms together engaging in the physical intimacy of a kiss, is redolent with connotations of closer contact than the purely dynastic. What is intimated as under threat are arguably forms of unity in addition to the regal. Any resistance posed to the realising of more complete union is, in an extension of the marriage conceit, imagined as admitting impediment to a wedding during the course of the service, the words of which are echoed here. In this instance, as in King James's rhetoric, the marriage trope transfers onto the relations of the kingdoms in union concepts of mutuality, reciprocity and sympathy drawn from Protestant marriage discourse. Yet in Northampton's usage, the figure is made further to imply that, in the face of such shared sympathy, it would be churlish to seek to disrupt the implementing of additional forms of unification.

What an initial consideration of the operations of the marriage metaphor illustrates then, is that its ability persuasively to promote the idea of a union of hearts and minds depends extensively on the availability of a companionate notion of marriage. Exactly when the affective ideal became available has been the subject of much debate. That this should be the case is entirely understandable. After all, an attempt to situate the Book of Common Prayer or relevant texts by, for instance, Erasmus and Vives, as marking a watershed in the conceptualisation of marriage, would have to account for the presence of that ideal in medieval discourse and for a residual tendency to valorise chastity in texts by Vives and Montaigne, and in Donne's marriage sermons of 1620-30.⁵¹ Of course, any

⁵¹For 'the rehabilitation of marriage' in Erasmus and Vives, see Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 19. For a residual, scholastic privileging of celibacy in Vives, Montaigne and Donne, see Rose, pp. 16 and 98-105 and, for a useful summary of attempts to locate the change in attitudes to marriage, pp. 2-3. The identification of the companionate ideal with the advent of Puritan preaching, argued for by Juliette Dusinberre in her Shakespeare and the Nature of Women (New York and London: Macmillan, 1975), has been contested by Linda . T.

bid precisely to pinpoint the emergence of a given discourse is liable to be confounded by the availability of contradictory kinds of evidence. However, what is generally conceded is that by the 1620s it had become a commonplace of Protestant thinking that marriage, at least for the lower orders and the 'middling sort',⁵² should 'be rooted in...companionship between husband and wife.'⁵³

In conjunction with the companionate ideal there arose a complex of concerns about the integrity or otherwise of church ceremony to the institution of marriage. When Erasmus concedes that he 'graunt[s] that there is no matrimonye, without the mutual consent of the partes',⁵⁴ he acknowledges the importance of the reciprocity central to the companionate notion of marriage. What is meant by 'consent' is qualified, however, when, pointing out that 'I woulde have a sober [and] a godly consent', Erasmus rejects 'contractes of matrimonye [made] betwene partes in corners without consent of the parents.'⁵⁵ To be godly then, affective marriage must be entered into in a sober manner. Soberness is understood here as due regard for parental sanction. However, Erasmus's concern is more broadly with countering eventualities occasioned by the common law

Fitz who finds instances of the companionate ideal in medieval discourse. See Fitz, "What says the Married Woman?": Marriage Theory and Feminism in the English Renaissance', Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature, 13 (1979-1980), 7. Like Fitz, Karen Newman stresses continuities in pre and post Reformation understandings of marriage. See her Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 20-23.

⁵²Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 37.

⁵³Rose, p. 101.

⁵⁴Erasmus in Nicholas Lesse, The Censure and judgement of...Erasmus: whyther dyvorsemente betwene man and wyfe stondesth with the lawe of god (London, 1550), cited in Lorna Hutson, The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 182.

⁵⁵Erasmus, in Lesse, The Censure, cited in Hutson, p. 182.

ruling that a verbal contract made between a couple without the sanction of parents or magistrate might constitute a legally binding marriage. Such marriages, which tended to be disapproved of owing to their disregard for ecclesiastical and, potentially, parental authority,⁵⁶ might be entered into for a range of reasons, one of which was liable to be mutual attraction. Couples keen hastily to consecrate in order legally to consummate their relationship might, under common law ruling, choose simply to forego the wedding ceremony. The mutuality of affection so central to the affective ideal was likely, in such circumstances, to become associated with the anarchic and the illicit.

Anxieties regarding the impact of the affective ideal on the institution of marriage spilled over into the drama in the 1570s, and inform events in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure of 1603-5, and John Webster's The Duchess of Malfi of 1613-14,⁵⁷ plays written respectively at the outset, and shortly after the breakdown, of the Jacobean union debates. Interestingly, these dramas register the kinds of trepidation about marriages made solely on the basis of a promise which inform those deployments of the marriage metaphor that make use of the words of the wedding service to indicate the importance of ratifying union by implementing further legislation than that surrounding a purely dynastic alliance.

What the Duchess describes as 'absolute marriage'⁵⁸ consists for her, as for Claudio in Measure for Measure, in a verbal acknowledgement of mutual sympathy, and

⁵⁶For contemporary attitudes towards marriages contracted per verba de presenti, see Hutson, pp. 182-183 and Rose, pp. 166-167.

⁵⁷Hutson notes it is in the 1570s that the drama begins to engage with concerns over clandestine marriage. See Hutson, p. 183. For a discussion of debates about the pre-contract and their relevance to Measure for Measure, see William Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, ed. N. W. Bawcutt (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁸John Webster, Three Plays: The White Devil, The Duchess of Malfi, The Devil's Law-case, ed. D. C. Gunby (London: Penguin Books, 1972), I.ii.395.

'tis the Church/That must but echo this' (I.ii.408-9). For both couples, the wedding service, understood as a sign of 'outward order',⁵⁹ is a mere ceremony unnecessary to the sanctioning of a shared sentiment sincerely felt by both spouses. In this respect, while the marriages of Claudio and Julietta and the Duchess and Antonio are founded on that 'most mutual' (Measure for Measure, I.ii.152) love which forms the basis of the companionate ideal, both couples nevertheless act with a kind of 'liberty' (Measure for Measure, I.iii.29) suggestive of a disregard for 'decorum' (Measure for Measure, I.iii.32). Neither pair proceed in what Erasmus considers a 'sober' manner. Furthermore, the secrecy surrounding their respective nuptials smacks of what Erasmus describes as the 'craft and giel' of the verbal contract occasioned without the 'advyse of...theyr frendes'⁶⁰ and which, he contends, is consequently ungodly. Hence, if these couples' conduct is not in itself the occasion of the instabilities which beset their marriages, it does give grounds for justifying some of the difficulties they subsequently encounter. Certainly, the vulnerability in both plays of the marriage contracted outwith church 'affirms the need for legitimating institutions and traditions.'⁶¹

What is thus intimated in Measure for Measure and The Duchess of Malfi is that, regardless of how sincere and mutual the sympathies on which they are founded, marriages contracted per verba de presenti, and not ultimately ratified through the application of ecclesiastical legislation in the form of the wedding service, are likely, either temporarily or permanently, to founder. Just such a sentiment informs those deployments of the marriage metaphor which make use of the words of the wedding service.

⁵⁹Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, ed. N. W. Bawcutt, I.ii.47.

⁶⁰Erasmus, in Lesse, The Censure, cited in Hutson, p. 182.

⁶¹Rose, p. 167.

Northampton, drawing on the notion of mutuality inherent in the companionate ideal in order to characterise the present union also, as we have seen, calls into play the belief that a verbal contract alone is insufficient to ensuring the stability of marriage. In Northampton's rhetoric, the implication that regal union must perforce be ratified by further legislation that will bind the kingdoms together in unity of law, offices and commerce, is enabled by calling into view the companionate ideal and touching on those related anxieties, aired in Measure for Measure and The Duchess of Malfi, surrounding the insufficiency of marriages made by exchanging vows alone. This is also the case in other instances where a quotation is made from the wedding service. It is telling, for example, that the marriage conceit is extended to encompass the words of the marriage service in Sir William Cornwallis's and John Thornborough's tracts, for these were known to be sympathetic to the King's desire further to ratify the regal alliance by implementing legislation that would sanction unity of offices and commercial and legal union.⁶² It is also suggestive that, when King James ordered the words of the wedding ceremony to be embossed on a united coinage, he planned for these coins to be circulated at the culmination of the debates on changing the royal style which paved the way for those discussions held between November of 1606 and July of 1607 on implementing unity of offices, law and commerce. In these tracts, as in the King's usage, the marriage metaphor's capacity to intimate the need for fuller union than the dynastic has to do with associations being made between the union debates and discussions which also inform Measure for Measure and The Duchess of Malfi, about the necessity of effecting a more

⁶²The tracts referred to are Cornwallis's The Miraculous and Happie Union of England and Scotland and Thornborough's A Discourse plainely proving the evident Utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie Union of the two famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland.

substantial marriage contract than the solely verbal. However, when considering the functions fulfilled by the marriage metaphor, it is important not to underestimate how far its coercive potential derived quite simply from its ability to provide a concrete means of conceptualising the formations of union and nation. In this respect, it is significant that the coins which carried words culled from the wedding service were timed not only to anticipate the debates on further union, but also to coincide with discussions of the change of style.

We have seen that the debate on finding a common appellation for the nascent nation highlighted the need for a shared understanding of that configuration, and that the confusions and fractiousness arising from attempts to settle on a name for Great Britain were characteristic of the ill feeling endemic to the union debates. In providing an image of union as marriage, and Britain as a structure predicated on territorial relations akin to those of the spouses in wedlock, the marriage trope afforded tangible ways of imagining 'matter[s] whereof there is no precedent.'⁶³ What proved for many quite simply unimaginable, was made manifest by this trope through an image of a familiar social event. The trope caused the structures of union and nation to seem as much part of the received order of things as was marriage itself. Indeed, the effect of associating a political event with a domestic one was to naturalise the unfamiliar configurations of union and nation, domesticating what was difficult to conceptualise, and thereby potentially dissolving the fear arising from the unfamiliar that was partly responsible for occasioning resistance to union.

However, as far as the united coins were concerned, there was to be a substantial

⁶³Anon, Hampshire Record Office, cited in Levack, 'Toward a More Perfect Union', p. 62.

delay in their release. This put paid to the possibility that their metaphorical inscription might make the concepts of union and nation more accessible, rendering them more acceptable at a time when confusions around naming and conceptualising nation were causing consternation which further fuelled resistance to union. Nothing daunted, union apologists found other means of disseminating the trope, using the court masque especially as a medium through which to circulate the image of union as a marriage. Nearly 'every court marriage important enough to be celebrated with a wedding masque at all was celebrated as a particular instance of the...wider project for uniting England and Scotland.'⁶⁴ One such masque, as noted in my introductory chapter, was Jonson's Hymenaei, 'the concept' behind which was, as John Pory put it, 'Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno...a bridegroom, proclaiming that these two should be sacrificed to Nuptial Union. And here the Poet made an apostrophe to the Union of the Kingdoms.'⁶⁵ Indeed in this, 'the most important masque of the...year...the Union of the Kingdoms was effected symbolically through the marriage of two young aristocrats from very different backgrounds.'⁶⁶ Staged at Whitehall in 1606, Hymenaei exemplifies an attempt to produce as personal the political event of unification, and to make a public circumstance particular

⁶⁴Leah. S. Marcus, 'Cymbeline and the Unease of Topicality' in The Historical Renaissance, New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 141.

⁶⁵John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, in The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, ed. John Nichols, Volume 2, (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), p. 33, cited in D. J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei' in Orgel, p. 169. Pory clearly read off the marriage metaphor in the manner that Jonson had intended and Marcus notes that other 'contemporaries took note of the political allegory [and] were able to read its essential elements.' As suggested in the previous chapter, the high profile accorded the metaphor during the union debates probably made it particularly accessible. See Marcus 'Cymbeline' in Dubrow and Strier, p. 134.

⁶⁶Marcus, 'Cymbeline', p. 134.

to the lives of individual subjects. Russell, writing a year before Jonson produced this masque, had claimed in his Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun that ‘ane personall unioun is the conjunction of personunes...mutuallie, the husband and the wyfe in mariage...the principall unioun of all, quhilk is...the unioun personall.’ In this treatise, Russell sought by association to confer upon the Jacobean union the mutual and personal qualities surrounding the relations between the sexes in a companionate understanding of marriage. In his union masque, Jonson attempts more concretely than Russell to convey the notion of the Jacobean union as a ‘unioun personall’ which partakes of the characteristics of a marriage considered in affective terms as mutual, harmonious and accessible to all who would enter into the married state. Indeed, by having the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard figure the kingdoms in union, Jonson actualises the marriage metaphor. Localising Anglo-Scots alliance in the persons of two courtiers who function in turn as signs of the institution of wedlock serves to collapse the general event of union into a particular marriage which itself figures any and every possible wedding ever made between two subjects. Accordingly, with the local rendered imaginatively inhabitable by all those who have ever experienced, or aspire to enter into, wedlock, the unprecedented configurations of union and nation are conveyed in terms which vividly impart to these unfamiliar formations the complexion of the ‘personall.’⁶⁷

Beyond simply familiarising, and thereby potentially eroding resistance to union, the marriage metaphor is made here to resolve difficulties posed by difference. The masque’s presiding deity is Juno. Her name can, ‘by a lucky anagram be construed as

⁶⁷Russell, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun, in Galloway and Levack, p. 85.

Unio',⁶⁸ which plays on the idea of union, but also of unity in the sense of wholeness and a kind of completion within which what is potentially divisive is dissolved.⁶⁹ The couple's respective Calvinist and Catholic affiliations, for instance, are shown to prove no more a bar to union than, it is intimated, should the distinct histories of England and Scotland. Just as tensions are resolved when Juno marries Howard and Essex so, is the suggestion, harmony will arise when the kingdoms are firmly and fully aligned. To this end, the lovers' progression into the married state is made synonymous with the passage of the two kingdoms from erstwhile positions of independence to a stance in which, having like the loving couple been united by the play's presiding deity, the two realms similarly become one social unit.

The concord of the present yields intimations of future fecundity when the masque playfully puns:

Though yet some space doth them divide,

This happy night must both make one

Blest sacrifice to Union...

So for their race, join man and wife.⁷⁰

In the context of the metaphorical application of marriage to Anglo-Scots alliance, the word 'race' plays on the notion that procreation is the preserve at once of the happy couple and of the two realms. Having likewise been united by Juno, England and Scotland

⁶⁸D. J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei' in *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. S. Orgel, p. 173.

⁶⁹For the range of meanings accruing to Juno's name in the masque, and corresponding understandings of union as oneness and wholeness in the union tracts of Thornborough, Hayward and Gordon, see D. J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei', pp. 158-159 and 172.

⁷⁰*Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. S. Orgel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 81.

are similarly destined to engender a new race, that emerging breed of Britons whose allegiance will no longer be solely to these two territories, but rather to a united nation. In this respect, Hymenaei shares with several of the union tracts the view that marriage will be central to inducing on both sides of the border a felt experience of 'Britishness.'⁷¹ Furthermore, we find intimations here of the nation being figured as a child which, as we shall see in our discussion of The Winter's Tale and when we come to consider Macbeth in Chapter Three, was a type of representation made in the drama especially to generate meanings around Britain and attitudes towards it. In Jonson's masque then, marriage, understood in terms of mutuality and harmony, is conceived along the lines of the affective ideal which informs the other uses of the marriage trope considered in our discussion so far. As in those other deployments of the metaphor, by resonating with a companionate understanding of marriage, the trope emphasises positive aspects of alliance, thereby allaying anxieties about plans to implement further forms of union than the purely regal. It is important, however, to recognise that as far as the concept of the companionate marriage was concerned, concessions to mutuality did not equate with any concomitant dismantling of patriarchy. Indeed, adequately to understand the operations of the marriage metaphor, we need to recognise the centrality to the meanings made available by this figure of fundamental contradictions in the companionate notion of marriage. When we explore further what mutuality actually means in contemporary conduct literature, we find

⁷¹In the case of the union tracts it is intermarriage between English and the Scots which is viewed as the occasion that will produce in future generations neither the sense of a solely English nor Scottish national identity, but a more broadly British sense of self. The case for engendering a feeling of Britishness by effecting marriages between the citizens of either kingdom is argued by John Doddridge in his A Brief Consideration of the Union, and in the anonymous Rapta Tatio which anticipates that 'many will be marriages in time, to make our nation fully one.' Rapta Tatio, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 187.

that acknowledgements of shared sympathy continually collapse into assertions of male precedence. Consequently, parity is not what is being promoted when contemporaries call upon the notion of reciprocity that informs the companionate view of wedlock. This in turn has important ramifications for the kind of cultural work performed by the marriage figure. Within an affective understanding of marriage, even as the wife was elevated to the status of active participant in the relationship, she was simultaneously denigrated to the position of man's subordinate. This meant that ultimately the marriage trope, having recourse to this domestic ideal, located Anglo-Scots relations in a superiority/subordination matrix of the kind central to the discourse of suzerainty. In fact, the most compelling aspect of the marriage metaphor, as far as contemporaries were concerned, was liable to have been its capacity to revivify suzerainty without relinquishing a rhetoric of 'love'⁷² appropriate to a union apparently based on amity rather than conquest. To explore this contention further, it is necessary to demonstrate that the affective ideal was informed by a reductive perception of woman's status in wedlock. Having ascertained the extent to which a power relation underpins the companionate vision, it will be possible more fully to engage with the ramifications of associations made by the marriage metaphor between the woman's relations with her spouse in marriage, and Scotland's interaction with England in union and the nascent formation of a British nation.



While much has been made of the importance assumed by arguments for spiritual equality

⁷²Doddridge, A Breif Consideracion, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 105.

between the sexes in humanist and Protestant re-evaluations of the marital relation, it has also been shown that claims for spiritual equality did not ameliorate secular inequalities any more than acknowledgements of mutuality and reciprocity dismantled patriarchy.⁷³ Woman may increasingly have been afforded, in Erasmus's words, 'equality as a member [with man] of Christ',⁷⁴ but husbands are time and again exhorted in conduct literature 'to excell in vertue, and...gouverne their wiues by example.'⁷⁵ Such discrepancies are found also within the companionate view of marriage. According to the terms of that ideal, the spouses may be co-participants in their marriage (being, as Henry Smith put it in 1591, 'partners like two owners in one boat'), but this does not mean that woman is not simultaneously considered as 'under officer in his Common weale.'⁷⁶ '[H]usband and wife are...joynt companions' in the 'one estate' of matrimony, but husbands are nonetheless accorded what Robert Pricke describes in his Doctrine of Superioritie and of Subjection of 1609 as the 'authoritie' to 'gouverne and...order [the wife] in all things.'⁷⁷ As is evident from these examples, 'attention to the affective side of marriage did not alter its emotional

⁷³S. Marshall Wyntjes's and Juliette Dusinberre's argument that the Protestant notion of spiritual equality between the sexes enabled women greater freedom is refuted by Lisa Jardine. Jordan likewise points out that an analysis of Protestant treatises often shows that those writers who most emphasise spiritual and 'moral equality between husband and wife' tend also to be those who 'see no need to alter the customary relations between them.' See Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (New York and London: Harvester, 1983), pp. 42-42 and Jordan, p. 287.

⁷⁴Erasmus, cited in Jordan, p. 22.

⁷⁵William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties (London, 1622), cited in Rose, p. 127.

⁷⁶Henry Smith, A Preparative to Marriage (London, 1591), cited in Lena Cowen Orlin 'Familial Transgressions. Societal Transition on the Elizabethan Stage' in Sexuality and Politics in Renaissance Drama, eds. Carole Levin and Karen Robertson (Lewiston and Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), p. 29.

⁷⁷Robert Pricke, Doctrine of Superioritie and Subjection (1609), cited in Jordan, pp. 287-288.

character: husbands were to control wives [l]ove and devotion were important but they were still elicited in relations between a superior and his subordinate.⁷⁸ Thus Thomas Gataker, in his Marriage Duties Briefly Couched Together of 1620, ‘stresses mutual love and its expression in common desires [yet] no topic concerns him more than the wife’s subjection.’⁷⁹ Indeed, endemic to Protestant commentary on marriage is a paradoxical logic whereby a rhetoric of inclusiveness slides imperceptibly into a language of consolidation.⁸⁰

Nowhere is this more apparent than in William Perkins’s Christian Oeconomie of 1618. Here, the family occasioned by the event of matrimony is understood as a ‘society of certaine persons, having mutuall relation one to another, under the...government of one.’⁸¹ The so called ‘mutual relations’ between spouses gives way immediately to a set of power relations in which, so extensively is the man granted precedence, that the woman is effectively obscured, her presence in the family effaced and that institution rendered synonymous solely with ‘one’ figure, the husband. What such evidence demonstrates is that, within ‘the idealised notion of ‘partnership in mutuality’, mutuality is conceived in contradictory ways, with marriage being ‘an equal partnership [in which] some partners are more equal than others.’⁸²

⁷⁸Jordan, p. 287.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 290.

⁸⁰For a discussion of the way in which, in Protestant treatments of the wife’s relations to her husband, a language of parity consistently collapses into one of control, see Rose, pp. 128-131.

⁸¹Perkins, Christian Oeconomie (1618), translated by Thomas Pickering, Works, Volume 3, cited in Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), p. 143.

⁸²Jardine, p. 48.

Given how extensively the marriage metaphor resonates, as we have seen, with the companionate understanding of marriage, the contradictions endemic to that conception of domestic relations are liable to inform the figuration of Anglo-Scots relations promoted by the metaphor. Most obviously, were Scotland to feature as England's wife, its relationship to the latter in union would be likely to partake of the kinds of discrepancies whereby, presented as co-participant in a marriage understood, in Erasmus's words, as 'a society of equals', she is actually produced as 'the weaker' party who cedes 'all the authority [to her] husband.'⁸³ The effect of such a figuration would be to fashion a nation in which, as in Perkins's concept of domesticity, the participants have 'mutuall relation one to another.' Mutuality, however, would be understood as 'government of one'⁸⁴ with patriarchy, in this instance, signifying government by, and from, England. Accordingly, while foregrounding harmonious aspects of Anglo-Scots alliance by reverberating with the notions of reciprocity and shared sympathy that surrounded the companionate understanding of matrimony, the marriage trope would effectively advocate the implementation of suzerainty as the basis of a British state. Indeed, once England is presented as the husband who obscures the wife in the familial relation, the former is simultaneously projected as occluding Scotland in the configuration of Great Britain.

While the marriage trope is seldom structured in such a way as clearly to denote which kingdom is assigned the position of which spouse, this does not mean that Scotland is not implicitly ascribed the woman's part. The context in which the metaphor arises is crucial to determining the gender tacitly accorded either kingdom and, consequently, the

⁸³Erasmus, *Institutio matrimonii christiani*, cited in Jordan, p. 61.

⁸⁴Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, cited in Belsey, p. 143.

kind of vision of Anglo-Scots relations purveyed by the trope. The assumptions informing the understanding of Anglo-Scots relations in the text or context in which the trope occurs often suggest that Scotland is positioned as the wife. Thornborough, for instance, utilises the marriage metaphor in both his union tracts without specifically presenting Scotland as wife. That he argues strongly in both texts for a legal union is, however, suggestive. With legal union seen 'in terms of Scots submission to English law',⁸⁵ Scotland is expected here to accept the role of the submissive partner in the alliance and thus to relate to England in union after the fashion of the wife to the husband in marriage. Indeed, legal union was seized upon as a basis through which England might restake the claim to ownership of Scotland which, outlined in the discourse of suzerainty, determined Scotland must give up its sovereignty, just as in wedlock woman was expected to 'give herself wholly to [her husband] as her owner.'⁸⁶

In Thornborough's union tracts then, the context in which the marriage trope occurs implicitly imparts to Scotland the woman's role in a territorial alliance portrayed as a marriage. Such was also the case in King James's rhetoric when, in 1607, he informed the English parliament that 'Union is a marriage' and the kingdoms must 'kisse...and be...in one bedde together.'⁸⁷ Here, the King no more designated Scotland the wife than had Thornborough before him. However, the King's attitude to Scotland is once again such that it is tacitly positioned as the woman in its relations with England, for the latter is understood as the dominant party in their alliance, a circumstance made clear when King

⁸⁵Galloway, The Union, p. 39.

⁸⁶Anon, cited in Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women, Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p. 54.

⁸⁷King James, from a speech of 1607, cited in Enright, 'King James and his island', p. 39.

James elsewhere argued that England was the 'husband', Scotland the 'wife.' Unusually, in this instance Scotland was explicitly designated as wife, and the attendant ramifications for the metaphor's vision of Anglo-Scots relations also spelt out when the King assured England's parliament that, as far as Scotland's was concerned, 'You are to be the husband, they the wife; you conquerors, they as conquered.' The effect of departing from the tendency to let context provide the clue to the metaphorical gendering of the kingdoms is to lay bare the discourse of control that most often informs the operations of the marriage metaphor. Presenting Scotland, like the woman in her relations with her husband, as 'conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond'⁸⁸ of love, the King on this occasion allowed parliament to recognise the degree to which marriage was being used as a means of advocating suzerainty as the basis of a British nation. Understandably, any such overt figuring of Scotland as wife, or explaining of the consequences accruing to that figuration, tended to be avoided, for, as we see here, to be so explicit was to expose the extent to which sexual politics were being employed to advocate a political settlement advantageous to England.

To understand why the King should make the metaphor so overtly assert England's precedence, we need to take into account the context in which the utterance was made. Before doing so it is, however, worth briefly considering some of the ways in which contemporary thinking about Scotland's relations with England concurs with attitudes concerning the relations between women and men. Establishing areas of convergence in current thinking about Scotland and women generates further evidence in support of the contention that Scotland tends implicitly to be envisaged as the woman in

⁸⁸King James, address to the English parliament in 1607, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 27.

most deployments of the marriage metaphor.

Reflections on legal union, stimulated by Sir Edwin Sandys's proposal that the kingdoms enter into what he termed the 'perfect union',⁸⁹ occasioned claims regarding Scotland's inferiority to England. These were used to support arguments generated during the parliamentary session of 1606-7 for implementing suzerainty as the basis of a British state. Many of the reasons afforded for viewing Scotland as inferior, and hence founding union on English precedence, correspond with arguments put forward for women's inferiority and thus for patriarchy providing the best foundation for matrimony. Sandys may have articulated the terms of the perfect union, but the premise underpinning the notion 'underlay most of the English tracts of 1603-5.'⁹⁰ The idea of a perfect union was predicated on the belief that Scotland should acknowledge the superiority of English laws and institutions, accept the imperfections of its own legal and governmental apparatuses, and assume in union a position comparable to that of the wife in her relations with her spouse of the 'inferior partner [to] be absorbed into a greater England.'⁹¹ Sometimes couched in a language of 'weakness' and 'strength',⁹² Scotland's lesser status was often understood straightforwardly in economic terms. The case for viewing Scotland as financially weaker than England, and thus requiring union with a country whose comparatively strong economy would bolster its own frailer financial structure, is most

⁸⁹Galloway, The Union, p. 115.

⁹⁰Galloway and Levack, p. xxxvi.

⁹¹Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 27.

⁹²The terms are used, for example, by Pont who reflects in his Of the Union that 'the stronger ever draweth to itself the weaker; and the rule of law is, that the accessarie ever followeth the nature of the principall. Therefore their is an addition of the Scottish as of the lesse to the English kingdome, the mightier.' See Pont, in Galloway and Levack, p. 27.

strenuously argued by Spelman in his Of the Union and most ardently refuted by the anonymous Scottish author of A Treatise about the Union of Scotland and England. Beyond these economic distinctions, however, a range of perceived differences contributed to the idea of Scotland as weak and England strong.

As well as frequently being considered impoverished in a financial sense, Scotland was often thought to lack England's more civilised ways. On the whole, it was Scotland's Highlanders who tended to be viewed as more 'barbarous'⁹³ than the English. But that status was sometimes also, as we shall see in Chapter Three, accorded to the Lowlanders. Our concluding discussion of Macbeth will take into consideration contemporary perceptions of England as civilized, Scotland as savage, concomitant associations with Protestant and Catholic affiliations, and the impact of such identifications on ideas about Scotland's relations with England in an emergent nation. For our present purposes, we need simply note the ease with which, as far as Scotland was concerned, the condition of financial poverty shaded into that of incivility. Craig, for instance, felt the need to defend his countrymen in his De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus from charges of 'poverty, barbarity [and] cannibalism.'⁹⁴ Evidently, the 'image of the Scot as the ferocious barbarian...was...firmly implanted in English opinion'⁹⁵ by the 1600s, with Craig and his compatriots accused not merely of lacking capital, but also cultured mores. Indeed, it was because the Scots were associated with an appetitive savagery that might occasion an

⁹³Pont, Of the Union, in Galloway and Levack, p. 18.

⁹⁴Galloway, The Union, p. 52.

⁹⁵W. R. Jones 'England Against the Celtic Fringe: A Study in Cultural Stereotypes', Journal of World History, 13 (1971), 161.

intemperate bloodlust that they were denounced as cannibals and, more often, regicides.⁹⁶

Culturally typing the Scots as ‘a people of [a] humour’⁹⁷ predisposed to ‘cruelty’⁹⁸ usefully produced them as subjects requiring the constraining influence of an England understood as of greater civility. By the same token, the view that woman’s cranium was shaped in a manner that did ‘not allow humours to escape hence subject[ing the] brain...to passions’⁹⁹ which might occasion intemperate, appetitive behaviour, legitimated the controlling intervention of a supposedly more temperate force in the form of the dominant male. Where women were concerned, intervention took the form of patriarchy which might be effected through matrimony whereas, in Scotland’s case, it took the shape of suzerainty to be instituted by means of a perfect union. Indeed, if perfect union was presented as providing a happy solution to what were posited as the natural differences between the ‘weaker’ northern realm and its ‘stronger’ southern neighbour, marriage tended to be portrayed as harmoniously synthesising what Plato described as the ‘comparative strength or weakness’ of ‘men and women.’¹⁰⁰ The Scots were encouraged to recognise, as Pont put it, that in a perfect union they would ‘live under the shadow and protection of the English’ who, he assures his readers, ‘seek not to have the Scots in thrall

⁹⁶Sir Christopher Piggot, for instance, famously denounced the Scots during the naturalisation debates of February-April 1607 on the grounds that ‘[t]hey have not suffered above two kings to die in their beds, these two hundred years. Our king hath hardly escaped them.’ Piggot, cited in Galloway, *The Union*, p. 104. Regicide, which forms the pivotal action of *Macbeth*, is here also associated with the Scottish court, the political upheaval in which is sharply contrasted with the stability of King Edward’s state.

⁹⁷Savile, *Historicall Collections*, in Galloway and Levack, p. 206.

⁹⁸Jones, p. 159.

⁹⁹Maclean, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰Plato, *The Republic*, cited in Jordan, p. 33.

and subjection, but with them to live in...concord and mutuall amity [in which] the inferior yieldeth to the superior.¹⁰¹ Similarly, women were exhorted in Perkins's conduct manual to enter into the 'mutual relation' of matrimony in which, as we have seen, 'mutuality' was understood as 'government by one', with the husband viewed as the principle, his wife the lesser partner.¹⁰²

Hence, just as in Pont's treatise mutual amity between Scotland and England collapses into an inferior Scotland yielding to a superior England, so in Perkins's manual the mutual relation of woman to man in wedlock comprises government by the male. What such evidence suggests is that the husband's perceived strength accords him in patriarchal discourse the greater power in his relations with his wife reserved, in the Anglocentric discourse of suzerainty, for England in its relations with Scotland. Accordingly, the place assigned Scotland in the debate on union, and particularly on perfect union, corresponds closely with that which was allocated woman in patriarchal theory generally, and in conduct literature especially. This in turn indicates that, as far as the marriage metaphor's articulation of the relations of the realms in union was concerned, it was Scotland rather than England that was likely to be tacitly understood as the woman in the rhetorical equation.

Such, indeed, was the case in 1604, when the Earl of Nottingham, choosing from six designs put forward for a Union Jack, proposed that the fifth was 'the...fittest for this is the man and wyfe without blemish [one] on the other.'¹⁰³ Attempts to select a design were causing tensions in Anglo-Scots relations owing to the visual precedence granted the

¹⁰¹Pont, *Of the Union*, cited in Galloway and Levack, pp. 28-29 and 31.

¹⁰²Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie*, cited in Belsey, p. 143.

¹⁰³The Earl of Nottingham, cited in Galloway, *The Union*, p. 82.

St. George's cross in each of the six prospective images. The fifth, in which England's and Scotland's crosses stand side by side, was the only one in which the saltire was not utterly dwarfed by the cross of St. George. However, Nottingham's choice was nonetheless 'Anglocentric [because] the St. Andrew's cross...occupies an inferior position on the fly',¹⁰⁴ being placed furthest from the staff which, in heraldic terms, is the less honourable position. What is interesting for our purposes is that, in this instance, through a subtle gendering of the kingdoms, the marriage metaphor serves to reinforce the positioning of Scotland as the inferior, less powerful party in the newly formed nation. Indeed, while Nottingham appears to suggest a parity of placement between the two crosses in the fifth design, in speaking of the relationship of man and wife in the context of comparing the placement of the St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses, he nevertheless tacitly situates England as husband, Scotland as wife. Accordingly, the latter's relations with the former are rendered akin to woman's with man in marriage, and the power relation in which the husband assumes precedence in wedlock carried over to England's relations with Scotland in the nation symbolised by the Union Jack.

In the same year as Nottingham, Russell too implicitly ascribed to Scotland the woman's part in his deployment of the marriage metaphor. However, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun might be viewed as teasing out the ramification of that fashioning in a subtle refutation of the implications of the designation. As it is employed in this text, the trope resonates with arguments for viewing woman as other than innately inferior and founding marriage on greater equality between the spouses.

Gouge's admission that the public took exception to the way in which he

¹⁰⁴Galloway, The Union, p. 83.

articulated the terms of wifely subjection in his Of Domesticall Duties is indicative of the availability of alternative understandings of the relations between spouses than those we have considered in our discussion so far.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the legitimising of patriarchy as the basis of matrimony through recourse to arguments about women's natural inferiority had been challenged by Henry Cornelius Agrippa in his De nobilitate et praecellentia feminei sexus. Written in the 1530s and rapidly translated into English, Agrippa's text considers 'Unjust Laws [and] foolish Customs' to be the circumstance which has caused women's 'liberties' to be 'retrencht'¹⁰⁶ and not their own innate fallibility. Where Agrippa challenged assumptions about women that helped to consolidate male hegemony, Martin Le Franc called attention to the discrepancy in companionate theory whereby mutuality invariably slides into male precedence and, by the 1680s, John Shirley was 'mak[ing] explicit connections between physical conquest and slavery and the domestic abuse of subordination.'¹⁰⁷ When Russell deploys the marriage metaphor, it is to pinpoint problems in perceptions of union that derive meaning from the kinds of difficulties seen to pertain to gender relations, and especially marital relations, in the work of writers such as these who voiced concern over women's plight in patriarchy.

Russell's is one of the most impassioned of the union tracts, its motivation

¹⁰⁵For a discussion of the basis of objections to Gouge's conduct manual, see Fitz, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁶Henry Cornelius Agrippa, De nobilitate et praecellentia feminei sexus, cited in Margaret J. M. Ezell, The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987), p. 57. It is worth noting that Linda Woodbridge disputes the sincerity of Agrippa's feminism, finding his claims for women's superiority 'suspiciously rhetorical.' See Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620 (Brighton: Harvester, 1984), p. 38.

¹⁰⁷Ezell, p. 60.

throughout being to resist the implementation of suzerainty. Having, like Agrippa in his discussion of women, refuted the cultural typing of the Scots as inferior, Russell goes on to argue that union is akin to marriage. Regal union ensures the kingdoms ‘be unit be mariage’ and union in its broadest form is as ‘the conjunction of...the husband and the wyfe in mariage.’ However, unlike that marriage which purports ‘to be mutall and reciproque’ but actually involves ‘the translation of the estait of ane...in ane uther...the ane to be principall, the uther accessor, the ane to command, the uther to obey’, this alliance must be founded on ‘plaine paritie.’ Equality, Russell contends, will be ensured when England recognises Scotland’s sovereignty is encoded in its laws and institutions, and that these must hence remain intact in the event of any further union than the regal being implemented. ‘Lett...conformitie’, he declares, be achieved ‘uithout alteratioun of our estait.’

To establish the importance of Scotland retaining sovereignty within unity, Russell outlines the consequences for Scotland of relinquishing sovereignty, the most important of which is that the so called ‘mutual and reciproque’ match will ‘tend...to magnifie the ane, prejudge the uther, Ingland to joyis all, Scotland in effect nathing.’¹⁰⁸ The notion articulated here of a match in which ‘mutuality’ is contradictorily conceptualised as hierarchy was elsewhere voiced by Le Franc, who pointed out that although ‘God instituted society in the first couple, who walked “arm in arm” so that they might live “as one”, the hierarchical order, consisting of a superior husband and a

¹⁰⁸Russell redefines the notion that England is richer than Scotland when he concedes that, although the former is wealthier, the latter’s is a richer historical legacy, Scotland being ‘mair ancienne nor Ingland.’ He also turns the notion of the regicidal Scot on its head when he argues that King James is safer north than south of the border. See Russell, *Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun*, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 89, 101, 85, 84, 99, 98.

subordinate wife, perverts the whole idea of walking “arm in arm.”¹⁰⁹ Just such a perversion is what Russell anticipates in a union based on suzerainty which, aspiring to be ‘mutuall’, in effect makes ‘of Scotland [a] subalterne.’ Within such a union there can, Russell contends, be no lasting harmony but rather ‘plaine discord.’ The reason for that discontent is the ‘obedience’ required from Scotland in a match in which it is implicitly imagined as the woman who ‘ressave[s] schame, and amit[s] hir ancienne beautie’ because made ‘ane slave, furth of libertie in bondage and servitude.’

Here, Russell envisages Scotland’s lot in a union predicated on precedence after the manner of Shirley, who would later understand woman’s position in matrimony as akin to slavery. Indeed, throughout this tract, union is imagined along the lines of the marriage of equality, rather than in terms of what Le Franc pointed out was the contradictory conception of a mutuality founded upon hierarchy. Instead of countenancing ‘ane suddaine mutatioun of ane kingdome in ane uther, in ane moment, bruiking friedome of befoir and now redactit in bondage’, Russell on the contrary holds out for a ‘unioun’ of ‘paritie’ in which there will be no ‘alteratioun of...estait’ for a Scotland implicitly positioned as the wife in the alliance. Should policy be proposed which would ensure a union advantageous to England, Scotland had better, Russell argues, remain ‘without the...support of’ a partner than be rendered England’s ‘subalterne.’

The prospect of Scotland accepting a union based on suzerainty is thus envisaged by Russell in the same terms as were reserved by the likes of Agrippa, Le Franc and Shirley for their discussions of woman’s lot in patriarchy, in which the wife’s integrity is

¹⁰⁹Martin Le Franc, Le Champion des dames, in Arthur Piaget, Memoires et Documents Publies par la Societe d’Histoires de la Suisre Romande, 8 (Lausanne: Payot, 1968), cited in Jordan, p. 93.

felt to be violated, just as for Russell Scotland ‘ressaves schame, and amits hir...beautie’¹¹⁰ in a union based on precedence. It is unlikely, however, that Russell consciously framed his protest against a union advantageous to England within the terms of prevailing opposition to patriarchy. Rather, he probably made use of the metaphorical language of union as marriage because it was readily available, being keenly topical, and extended the conceit in directions which happened to intersect with ongoing considerations of women and the relations of the sexes in wedlock.

Altogether more strategic was King James’s decision to deploy the trope so as explicitly to designate Scotland as wife, thereby allowing its relations with England in union to be understood as those of ‘conqueror’ and ‘conquered.’¹¹¹ The very aberrance of the King’s utterance, in its outright figuring of Scotland as female, marks out as meaningful his gendering of the kingdoms. As we have seen, purveyors of the metaphor tend only ever implicitly to position Scotland as wife. Attendant associations with conquest were never, moreover, so baldly stated. After all, to do as much would be to risk affronting the Scots, further fuelling their anxieties about union which this trope, and related languages of ‘love’,¹¹² were partly designed to allay. Either the King’s designation on this occasion must thus be understood as a political gaffe, or another explanation is required. Inadequate as an interpretation is that the King desired to clarify the meaning of the metaphor for, in a period in which ‘meaning hovered between equivalence and

¹¹⁰Russell, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 84, 89, 99, 89, 84, 89, 99, 89, 84, 89.

¹¹¹King James, address to the English Parliament in 1607, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 27.

¹¹²Doddridge, A Breif Consideracion, cited in Levack, The Formation of the British State, p. 105.

metaphor',¹¹³ this seems unlikely (we have, for instance, seen how readily Pory discerned the metaphorical application of marriage to unification when interpreting Hymenaei).

The King's departure from the tendency to let context provide the clue to the gendering of the kingdoms can be explained more plausibly than as either a political blunder or felt need for explication. His blatant designation of Scotland as wife and articulation of what this means for its place in a British state was made in circumstances which necessitated the kind of elaboration of the metaphor whereby what was usually left latent was made manifest. The King's overt figuring of Scotland as wife is best understood as a politic handling of the marriage trope in a manner designed to ameliorate the kinds of anxieties causing England's parliament to resist implementing further forms of union than the regal. The King's utterance was made in an address to the English parliament in the session of 1606-7, during which fears over the footing on which Anglo-Scots relations would be conducted in a British nation reached hitherto unprecedented levels. The debates over union conducted during this session were permeated by an imagined threat of Scottish invasion and that further unification would see the Scots exerting undue influence on national policy. Symbolic, possibly also rhetorical, and certainly legal measures designed to dispel distrust by dissolving the sense of difference currently proving so divisive within Anglo-Scots relations, had only served to exacerbate existing tension.

Latterly, the King had advocated renaming the Border region the 'Middle Shires' in the hope symbolically of 'remov[ing] the difference' by rendering the realms as if 'one

¹¹³E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1943), p. 107.

people [and] members of one body.¹¹⁴ Together with the figuring of the kingdoms as twins, union as a ‘commixture of bodies’,¹¹⁵ and plans afoot to naturalise Scots in England, this symbolic gesture was meant to inculcate in both peoples a sense of their similarities. With points of identification established, it was hoped that the felt experience of difference might be dissolved. However, these symbolic gestures, rhetoric, and naturalisation policy, merely fuelled apprehensions that, compounding England with Scotland, the union would allow one to absorb the other.

Where the English tended to react to such fears by anticipating invasion and a consequent effacement of their identity and sovereignty, the Scots more often predicted annexation as the occasion that would precipitate a realisation of the same eventuality. The reiterated image of drowning in English union pamphlets testifies to the worry that union would see England awash with, and finally overcome by, a sea of Scots. Occurring in Spelman’s Of the Union and Sir Henry Savile’s Historical Collections, the image is substituted in Sir John Doddridge’s A Breif Consideracion of the Unyon for that of one kingdom being ‘surrounded in the other.’¹¹⁶ More at ease than most of his contemporaries with the idea of a union of equality, Doddridge may have wished to play down a metaphor which implied that union would incite the Scots, like a wave in a storm, to burst the boundary of the border and spill over into England, effacing that kingdom. The drowning image occurs most frequently in those portions of English union tracts given over to

¹¹⁴King James, A Proclamation for the Uniting of England and Scotland (Greenwich, 1603), cited in Stuart Royal Proclamations, eds. J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes, Volume I, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 18 and 19.

¹¹⁵Francis Bacon, A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (London, 1603), in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. James Spedding, Volume 10, (London: Longmans, 1868), p. 92.

¹¹⁶Doddridge, A Brief Consideracion, in Galloway and Levack, p. 148.

discussing the change of name. Savile, for instance, progresses from considering the prospect of one kingdom's name being 'drowned' within the other's, to discussing a prophecy foretelling the 'Scotts...should rule over [the English] to their undeserved confusion.'¹¹⁷ Similarly, Spelman worries that a change of style will see the 'honorable name of England' being 'drownde' in a 'Britannia' within which the Scots 'shall...be mastis.'

Concluding his tract by arguing that the 'English ar our family' and the Scots foreigners, Spelman seeks to reestablish points of demarcation, without which he anticipates the Scots will 'Mak...free of Englande.' 'What', he asks, 'will be the sequele?', a rhetorical question to which he readily supplies the predictable answer of mastery. The thrust of the argument here, as in Savile's tract, is towards promoting the necessity of retaining some kind of border, both in the literal sense and in the psychological sense of adopting and maintaining an attitude which distinguishes and discriminates between the two realms. Only in this way, these tracts imply, will the Scots be prevented from drowning out their partner in union. Indeed, Spelman actually links his drowning metaphor with the need for a border to be retained when he argues that it 'is good wisdom to look in tyme to the bankes and shures, leaste more water be lett in by one Parliament then can be well governed in many.'¹¹⁸

As far as Scottish writers were concerned, anxiety that the alliance would witness the dissolution of one kingdom within the other more often caused union to be understood in terms of annexation. Robert Blair, who contends that as 'for the embodying of Scotland

¹¹⁷Savile, Historicall Collections, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 200 and 209.

¹¹⁸Spelman, Of the Union, in Galloway and Levack, pp. 170, 177, 175, 184.

with England, it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk that hath eaten it up',¹¹⁹ imagines Scotland ingested by its voracious neighbour in a union considered as an act of imperial aggression. Likewise Russell, declaring that 'in my judgement thair is na countrey...may bettir lieve within thameselffis without the aide and support of any forrane countrey, than Scotland',¹²⁰ implicitly valorises remaining, as he puts it, within oneself, rather than becoming, in Blair's words, 'embodied'¹²¹ in another. Both these writers envisage independence as a virtue and convergence as potentially effecting a dismantling of sovereignty. Implicit in both their positions is the suggestion that, to prevent annexation, it is necessary, as is tacitly indicated also by Spelman and Savile, to retain points of demarcation.

The tendency variously to envisage union as enabling English imperialism or a drowning out of self by the Scottish 'other' could not be further from the vision, promoted within official union discourse, of the kingdoms happily 'commix[ing]'¹²² in one harmonious whole. Yet that vision simply fuelled the desire to retain distinctions between Scotland and England, and particularly such as, from England's point of view, would enable it to hold its partner in check while assuming for itself a position of supremacy in an emergent Britain. When, addressing the English parliament in 1607, King James explicitly figured Scotland as wife, he arguably sought rhetorically to accommodate that desire.

¹¹⁹Robert Blair, cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 174.

¹²⁰Russell, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun, in Galloway and Levack, p. 89.

¹²¹Blair, cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 174.

¹²²Bacon, A Brief Discourse, in Spedding, p. 92.

Unlike the tropes of the kingdoms as twins, or two independent bodies transformed through union into one composite entity, the marriage metaphor articulated the notion that the founding principle of union was not ultimately similarity, but difference. After all, the matrimonial relation was necessarily based on the difference of sex. Indeed, whether understood after the manner of Agrippa, who argues that the ‘true distinction of the Sexes, consists meerly in the different site of those parts of the body, wherein Generation necessarily requires a Diversity’,¹²³ or considered in terms of broader divergences in disposition, difference was fundamental to the ways in which contemporaries imagined the sexes and the relations between them. Faced with an English parliament alarmed by the prospect of convergence inducing such extensive similarity as might efface sovereignty, the King, portraying England as husband, Scotland as wife, fashioned the former in a manner that rendered it as distinctive from the latter as was woman from man. He thereby projected a sense of difference between the two realms and, in so doing, spoke to parliament’s desire for demarcation, yet did so, importantly, without relinquishing the notion of alliance encapsulated in the image of matrimony. In addition, by explicitly figuring Scotland as wife and articulating the consequences of that figuration for the nature of Anglo-Scots relations in a British nation, he addressed England’s fear that Scotland might get the upper hand in that formation. In effect, by overtly designating Scotland the woman in the match, the King was able to advocate that the two realms be as differently positioned in relation to the balance of power in the newly formed nation as were the spouses in wedlock, with Scotland held subject to England in union after the manner of woman to man in matrimony.

¹²³Agrippa, *De nobilitate et praecellentia feminei sexus*, cited in Ezell, p. 57.

The vision of Britain offered here is that which Russell most feared, and the language of love through which it is articulated proves the means of allowing England to do what Russell dreaded; namely to ‘obtein hat quhilk they have socht lang be armes, and could nevir attein tharito.’¹²⁴ Couching control in a rhetoric of love, the King ‘govern[s] Scotland’ if not, as he put it elsewhere, ‘with my pen’,¹²⁵ then at least with a figure that was often deployed to contain that kingdom. How far the Scots realised that marriage was being made metaphorically to work in this way is unclear. It is perhaps suggestive that the Scottish parliament responded to King James’s vision, outlined to England’s parliament in 1606, of a union in which Scotland would be ‘united to England, as the principal...joined in a perpetual marriage’,¹²⁶ by warning their King that Scotland ‘sould not be so disordourit and maid confusit by turneing of it, in place of a trew and friendlie Unioun, into a conquered and slavische province.’¹²⁷ Whether or not the Three Estates realised that fashioning Scotland as wife might serve to consolidate that earlier figuring of their country as homager, the King himself does seem to have been alert to the fact that, in deploying the marriage metaphor, he might speak a language fitting to the circumstances of peaceable alliance without relinquishing the rhetoric of ownership so beloved of his English subjects. It was perhaps for this reason that the marriage trope found such favour with the recently invested sovereign, whose relations with his English

¹²⁴Russell, Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun, cited in Galloway and Levack, p. 99.

¹²⁵King James, from a speech adjourning parliament in 1607, cited in C. V. Wedgwood, ‘Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1603-40’, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 32 (1950), 31.

¹²⁶King James, from a speech to Parliament in 1606, cited in Ferguson, p. 102.

¹²⁷Letter from the three Estates, August 1607, Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1877), cited in C. V. Wedgwood, p. 34.

parliament were strained. Yet, while the trope does feature most often in King James's speeches and proclamations, and was sanctioned by the sovereign to be imprinted on the union currency, it was no more invented by James Stewart than was the broader project for union itself.

While arguably the most pressing reason for the marriage metaphor's popularity during the Jacobean union debates was its ability to allay English anxieties that union would mean any dissipation of its power, or failure to achieve supremacy in a British polity, anxiety on this count was neither peculiar to, nor solely occasioned by, current deliberations of unification. Such trepidation predates the period of entry into a united nation. The Elizabethan Succession Debate, which lasted from approximately 1560 to 1603, was conducted in light of a potential Scottish succession occurring, an eventuality that led many in England to anticipate a union which might subject England to Scottish and Papal domination. Interestingly, the first notable deployment of the marriage metaphor occurs in Robert Greene's The Scottish History of James IV, which was written around 1591 in the aftermath of the most intense period of speculation about a Stewart monarch claiming the English throne. It was, indeed, the drama that was most fully to develop the marriage conceit, with Greene pressing the trope into service to assert England's precedence over Scotland, while Shakespeare later used it in Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale to call attention to the kinds of problems which from 1607 onwards had begun to stultify considerations of further unification. In this respect, The Scottish History of James IV anticipates these two romances in ways that have not hitherto been fully recognised. Greene's play has been credited with 'establish[ing] the pattern for historical romance and provid[ing] an early attempt at that dramatic hybrid of which Cymbeline is probably the

best example.¹²⁸ Indeed, the notion ‘that Greene showed Shakespeare what could be done with romantic comedy’ has become something of ‘a critical cliché.’¹²⁹ What might usefully be more fully investigated, however, is why, when writing these plays, Greene and Shakespeare chose to work within the conventions of the genre of romance at all.

The erstwhile owner of the British Museum copy of Greene’s play, ‘scor[ing]out the title-page words...and replac[ing] them with ‘or rather fiction of English and Scottish matters commicall’’,¹³⁰ conflated romance and comedy as well as articulating her/his sense of the incompatibility between romance and history. With its emphasis on magic, fantastic occurrences and altogether implausible events, romance has, indeed, often been assumed to preclude any serious engagement with given historical or political contexts. Such an assumption has been made more regularly of Greene’s text than of Shakespeare’s late plays.¹³¹ The Tempest, for instance, has increasingly been viewed as having an application to colonial history, and Cymbeline to the production of a British nation.¹³² Nonetheless,

¹²⁸Robert Greene, The Scottish History of James the Fourth, ed. Norman Sanders (London: Methuen, 1970), p. xxxvii.

¹²⁹Robert Greene, The Scottish History of James IV, ed. J. A. Lavin (London: Ernest Benn, 1967), p. xv.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. xxxvi.

¹³¹The Scottish History of James IV has been described, for example, by Lavin as ‘entirely unhistorical’, by Waldo F. McNeir as an ‘unhistorical history play’, and by Irving Ribner as ‘a quasi-historical will-o’-the-wisp.’ See Lavin, p. xiii, McNeir, ‘The Original of Ateukin in Greene’s James IV’, Modern Language Notes, 62 (1947), 377, and Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (1965), p. 11, cited in Sanders, p. xxxvi.

¹³²See, for example, the following discussions of The Tempest and Cymbeline: Paul Brown, ‘“This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine”: The Tempest and the discourse of colonialism’ in Political Shakespeare, New Essays in Cultural Materialism, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 48-71, Barbara Fuchs, ‘Conquering Islands: Contextualizing The Tempest’, Shakespeare Quarterly, 48 (1997), 45-62, Brian Gibbons, Shakespeare and

the ways in which Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale and The Scottish History of James IV all resonate with contemporary discussions of England's relations with Scotland in union, focusing on tensions between two territories finally resolved in a concluding scene redolent with connotations of unification, has not been sufficiently explored. The notion that romance is open to being 'read [as] a...response to a historical dilemma'¹³³ provides a counter to the increasingly outmoded assumption that any real commitment to history evaporated when a writer made use of this genre. Seen from this perspective, Greene's and Shakespeare's recourse to romance might be understood as directed by a desire to utilise the fantastical as a means of addressing the historical, and specifically, in these plays, of working through problems pertaining to unification. Yet all fiction might, at some level, be viewed as shaping or cohering reality, and while romance has been credited especially with this capacity, it is more likely to have been the genre's engagement with matrimony which, as far as these dramas were concerned, attracted Greene and Shakespeare to it.¹³⁴

The intensity of all three texts' focus on marriage has not gone unremarked, and it is the genre of romance which afforded Greene and Shakespeare the opportunity to give due consideration to the ways in which couples relate once married.¹³⁵ Indeed, despite the

Multiplicity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 18-47, and Marcus, 'Cymbeline' in Dubrow and Strier, pp. 134-168.

¹³³Fredric Jameson, 'Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre', New Literary History, 7 (1975), 157.

¹³⁴For the particular capacity of romance to provide coherence and suggest distinct ways of understanding social formations, see Jameson, 'Magical Narratives', Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies, p. 74, and Kiernan Ryan, Shakespeare (New York and London: Harvester, 1989), p. 92.

¹³⁵Hopkins, for instance, notes the ways in which Shakespeare's romances depart from his comedies in their handling of matrimony which, as she points out, is not simply

erstwhile owner of the British Museum copy of The Scottish History of James IV interpreting the play as predominantly ‘comical’,¹³⁶ Greene eschews comedy’s characteristic engagement with young love struggling for public validation and, relegating such loving to a secondary strand of plot development, focuses instead on post-marital experience. Shakespeare follows suit in The Winter’s Tale, while in Cymbeline he concentrates on the events that overtake Posthumus and Imogen in the wake of his misconceptions about her having temporarily jeopardised their marriage. The emphasis on marital relations is made immediately apparent in The Scottish History of James IV, in which material derived from Giraldi Cinthio’s Hecatommithi is ‘so condensed...as to represent the king [straying] at his own wedding...bringing the wedding into the play’¹³⁷ and foregrounding that event in a manner that highlights the husband’s wavering commitment to his bride. In Cymbeline and The Winter’s Tale, Shakespeare substitutes for the instantaneous faithlessness of the King of Scots, Posthumus’s and Leontes’s rapid transformations from devoted spouses into needlessly suspicious domestic tyrants. The causes of the three husbands’ dissatisfaction with their wives differ, but the effect is fundamentally the same, with the brides’ constancy put to the test. This state of affairs is traceable to the tale of patient Griselda, which Greene adapts ‘by introducing the...threat

by focusing on, but also emphasising the difficulties of, married life. See Lisa Hopkins, The Shakespearean Marriage: Merry Wives and Heavy Husbands (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), pp. 161-162. Romance does differ from comedy in allowing for an exploration of wedlock and problems pertaining to it, but there are of course crossovers in this respect with city comedies, which typically centre on just such concerns.

¹³⁶Anon, cited in Sanders, p. xxxvi.

¹³⁷Ruth Hudson, ‘Greene’s James IV and Contemporary Allusions to Scotland’, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 47 (1932), 663.

of death into the conventional testing situation.¹³⁸ This is carried over into Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, where the apparently miraculous resurrection of the put-upon wife also allows the husband to display contrition for his earlier insensitivities. The plays' emphasis is accordingly placed on the flawed nature of the perceptions the husband has harboured about his bride for the better part of the proceedings.

Whether in Shakespeare's plays the husbands' misconceptions are adequately challenged is a question to which we shall return. What is important for our present purposes is to recognise that the marital disruption occasioned by the husband occurs simultaneously with a rupturing of relations between two territories. The observation that 'the breakdown and eventual re-creation of the...relationship [of Posthumus and Imogen] is reflected...by the collapse and restoration of relations between Britain and Rome'¹³⁹ might, by altering the names of the couples and countries concerned, be made also of The Scottish History of James IV and The Winter's Tale. Here too 'peace between' the spouses leads 'to peace between...two nations.'¹⁴⁰ Moreover, in addition to events within marriage being made, in keeping with the operations of the marriage metaphor, to mirror territorial developments, the husbands' problematic attitudes also provide Greene and Shakespeare with a means of imagining obstacles standing in the way of resolving areas of contention between the countries in question. This pattern is most obviously apparent in Greene's play, in which solutions are simultaneously afforded to the King of Scots' failure to cherish his bride and to Scotland threatening England's security.

¹³⁸Sanders, p. 1.

¹³⁹ William Shakespeare, Cymbeline, ed. Roger Warren (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 36.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 37.

A detailed investigation of the ways in which The Scottish History of James IV uses marriage to negotiate tensions in prevailing ideas about union will enable us to assess the ends to which the play deploys the marriage metaphor. A closer reading of Greene's play will also provide us with a basis from which to ascertain the degree to which Shakespeare's use of the marriage trope corresponds with, or differs from, Greene's, and the import that such continuities and departures have for the kind of representation of Anglo-Scots alliance that we find in Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale.



The Scottish History of James IV is informed by those anti-Scots feelings stirred up during the first phase of the Elizabethan Succession Debate by the prospect of Mary Queen of Scots succeeding the English throne. The play was written, if not in the same year as, then shortly after the reprinting in 1590 of Norton's and Sackville's Gorboduc brought back into circulation their advice concerning the necessity of rejecting the Marian claim, and thereby avoiding a Scottish succession. Greene's drama renders Gorboduc's anti-Scots bias pertinent to the concerns of the 1590s. Indeed, the unflattering depiction of the Scottish King and his country, described in the induction as 'much like our...Scotland this day' (Induction, 106), may indicate that it was one of those plays which King James complained 'scorn the king and the people of this land.'¹⁴¹ However, beyond

¹⁴¹King James, cited in Sanders, pp. xxxiv-xxxv. It is worth noting that in 1609 the Scottish parliament too had to pass 'Ane Act against scandalous speeches and libellis' issued in their own country at the expense of the English. See Galloway, The Union, p. 139. All quotations from The Scottish History of James IV are from the Revels Plays edition, edited by Sanders.

simply tarnishing Scotland and its sovereign, the play's sights are set on the horizon of a future in which, with a Stewart contender still in the running for the English throne, England was likely shortly to be united with Scotland.

Mary Stewart had been beheaded approximately four years prior to The Scottish History of James IV being written, but the prospect of her son succeeding Queen Elizabeth remained a real one. Attendant upon that eventuality were those anxieties which would in due course be aired with such regularity during the Jacobean union debates, and which concerned England ceding power to Scotland if it were to be joined with it in any union other than one based on English precedence. In what has aptly been described as Greene's 'topical if irresponsible fantasy'¹⁴² topicality, first and foremost, constitutes a timely treatment of such misgivings. Bearing out the contention that romantic histories tended to be 'shaped to influence the future',¹⁴³ The Scottish History of James IV anticipates a union being implemented between England and Scotland, and imagines it occurring wholly on England's terms. It is through the handling of matrimony that the play promotes suzerainty. Substituting for Cinthio's Irish/Scottish match a marriage between the Scottish King and the English princess Dorothea, Greene ensures marital relations are played out in an Anglo-Scots context. He then employs the marriage trope to realise an imperial understanding of the relations between the kingdoms in union.

The play's characters are often seen to conform to moral types, but the English

¹⁴²David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics: a Critical Approach to Topical Meaning (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 209.

¹⁴³Axton, p. 74. The play's unionist sentiments, encapsulated in the claims made at V.vi.102-3 and V.vi.180-183 for strength in unity, have been identified by Axton, p. 105, Bevington, p. 208, Hudson, p. 667, Sanders, p. xxxiv and Lavin, p. xiv.

bride Dorothea tends especially to be considered ‘emblematic.’¹⁴⁴ Usually, she is thought simply, like Griselda, to represent the virtues of ‘constancy’ and ‘obedience’ (V.v.68). While this is undoubtedly the case, the contention that it is ‘the union of the two realms which her marriage symbolizes’¹⁴⁵ sheds light on the most salient meanings accruing to Dorothea, as well as illuminating significances pertaining to other characters with whom she interacts. Bestowed on the Scottish sovereign by the English King ‘in sign of love’ (I.i.26), Dorothea signifies “bands of love’...on multiple levels.’¹⁴⁶ The most immediate of these is, indeed, the territorial, with the play’s title enforcing the association between Dorothea’s marriage and Anglo-Scots unity. That Dorothea weds a fictitious version of the Stewart King killed at Flodden relates her nuptials to the actual marriage of the English princess Margaret with King James IV. Contemporaries often referred to these nuptials as the historical event instrumental in enabling the union which Greene’s play anticipates and attempts to shape. Indeed, in his panegyric on the succession which caused the kingdoms to ‘[s]hake hands with Union,’ Samuel Daniel depicts the English bride of King James IV as ‘mother, author, plotter, Councillor/Of union, that didst both conceive, beget,/And bring forth...this great [British] State.’¹⁴⁷

Described as ‘England’s pride’ (I.i.25) and ‘her country’s hope’ (I.i.18), Dorothea

¹⁴⁴Sanders, p. xlvi. For a discussion of the characters as morality types, see Lavin, pp. xv and xvi-xvii, and Sanders, p. xlvi.

¹⁴⁵Axton, p. 105.

¹⁴⁶Charles. W. Crupi, Robert Greene (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), p. 131.

¹⁴⁷Samuel Daniel, A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme (London: Edward Blount, 1603), (Menston: The Scolar Press Ltd., 1969). Hudson too notes that, in making connections between the marriage in the world of the play and that of Margaret Tudor to James IV, Greene was ‘calling attention to...the origin of the claim of James VI to the English throne [and] may have wished to point out the desirability of harmony, and...eventual unity...between the two kingdoms.’ See Hudson, p. 667.

herself can be seen to figure the kingdom from which she hails and its position within the union that her marriage signifies. Contrary to what, during the Jacobean union debates, would become the more usual figuring of Scotland as wife, Greene here portrays England as a woman given over into Scotland's control. The bride's lot in wedlock serves as a way of conceptualising the kind of experience England is liable to undergo if allied with Scotland. As represented by its figurehead, the King of Scots, that country proves faithless and threatening towards its partner in union, a combination of characteristics which realise fears current in England at the time of writing (and which were not, as we have seen, to be dispelled by the event of union), about the Scots, their disposition, and the likely outcome of being united with them. The marital developments in which the husband proves unfaithful to the wife whom he tries to have killed project a worst case scenario of England falling prey to a fickle and predatory partner in an alliance which renders it vulnerable. However, while Greene does want to present his audience with the prospect of England, as it were, sealing its death warrant by entering into a union in which it cedes control to Scotland, he also wants them to entertain the idea that union would be palatable if realised on England's terms. The part the English King plays in the proceedings is crucial in formulating such an understanding of unification.

Dorothea's life may be put in jeopardy when her husband, seeking to obtain another's hand, attempts to have her put to death, but his powers to execute designs detrimental to 'England's pride' (I.i.25) are severely curtailed by her protective father. As the Bishop of St. Andrews reminds the King of Scots, 'Thou art allied unto the English King/By marriage: a happy friend indeed/If used well; if not, a mighty foe' (II.ii.130). To mistreat his daughter would 'change his smiles to threats' (II.ii.136), council which, unheeded by his sovereign, proves prescient. When the news of his daughter's apparent

death reaches the English King, his amicable aspect alters entirely. He returns to Scotland, quit so contentedly in the aftermath of the wedding festivities, in a retributory capacity and, laying siege to the border region around Dunbar, intends to annihilate the King of Scots. As he is about to execute his purpose, Dorothea is produced alive and well and pleads with him to forgive her husband for what she characterises as his youthful folly.

Throughout the play, emphasis has been placed on the youthfulness of the King of Scots, who is implicitly contrasted in this respect with his wife's venerable, sagacious father. These claims that the Scottish King is a young man, as compared with the King of England (reiterated at II.ii.87, II.ii.210 and V.vi.160) draw upon Galfridian history, according to the terms of which Brutus's younger sons were required to pay homage to England and accept their Scottish and Welsh dominions as fifes of that realm. The play's references to the age gap between the two sovereigns, which become a focal point in the closing scene, serve ultimately to reinforce the discourse of suzerainty derived from Galfridian lore. In this scene, Dorothea cites youth as the reason for her husband's indiscretion and as a basis from which to recognise his capacity for reformation. Offered the chance to redeem himself, her husband assumes a posture of supplication, dropping to his knee before his English bride and father-in-law. In so doing, he bears out Dorothea's contention that he is capable of repenting once made to recognise the necessity of maturing by accepting the responsibilities attendant upon their marital commitment. Yet as well as signifying contrition, the Scottish King's supplicatory posture is a traditional sign of territorial submission. That 'the homager by his kneeling...doth abase himselffe...and renownce in respecte of the Lorde all power and force and humble himselffe to him' suggests that when, in Greene's play, 'the erring Scottish king offers just

such a ceremonial subjection to the English king',¹⁴⁸ Scotland is portrayed as a fief of that realm. In this way, the 'unhappy massacre of Flodden field is obliterated from the chronicles of Anglo-Scottish relations, and set down in its place is a clear pictorial record of submission, a ceremony of homage for the realm of Scotland. The rewritten episode looks to the future',¹⁴⁹ with Greene using developments in marital relations to envisage an imperial settlement to the imminent eventuality of Anglo-Scots unity. The kinds of contrasts the play makes between the husband and wife serve to legitimate this vision of a union based on precedence.

Mutuality in marriage is undermined when, '[e]ven in the temple,' the husband's 'fancy chang[ed]' (I.i.82), inconsistency which contrasts sharply with the fidelity of the wife in whom 'virtue will not change' (V.v.71). The bride's steadfastness, signifying incorruptibility, is hence compared favourably with her husband's inclination to vice. These differences established, the play is able to present a picture of England, in the person of Dorothea, offering its partner in union an opportunity to divest itself of its tendency towards depravity, conceptualised throughout in terms of immaturity, and learn from it a greater civility. Indeed, in the character of the King of Scots, Scotland is finally brought to its knees not simply because it sees in England a greater military power, but because, in Dorothea, it recognises that country as morally superior. When the Scottish monarch declares 'I submit' (V.vi.206), it is to his wife's virtuous redeeming influence, as much as to his father-in-law's army. Accordingly, the play portrays England's military

¹⁴⁸Edmund Plowden, A Treatise proving that...the Quene of Scotts...is not disabled by the Lawe of England, to receive the Crowne of Inglande by discent, cited in Axton, p. 34.

¹⁴⁹Axton, p. 106.

invasion and assumption of control over Scotland as serving solely to ensure the latter's compliance in a civilising process recognised by both parties as in Scotland's own best interests. The drama as such features views about Scotland as uncouth compared with its more civilized southern neighbour which, as we have seen, continued to prevail during the Jacobean union debates where they were also used to advocate a union of precedence. Drawing on these beliefs to present England not as Scotland's oppressor, but its saviour, Greene ensures the former emerges from his text untarnished, despite having invaded and conquered the latter, because its imperial activity is portrayed as the educative policy of a moral guide who mentors Scotland into relinquishing regressive tendencies damaging at once to its own interests and those of its partner in union.

In order further to demonstrate that it is to protect both countries' interests that Scotland is brought under England's sovereignty, the text makes additional use of the King of Scots' immaturity. Because young, the Scottish husband is impressionable and lacks the perspicacity that might be expected of an older man. Consequently, mistakenly construing in the virtuous Ida a receptivity to his advances, he provides the parasitic Ateukin with an opportunity to advance himself in his favour by hatching a plan to kill Dorothea and instate Ida in her place. Sporting a pocket full of 'annotations upon Machiavel' (III.ii.52) and pursuing a policy involving hiring, on the Scottish King's behalf, a Frenchman to kill his English bride, this parasite functions to associate the Scottish court with foreign intrigue, Frenchness and, implicitly, Catholicism. With these 'sinister' (V.vi.141) forces putting the Anglo-Scots match in jeopardy and nearly destroying the English bride purely because '[y]outh has misled' (V.vi.160) her husband, Scotland, in the person of its sovereign, is portrayed as in a primitive state of development. Such backwardness is shown to render Scotland naturally vicious and inclined to heed the

'sinister' advice of 'foreign' (V.vi.141) powers who exploit its condition to serve their own ends in ways that threaten its autonomy and endanger England's identity. In this way, the play arguably gestures towards the Auld Alliance and Scotland's erstwhile Catholic affiliation which had in the past proved so troublesome to England, especially recently when, from 1569 until approximately five years prior to the play's production, Catholic plots were repeatedly hatched in Mary Stewart's name to overthrow England's Protestant regime.¹⁵⁰

Yet The Scottish History of James IV is interested in the prior history of Anglo-Scots relations only in so far as the past provides a basis from which to project alternative developments in the kingdoms' future interactions. In this respect, while the Scottish husband's youthfulness ultimately makes him malleable in the hands of a bride whose virtuous influence reforms him, it is important that the emphasis throughout the play has been on his susceptibility to 'foreign' (V.vi.141) influences that prove nearly fatal to the 'English maid' (IV.iv.48). Such an inflection ensures that, on its own, Dorothea's redemptive influence is portrayed as inadequate to the task of reformation. Only when supported by her father's military might is the bride's redemptive project ensured, together with her security in matrimony and, crucially, her safety. That events unfold here in a way which allows the play to advocate a future alliance based on a reformist principle corresponds further with Anglo-Scots history, notably with Scotland's shifting identification from Catholicism to Protestantism. As we shall see in the following chapter,

¹⁵⁰Bevington notes that Greene presents Scotland as 'Catholic in sympathy' and that it is because the Scots 'will not reform themselves' that 'the English King...must be [their] nemesis.' Likewise, Hudson points out that if 'we remember the "cloaking craft" of the Scottish Catholic lords...encouraged by the agents of Spain and Guise, the "incontinence" of James becomes his dallying with the enemies of England.' See Bevington, p. 209 and Hudson, p. 664.

the Scottish reformation had been encouraged by England's Protestant regime who, together with the Scottish Lords of the Congregation, viewed what, in comparison with England, was Scotland's belated reformation, as the grounds on which to unite the kingdoms in a godly nation. Suggestively, the revitalised Anglo-Scots marriage in The Scottish History of James IV is accorded a sanctity characteristic of Protestant polemicists' perceptions of the godly nation, while Sir Cuthbert's concluding sentiment with regards to that match (that England and Scotland 'if they join in one, command the world' (V.vi.102-103)) would, during the Jacobean union debates, become a commonplace of Protestant union discourse.¹⁵¹ Importantly, however, while the play's reinvigorated marriage, connoting the kingdoms achieving a shared Protestant sympathy, projects the possibility of these allies joining together in a Protestant state, the condition stipulated for such a development is that Scotland look to England for guidance and government. As we have seen, there being no guarantee Dorothea's virtue will provide an example sufficient to prevent her husband once more entertaining the advances of forces destructive to him and fatal to her, necessitates marital stability be secured militarily. This in turn intimates that, even when professing the sincerity of its commitment to unity, Scotland's untrustworthiness makes it a potential danger to

¹⁵¹Although Anglo-Scots alliance is often seen to deliver a strong, united nation, able to counter foreign opposition, the emphasis is sometimes on defence rather than conquest. Thus Pont requests his reader to 'consider with me the force and strength this association receaveth...How strong a defence and bulwark it is against all the attempts and delignements of the foreign adversary.' However, imperial aspirations are also frequently felt to be enabled by unification, with Sir Cuthbert's view reiterated in Mathew Gwinn's playlet Tres Sibyllae, in which he has his sibyls contend that in light of union 'the world is the limit of' the British monarch's 'dominion.' See Pont, Of the Union, cited in Galloway and Levack, p. 18 and Gwinn, Tres Sibyllae, cited in Arthur Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Question of Nationalism' in Literature and Nationalism, eds. V. Newey and A. Thompson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), p. 70.

England, and suzerainty must thus be implemented as a point of necessity.

The distrust of Scotland that arises in The Scottish History of James IV from an identification between that country, Catholicism and the Catholic forces of the continent was, as will be demonstrated in the following and the final chapter, a common feature of texts written during the Elizabethan Succession Debate and the Jacobean union debates. As we shall see in Chapter Three especially, the depiction of Scotland as backward and uncivilized in material produced between the late 1580s and early 1600s tended to relate to anxieties about the ‘otherness’ of a kingdom whose Catholic past continued to be considered threatening to England. Often, trepidation on this count encouraged writers to advocate a union of precedence. In this regard, it is worth noting that Greene’s play, positing England’s supremacy in union and providing in the King of Scots a character whose immaturity suggests a Scotland behindhand in its development, also affords in the fierce Bohan a figure whose function is partly to portray Scotland as overtly uncivil.

Bohan, the play’s choric commentator, is attired ‘like a Redesdale man’¹⁵² and is thus identified with the Border region which had been described by Thomas Wilson in his Arte of Rhetorique of 1585 as a ‘soyle’ which spawned ‘evill’ men. That the fairy Antic ‘flies’ at the mere sight of Bohan contributes to the comedy which surrounds this character, but also furthers an association with wickedness and supports the contention that he is meant to ‘look wild and ferocious.’¹⁵³ Such ferocity, however, pertains not only to Bohan’s appearance but, owing to the choric function accorded him, serves also to characterise his country. In his role as commentator on Scotland’s depraved condition,

¹⁵²Sanders, p. 4.

¹⁵³Thomas Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique (1585), cited in Sanders, p. 5, n. 4, p. 4, p. 5, n. 4.

Bohan imparts to the Scottish polity the uncouthness that surrounds his own person, and which he in turn discerns in Scotland's affairs. Importantly, Bohan emerges to deliver his comments on the moribund state of the Scottish nation from a tomb which, it has been speculated, remained in view for the duration of the play.¹⁵⁴ Had the Anglo-Scots marriage indeed been played out in the vicinity of Bohan's grave, this would further have enforced the association between marriage and death that is made when Dorothea narrowly escapes being put to death at her spouse's request. At the same time, punctuating the action in his choric capacity, Bohan with his wild demeanour would have mirrored and magnified the viciousness of the Scottish sovereign whose immaturity, like Bohan's savagery, is made to signify his country's incivility. Hence, a cluster of identifications may have been established between Scotland's lack of civility, the grave, and the marriage which signifies Anglo-Scots unity. The play might in this way have sought to highlight the threat posed to England, if allied with Scotland, of having its identity endangered or extinguished by an incivility figured here by way of the backwardness and barbarity contemporaries so often employed to intimate Catholicism.

Should this indeed have been the case, then it is significant that, when the King of Scots accepts his bride's redemptive influence through a gesture of contrition which signifies territorial submission, Bohan requests to be 'let...rest [in]/The grave' (V.Chorus V, 9-10) and '*Exit[s] into the tomb*' (V.Chorus V.15). That the savage Scottish commentator disappears from view in the wake of his sovereign submitting to his English bride's virtue and father-in-law's military might, suggests that when Scotland is brought to recognise England as a morally and militarily superior partner in any prospective

¹⁵⁴The claim was made by Glynne Wickham in his Early English Stages 1300-1600 (1959), II.i.318, See Sanders, p.4, n. 2 and Lavin, p. 5, n. 1.

alliance, the threat that its possible Catholic affiliation poses to England is immediately contained.

‘Crystalis[ing] anti-Scots sentiment even as it idealises peaceful union’, The Scottish History of James IV proposes as a prerequisite for securing England’s peace of mind in the configuration of a Protestant Britain a kind of alliance that, as it turned out, would in the event of a regal union remain no more than an ‘irresponsible fantasy.’¹⁵⁵ In the course of the debates occasioned by the dynastic alliance that Greene’s play anticipates, suzerainty, as we have seen, was consistently resisted by the likes of Russell, Craig and the Scottish Parliament. Yet ongoing distrust of Scotland continued to render the notion attractive to many, and the ensuing contention over the basis of the kingdoms’ relations in nation, fuelling a range of dissatisfactions with the project for ratifying further alliance, had by 1607 begun to stultify attempts to effect any more complete union. Indeed, in the wake of the brief focus on matters pertaining to union in the parliamentary session of 1610, the Jacobean union debate effectively ground to a halt. It was at this juncture that Shakespeare, following Greene, mobilised the genre of romance and, focusing on marital relations in Cymbeline and The Winter’s Tale, used marriage metaphorically to address England’s relationship with Scotland in union.¹⁵⁶

If ‘Cymbeline recasts the faltering national union as a beleaguered marriage

¹⁵⁵Bevington, p. 209.

¹⁵⁶Cymbeline and The Winter’s Tale are usually considered to have been written in the period 1608-10 and 1610-11 respectively. See William Shakespeare, Cymbeline, ed. J. M. Nosworthy (Hertfordshire: Methuen, 1955), pp. xv and xvii. All quotations from Cymbeline and The Winter’s Tale are taken from the Arden editions. The former is edited by Nosworthy, and The Winter’s Tale by J. H. P. Pafford (London and New York: Methuen, 1963).

between two individuals',¹⁵⁷ then so too does The Winter's Tale. Indeed, that both dramas display 'a preoccupation with unity in many forms',¹⁵⁸ all of which coalesce at the point at which a declaration of amity between two countries is made concurrently with the reforging of a marriage temporarily broken, suggests the kind of figurative application of marriage to union discernable at once in Greene and in more contemporary deployments of the marriage trope. That it is Greene's use of the figure in particular which Shakespeare has in mind is indicated by the way in which the husband is again responsible for endangering the marriage. Importantly though, this is not because of any lack of commitment on his part, but rather because of his own possessiveness and distrust of his spouse. While Shakespeare departs from Greene in this regard, such divergence can be understood in terms of changes that, between 1590 and 1607-10, had taken place in the circumstances surrounding discussions of unification.

The desire for precedence that, in the 1590s, had seemed to many the only permissible basis on which to build a British nation had, by the time Shakespeare came to write Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, become not only the main stumbling block to the realisation of a more complete union, but was increasingly associated with what King James described as England's groundless 'jelousie' and 'Suspicion'¹⁵⁹ of Scotland. In fact, the project for forging a fuller union than the solely dynastic would eventually be viewed by Bacon, Thornborough and the King himself as having been a casualty of such sentiments. Hence, that Shakespeare breaks with Greene in having a marriage undermined

¹⁵⁷Marcus, p. 144.

¹⁵⁸Nosworthy, p. lxxx.

¹⁵⁹King James, from a letter to the English parliament of June 1607, cited in Hamilton, p. 237.

not by a husband's carelessness with respect of his bride, but by his jealousy and suspicion regarding her fidelity, might be called upon to support the view that Posthumus's and Leontes's attitudes towards Imogen and Hermione constitute 'a homology that finds completion' in the kind of approach to 'English-Scottish relations'¹⁶⁰ proving so detrimental to plans to consolidate the union. Indeed, it is plausible to construe the husbands in these plays as figuring England and not, as in Greene's play, the kingdom of Scotland.¹⁶¹ That country is arguably conceptualised instead as the wife, in keeping with the gender most often ascribed Scotland in Jacobean deployments of the marriage metaphor.

Of course, this is not to say that the spouses in Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale function purely at the level of allegory, or that what is made available through them is not the fundamental experience of certain human passions. Rather, when expressed within the context of wedlock which, as we have seen, was so often employed figuratively, such passions may, in addition to encapsulating and evoking particular emotional states, have had a metaphorical application to the highly topical subject of unification. That said, the movement towards atonement in these plays, in which the marriage is revitalised when the husband recognises he has misjudged his wife, would seem to be at odds with the

¹⁶⁰Hamilton, p. 237.

¹⁶¹Hamilton notes that Leontes's state is the wealthier of the play's two countries, and is as such accorded the superior financial position identified with England in union discourse. See Hamilton, pp. 235-236. While Marcus finds in Posthumus an allusion to the Post Nati, it is possible for a text's metaphorical application to be simultaneously to more than one aspect of a given context. Posthumus's failure to trust Imogen is arguably as much indicative of England's mistrust of Scotland, currently proving so detrimental to the union project, as is Leontes's suspicion regarding Hermione, and is as liable to signify this aspect of the debate as to provide a way of referring to the lot of those Scots born after the regal union. See Marcus, pp. 143-144.

increasingly fractious condition of discussions of union. We might discern in these husbands' attitudes towards their wives 'a partial analogue'¹⁶² of England's present treatment of Scotland, but the correspondence would thus appear partial at best. With a rhetoric of jealousy, suspicion, and the ongoing possessiveness over Scotland enshrined in the discourse of suzerainty becoming ever more pronounced, the union debates had, indeed, faltered in a manner markedly at variance with the 'moves towards a great act of union'¹⁶³ and 'spirit...of "union"'"¹⁶⁴ that prevail in the closing scenes of Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale. Yet these plays might, in this respect, be usefully situated in relation to Jonson's union masque Hymenaei.

Written in close proximity to both dramas, Hymenaei's depiction of unity triumphing over difference is geared, as we have seen, towards eroding resistance to consolidating the union. Of course, as a vehicle for endorsing the King's views, a masque would be likely to voice unionist sentiments. Conversely, the drama tended to engage critically with royal strategy, including plans for realising further union, as will be shown in passing in our concluding discussion of Eastward Ho!, and in a more detailed way in our consideration of Macbeth. However, Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, culminating in celebratory representations of marital and territorial relations revitalised after a period of dislocation, would seem rather to follow Hymenaei in emphasising the possibility that unity can be realised regardless of areas of contention, such as the religious differences between the couple in Jonson's masque.

If, after the manner of Hymenaei, Shakespeare's two plays similarly depict the

¹⁶²Marcus, p. 144.

¹⁶³Nosworthy, p. lxxx.

¹⁶⁴Hamilton, p. 228.

dissolution of opposition to an emotional and political alliance, it may well be that they too seek to breakdown antagonism to plans for producing further union. This is not to suggest that Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale be understood as unionist polemic, into which category Hymenaei can more comfortably be placed, but rather that their 'moves towards a great act of union'¹⁶⁵ can be conceived of as providing, amongst other possible meanings, an alternative way of imagining the potential outcome of the union debates. It is, after all, suggestive that they envisage a simultaneous revitalising of marital and territorial relations, in the course of which the mutual sympathy lost in both arenas is refound. More particularly, that for such sympathy to be achieved a similar kind of obstacle must be surmounted to that which is found in Hymenaei, indicates a shared set of concerns. Equally, where Shakespeare departs from Jonson in this regard may suggest those concerns being modified to speak to more recent developments in the field of the union debate.

We have seen that the most salient difference surmounted in Jonson's masque is that of the couple's respective Catholic and Calvinist affiliations. This harks back to the notion of religious divide that in The Scottish History of James IV had posed such an obstacle to unity. What is dissolved in Shakespeare's dramas, however, is rather a general prejudice of the kind that, in the three or so years since Jonson penned Hymenaei, had become more of an insurmountable barrier to plans for effecting further union than suspicions of papacy alone.¹⁶⁶ Of course, fears of religious difference were connected to,

¹⁶⁵Nosworthy, p. lxxx.

¹⁶⁶Testimony to the problem of prejudice is the request that the Chancellor issued to the Commons during the union discussions of November 1607 for 'minds of indifferency and equality, to weigh all things and to forbear all terms of bitterness', and King James's claim that the Commons was made 'barren by preconceived Opinions.' The

and would have further fuelled an anti-Scots bias, and trepidation regarding Scotland's Catholic associations is, as we shall see, discernable in *Cymbeline*. However, anxiety on this count occurs in this play alongside an insular form of patriotism. While the latter is subtly discredited, misgivings over Scotland's religious affiliation are shown to be unfounded and motivated by prejudice.

A narrow understanding of national identity as dependent upon maintaining a rigid divide between sovereign states is voiced by Cloten and his mother at III.i.13-54 and III.i.80-81. Such

insular patriotism [is] subjected to...critical scrutiny [when] set in sharp contrast to Innogen's larger view of Britain as a swan's nest floating in the pool that represents the rest of the world, the view that eventually prevails in the harmony between Britain and Rome at the end of the play.¹⁶⁷

That it is Imogen's vision which is finally valorised suggests unity being endorsed in ways which may provide at once an alternative, and a riposte, to the parochialism preventing many of Shakespeare's contemporaries from countenancing any further union with Scotland.

Discrediting reductive nationalism, the play also arguably gestures in the character of Posthumus, whose suspicions about Imogen's fidelity constitute a 'biast...willingness to heed rumours of "popish" Italian defilement',¹⁶⁸ towards ongoing anxieties surrounding England being allied with a country still linked with Papistry in the minds of many of

Chancellor, from a speech to the Commons, and King James, from a speech to the Commons, cited in Galloway, *The Union*, pp. 95 and 118.

¹⁶⁷William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Roger Warren (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 39.

¹⁶⁸Marcus, p. 146.

Shakespeare's compatriots. Indeed, the association forged in Posthumus's mind between Imogen and the Italian Iachimo resonates with the connections made in The Scottish History of James IV between the King of Scots and the Italianate Ateukin. If in both cases being linked to the Catholic 'other' causes connotations of Catholicism to cling to the spouse most likely to signify Scotland, then it is suggestive that where in the earlier play that link is grounded in fact, in the later drama it is a fabrication born of malicious fiction and misconception. With the King of Scots involved with Ateukin to his English bride's cost, the spouse who figures Scotland does in this play act duplicitously to England's detriment. Conversely, Imogen is not complicit in Iachimo's scheme and remains unaware of the plot hatched at her own and her husband's expense. Accordingly, Posthumus's willingness to believe the slur cast upon his wife constitutes a lack of faith in her integrity, and it is this which, ultimately, destabilises their marriage. Arguably, when read in light of the metaphorical application of marriage to unity, England here misjudges Scotland in a manner detrimental to the alliance that is made a casualty of the former's failure to trust and have confidence in the latter.

In the fourth scene of the play's second Act, Posthumus, in his anger over Imogen's supposed infidelity, gives vent to a commonplace misogyny in which the particular qualities of the individual woman are dissolved into a set of negative characteristics ascribed to women as a group. These attributes are, for the audience, so evidently at odds with Imogen's disposition, that Posthumus's outburst serves further to vindicate her in our eyes. He, on the other hand, is made by way of this speech to appear not merely the unfortunate subject of a confidence trick, but a bigot whose judgement is swayed by Iachimo's slander because he already harbours a preconceived opinion about women which the Italian's fabrications seem to support. In the face of Imogen's faith,

punningly reiterated in her assumed name of Fidele,¹⁶⁹ her husband's prejudice is portrayed as insupportable, just as, in view of what is constantly reiterated as Dorothea's 'constancy' (V.vi.68), the King of Scot's duplicity is depicted as intolerable. Cymbeline as such elicits sympathy for the bride who might, metaphorically, be seen to represent Scotland. Conversely, The Scottish History of James IV steers its audience to side with the wife who figures 'England's pride' (I.i.25). Such pride is in the later play reduced, in the figures of Posthumus, Cloten and the Queen, to the level of prejudice, a narrow bigotry that must either be eradicated, which is the fate of Cloten and his mother, or educated, which is the process Posthumus undergoes when he learns to see his bride for what she is, rather than what he has imagined her to be.

In Cymbeline, once prejudice and preconceptions are divested, the marriage that ushers in the territorial alliance is consequently remade--intimating that it is these attitudes which stand in the way of resuscitating the stultified union debates. Such a message can be gleaned also from The Winter's Tale, which follows Cymbeline in featuring a marriage temporarily marred by a husband who needlessly suspects his spouse of duplicity. Like Cymbeline, which D. E. Landry has described as a 'play about dreams',¹⁷⁰ The Winter's Tale too focuses on dreams, in the sense articulated by Hermione at III.ii.81 of 'ways of

¹⁶⁹Marcus points out that Imogen's 'assumed name...is recognized by the end of the play as a sign of her abiding faith in Posthumus despite his rejection of her.' See Marcus, p. 139. On hearing the bride's assumed name, Caius Lucius tellingly comments 'Thou dost approve thyself the very same:/Thy name well fits thy faith; thy faith thy name' (IV.ii.380-381).

¹⁷⁰D. E. Landry, 'Dreams as History: The Strange Unity of Cymbeline', in Representing Shakespeare: New Psychoanalytic Essays, eds. M. M. Schwartz and C. Kahn (1980), p. 68, cited in Peter. J. Smith, Social Shakespeare: Aspects of Renaissance Dramaturgy and Contemporary Society (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1995), p. 108.

being aware¹⁷¹ or of perceiving a given situation. Indeed, an 'eye motif...dominates'¹⁷² the concluding scene in which Leontes, after the manner of Posthumus, is made to see his spouse clearly when he finally apprehends that she is otherwise than he had assumed her to be. It is Paulina who unflinchingly encourages him to forego the 'ill-ta'en suspicion' (I.ii.460) harboured about Hermione which caused the marital breakdown and her apparent death. Paulina's efforts prepare Leontes to respond warmly to the supposed statute when, shortly before the concluding reunion, he is made to 'imagine an exchange of looks and kisses.'¹⁷³

Through Paulina's agency then, one spouse is made to express a desire fully to see and embrace the other, with Leontes exclaiming 'even now,/I might have looked upon my queen's full eyes,/Have taken treasure from her lips' (V.i.52-54). This state of affairs reverberates with the advice Northampton proffered to participants in the union proceedings when he claimed that 'it behoves us all not only with a word to wish but with our whole industry to provide that England and Scotland...may kiss one another...and ever more...behold one another.' Paulina is precisely, as Northampton puts it, 'careful to provide as well by counsel as by caution that quod deus coniunxit homo non separet.' Moreover, not only does she bring the husband and wife back together, but she in addition encourages the sympathy necessary to guaranteeing the long term stability of their marriage. This approach to the relations between the spouses follows what, in

¹⁷¹Meredith Skura, from 'Interpreting Posthumus' Dream from Above and Below: Families, Psychoanalysts, and Literary Critics' in Schwartz and Kahn, p. 204, cited in Smith, p. 109.

¹⁷²Carol Thomas Neely, 'The Winter's Tale: The Triumph of Speech', Studies in English Literature: 1500-1900, 15 (1975), 332.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 332.

Northampton's rhetoric, is made to relate by way of the marriage trope in which 'even as in that union by matrimony so in this of policy,'¹⁷⁴ to the plan to press for the realisation of closer alliance than the dynastic in order to assure the longevity of unity.

That there may in The Winter's Tale be a similarly metaphorical dimension to the events which unfold is perhaps suggested by the way in which, as in Cymbeline, the couple are so briefly on stage together that what is evoked is 'an image of [a] relationship [that] exists and does not exist; they know and do not know each other.'¹⁷⁵ Brought to a truer knowledge of one another by way of the husband reappraising his perceptions of his wife, which in turn not only restores but also renders the marriage genuine and hence durable, the couples' interaction develops in both plays in the manner wished for by Northampton. His argument that, although dynastically united England and Scotland had not sufficiently converged to ensure the union's long term stability, centres on a belief that for this to be realised the kingdoms must first begin to appreciate one another through finding the shared sympathy which, as in the marriages in these plays, was being prevented from blossoming because of prejudice against one partner being generated by the other's preconceptions.

Also suggestive is the way in which, when the bride is 'restored to her original condition in a moment of reunion',¹⁷⁶ the revivification of marriage enabled by her reinstatement accords with Thornborough's depiction of the resurrection of the lost Britain of Brutus legend. In an 'apostrophe to the Union', Thornborough states of Britain

¹⁷⁴Northampton, from a speech to Parliament of 1606, cited in Peck, p. 190.

¹⁷⁵Warren, p. 58.

¹⁷⁶Hamilton, p. 245. The connection between Hermione and Thornborough's articulation of a reunited Britain is identified by Hamilton.

what is equally true of the wives in Shakespeare's plays, as in Greene's romance before them, that: "Thou wert lost, and art found, bond and art free, Eclipsed, and art glorious, dead, and art alive."¹⁷⁷

The way in which, in all three romances, the brides' return occasions unity at once emotionally and territorially may speak to the notion of the reinstatement of a lost nation. But if this is the case, then that nation is differently conceptualised in Greene's and Shakespeare's drama. We have seen that the aggressive patriotism and suspicions of Scotland's Catholicism underpinning Greene's notion that England's relations with Scotland in union must be founded on precedence give way in Shakespeare's romances to a more measured approach to the relationship and a more accurate apprehension of the other partner in union. Shakespeare's plays might as such be seen to 'aim...at a...transfiguration of the...historical world in such a way as to...anticipate a future...in which [its] limitations have been effaced.'¹⁷⁸ It was, after all, precisely because so many of the English participants in the union debates continued to advocate suzerainty as a basis for unity that the project for further unification had ground to a halt. It is in response to these circumstances that Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale figuratively articulate the necessity of England recognising that union should be based on parity by bringing the husband truly to appreciate his wife in a marriage founded on respect and mutuality. It

¹⁷⁷Thornborough, The Joiefull and Blessed Reuniting the two mighty and famous kingdomes, England and Scotland into their ancient name of great Brittain, cited in Hamilton, p. 245. Evidence which supports the notion of a connection being made between Imogen and the British nation is that her name, as Warren observes, derives from Brutus legend. 'Brutus...rechristened Albion 'Britain' after his own name, and his wife Innogen', and Imogen is thus associated, as Brian Gibbons notes, with 'the very first queen of Britain.' See Warren, p. 37 and Gibbons, p. 25.

¹⁷⁸Tom Moylan, from Demand the Impossible (New York and London, 1986), p. 31, cited in Ryan, pp. 79-80.

must be said in this connection, however, that it is a matter of debate whether Posthumus and Leontes ever actually rid themselves of the suspicious attitudes that lead them to seek to constrain and control Imogen and Hermione. With the view that the wife finally achieves agency in a marriage of reciprocity frequently countered by claims that these plays recoup patriarchy, the kind of vision of England's relations with Scotland in union offered here might still be one in which the former, ultimately, controls the latter.¹⁷⁹

It is important in this respect that there is a level of interchangeability between Cloten and Posthumus. The former is 'the double of Posthumus in not valuing Imogen at her true worth',¹⁸⁰ and at the 'moment of reunion with Imogen [Posthumus] treat[s] her with violence'¹⁸¹ of a kind displayed previously by Cloten. Moreover, the aggressive possessiveness over Imogen characteristic of both suitors is mirrored in their similarly defensive attitude towards Britain, voiced variously at III.i.13-54, 80-81 and V.i.17-33. Thus the patriarchy and parochialism identified with Cloten is associated also with

¹⁷⁹In Suffocating Mothers, for instance, Janet Adelman offers what Orgel describes as 'a passionate...attempt to discover an independent space for women in...the play' with which he takes issue, stressing The Winter's Tale's restoration of patriarchal power. See William Shakespeare, The Winter's Tale (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), ed. S. Orgel, p. 78. Neely likewise finds the play sympathetic to Hermione and the mother/daughter relationship, see Neely pp. 321-338. Hopkins is of a similar view, but finds in Cymbeline a 'greater emphasis on continuity across and between the generations' than on the woman's lot in patriarchy. See Hopkins, p. 171. Valerie Traub conversely falls into step with Richard Wilson, who claims that although 'liberal criticism has long identified an accommodation with motherhood in the romances...for Shakespeare, male power is at last self-generating.' See Traub, Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 45 and Wilson, 'Observations on English Bodies: Licensing Maternity in Shakespeare's Late Plays' in Enclosure Acts, Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England, ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 133 and 145.

¹⁸⁰Gibbons, p. 38.

¹⁸¹Warren, p. 58.

Posthumus. He, however, is less overtly belligerent and altogether more comely than his rival. This distinction is significant, for when Posthumus expresses similar views to Cloten, those beliefs, like his own person, are arguably also automatically made to seem more acceptable. Indeed, by relocating in a modified form in the person of the penitent Posthumus both the intransigent Cloten's overbearing attitude towards Imogen and his violent nationalism, the play might be said to rehabilitate positions which may figure variously England's supremacy over Scotland and its patriotic sense of national pride. However, to be rendered believable, a vision of a more equitable relation between the kingdoms in union must intersect with the realities of the debate it seeks to shape. To this end, the play may well retain in the character of the contrite husband elements of the kinds of attitudes as yet to be relinquished should contemporaries wish once more to set in motion a debate that had lost all momentum.

As far as The Winter's Tale is concerned, '[r]ather than a victory for the wronged heroine', the play has sometimes been felt to restore to the husband 'his kingly command of all social relations'¹⁸² including, and especially, the marital relation. Here too, then, it might be argued that what is outlined metaphorically is a vision of England's supremacy in union. We might, in view of this possibility, usefully reflect on the significance of Leontes being punished for his misconceptions about Hermione by the loss of their son. Where Leontes's patriarchal power is concerned, the son's death diminishes this, in that it disrupts the system of patrilinear inheritance which is reinstated in Cymbeline when Imogen, on recognising her brothers, relinquishes her claim and, transferring power back to the boys, ensures the continuity both of the dynasty and of patriarchy. Of course, with

¹⁸²Traub, p. 45.

Perdita retrieved '[w]hat is restored, finally...is royal authority.'¹⁸³ However, the loss of Perdita's brother is neither negligible in terms of the disruption it causes within patriarchy, nor of what that disturbance may signify if considered in light of the kinds of figurative language regularly deployed to conceptualise union and nation.

Suggestively, contemporaries frequently utilised the image of a child to represent the union and, more particularly, of a royal male child to connote the United Kingdom. Thornborough, for instance, referred in 1604 to this 'child'¹⁸⁴ of union while King James described the union as 'a perfect child'¹⁸⁵ and, in 1610, Salisbury spoke of 'that beloved child, which must be the life and strength of this island.'¹⁸⁶ *Hymenaei* extends the child conceit when the anticipation of offspring arising from the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Lady Frances Howard is associated with the advent of a new 'race'¹⁸⁷ of Britons to be born of the Anglo-Scots alliance. More importantly for our current concerns, Britain features both in Rubens's painting 'The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain' and in the first scene of the fourth Act of *Macbeth* as the male offspring of a royal house. In the Rubens image, the nation, as will be demonstrated in detail in Chapter Three, is envisaged as a boy child protected from would-be assailants by

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁸⁴Thornborough, *A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie Union*, cited in Roy Strong, *Britannia Triumphans, Inigo Jones, Rubens, and Whitehall Palace* (Hampshire: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 20.

¹⁸⁵King James, speech to the English Parliament in 1707, cited in Enright, p. 39.

¹⁸⁶Salisbury, 'A Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the Late Lord Treasurer Cecil and of Several Observations of the Lords of the Council given to King James Concerning his Estate and Revenue in the Years 1608, 1609, and 1610', cited in Hamilton, p. 233.

¹⁸⁷*Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed., Orgel, p. 81.

its progenitor, the Stewart King. The royal male progeny in Shakespeare's show of eight Kings can likewise be read as signifying nation, under threat here from Macbeth who, as we shall see when we come to consider the play, harbours what amount to separatist tendencies.

If as a working hypothesis we accept the contention that, like the child motif through which writers often connoted union, the royal boy child might be employed to figure Britain, then the kind of treatment that child receives may in turn provide a way of articulating given attitudes towards the emergent nation. Indeed, if we discern in The Winter's Tale the operations of the marriage metaphor in which the husband is, in this case, more likely to signify England than the wife, it becomes suggestive that Mamillius's death is attributed to the misconceptions which, causing Leontes to turn on Hermione, occasion the marital breakdown which fatally traumatises their son.

It is often felt that in the plethora of reunions we are liable to lose sight of Mamillius's death. But memories of that fatality are, in fact, forcefully invoked at V.i.115-177.¹⁸⁸ Here, when Leontes is about to regain his wife and their marriage to be revitalised, neither he nor the audience is allowed to forget the boy's demise which, as the servant points out at III.ii.142-144, has been induced by Leontes's mistreatment of Hermione. Indeed although, in the second scene of the third Act, Paulina tries not to lay that death at Leontes's door, the connection between his 'ill-ta'en suspicion' (I.ii.460) of his bride and Mamillius's demise is firmly made at III.ii.144-147. When understood in terms of the

¹⁸⁸As Orgel points out, Stanley Cavell's is 'one of the very few discussions of the play to take' the boy's loss seriously, with the 'more usual critical position...exemplified in Hazelton Spencer's rapt account of the play's conclusion: 'each theme (except the plaintive little motif of Mamillius) is restated...in the magnificent...fifth [A]ct.'" Cavell, Disowning Knowledge (Cambridge: 1987), p. 193, cited in The Winter's Tale, ed. Orgel, pp. 32-33. In fact, Mamillius's memory is invoked in this Act.

figuring of Britain as a royal male child and union as a marriage in which husband and wife assume stances likely to be recognisable to contemporaries as akin to those adopted by England and Scotland in the current terrain of the union debate, the latter's prejudices and preconceptions about the former, although not portrayed as having destroyed the union, are shown to have done irrevocable damage to the emergent nation. Such a vision would certainly speak to the circumstances of the play's inception when, while the regal union remained intact, the kinds of attitudes responsible for occasioning deadlock in deliberations of further unification had ensured that Britain continued to be founded on no firmer basis than a dynastic alliance. By deploying a figurative language familiar to its original audience, The Winter's Tale may have encouraged it not to lose sight of the fact that that structure was consequently flawed, rendering it fragile in ways that might compromise the durability of a nation whose realisation, although so long anticipated, seemed liable to many to be short lived.¹⁸⁹

In The Scottish History of James IV, Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, the kinds of meanings that might be traced back to the arena of considerations of unification tend, therefore, to revolve extensively around popular metaphors for union and nation, the most notable being the metaphor of union as marriage. The marriage metaphor has recently

¹⁸⁹As Levack points out, dynastic union 'did not...create...a single British state...The crown of England remained distinct from [that] of Scotland, even though James possessed and embodied both of them' and hence the 'possibility existed that the crown of Scotland could be 'alienated' from the English crown, thereby reversing the achievement of 1603. James expressed this fear as early as 1604.' See Levack, The Formation of the British State, pp. 1 and 5. In addition to the fact that it 'was by no means clear to contemporaries that the dynastic union would be permanent', it is worth noting that there was also 'considerable dispute in England in 1607-8 about whether the crowns *had* been united by James's accession', and thus whether any significant union had been effected at all. See Galloway, The Union, p.1.

been dismissed as ‘the most hackneyed of official tropes’,¹⁹⁰ with the implication that the very fact of its being common currency rendered it banal and emptied it of signification. But, as this chapter has shown, returning that figure to its historical context reveals a versatility of signification that went beyond the production of immediate and apparent meanings of the kind that, were these indeed to have been its sole referents, would certainly have reduced it to the category of cliché. However, the sheer wealth of associations accruing to the institution of marriage in the period under discussion enabled what often proved to be complex articulations of the kinds of relations that might be established between Scotland and England in the union that would form the basis of Britain, and of problems pertaining to those relations.

¹⁹⁰McEachern, p. 140.

Chapter Two: The Marian Literature, 1560-1588.

This chapter considers the extent to which Mary Stewart functioned as an imaginative locus of early-modern literature, a topic that has been explored by a number of critics. Few, however, have remarked that writers regularly mobilised representations of the Stewart Queen to negotiate Scotland's relations with England, nor that an anti-Marian bias often goes hand in hand with a vision of a nation governed from England.¹ Our discussion will identify connections that have tended to be overlooked between figurations of Mary Queen of Scots, and imperial conceptions of Anglo-Scots relations and the emergent configuration of the British nation. Indeed, so closely is the Stewart Queen aligned with Scotland in what has described as the 'Marian literature'² that, as we shall see, the manner in which she is portrayed often has ramifications for these texts' perceptions of Scotland.

This is not to say that images of the Stewart Queen function simply as mirrors to events in Scotland, but rather that they regularly operate as signs. Much as the figuring of Scotland as wife might, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, provide particular ways of imagining Scotland's relations with England in union, so representations of Mary Stewart enabled distinct meanings to accrue to Anglo-Scots relations. In the course of the following discussion, we shall see how frequently Mary Queen of Scots was made to signify Protestant writers' concerns over the problems posed by the Queen's Catholicism

¹The most comprehensive study of representations of Mary Stewart is James. E. Phillips's Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature (California: The University of California Press, 1964). Marie Axton does connect delineations of the Stewart Queen with figurations of nation. See her The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

²Phillips, Images of a Queen, p. 100.

for Scotland's place in a nation envisaged as a community of Protestants.

As most scholars concede, the spread of Protestantism across the two kingdoms helped to effect the emergence and consolidation of Great Britain. Indeed 1560, the year of the signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh, has tended to be deemed a precursor to the regal union of 1603, in much the same way that 1603 has frequently been read as prefiguring the Parliamentary union of 1707.³ With the signing in 1560 of the treatise that ensured the rejection of the Auld Alliance and the Roman faith, and adoption in Scotland of the same religious position as England, the two realms were certainly drawn into a closer relationship of the kind necessary to instituting union and founding the nation. Yet, as with reading 1603 in light of 1707, the problem with interpreting the ascendancy of Protestantism in Scotland in the 1560s as a precursor to the union which facilitated the emergence of Great Britain, is that it encourages a culturally produced formation to be understood as a natural outgrowth of an inevitable historical progression.

Britain, however, was a structure which arose as a result of cultural processes. In Benedict Anderson's famous formulation, nations are 'imagined political communit[ies]' in which 'the members of even the smallest nation...never know most of their fellow-members...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'⁴ Once it is conceded that a nation is a 'place...of the mind' which constitutes less a 'form of social

³The 'tendency to regard the ultimate union of England and Scotland as something natural and pre-ordained', an inevitable outgrowth of the regal union, is discussed by William Ferguson in his Scotland's Relations with England, a Survey to 1707 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1977), p. 54.

⁴Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London and New York: Verso, 1983), p. 6.

organisation [than] an aspiration',⁵ it is possible to recognise that the producing and maintaining of a nation relates to particular kinds of representation. The emergence of the British nation has, indeed, been attributed in great part to the effect of a distinct form of Protestant imagining, formulated in 'such texts [as] sermons, ballads and folklore.' By means of the dissemination of these and other kinds of material, Protestant apologists encouraged their readers 'to look through the Catholic glass darkly so as to see themselves more clearly.'⁶ In so doing, these writers not only differentiated Protestants from Catholics, but also instigated amongst their readership a feeling of sharing with fellow Protestants a collective sense of religious identity. This in turn provided their readers with a felt experience of cohesion which facilitated a related sense of being part of one nation and sharing one nationality.

What is interesting for our purposes is that this process of producing the nation by means of an imaginative exclusion of Catholics from a community of readers defined in terms of a shared Protestantism often involved representing Mary Stewart as the Catholic 'other'. In constructing the Stewart Queen as the 'other' of their texts' polemic, Protestant writers frequently associated the Queen of Scots with her Scottish kingdom, and made Scotland partake of the position they accorded its Catholic Queen. Thus in Thomas Norton's and Thomas Sackville's Gorboduc and the co-authored play The Misfortunes of Arthur, both of which will be discussed in detail in due course, not only the Stewart sovereign, but Scotland itself is relegated to the place of the Catholic outsider.

⁵David McCrone, Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 28, 30.

⁶Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness', Journal of British Studies, 31 (1992), 319.

Consequently, in these plays, the Queen of Scots and the kingdom of Scotland are situated beyond the boundaries of a Britain imagined as a locus of Protestantism. Furthermore, in both dramas England figures as the protector of the godly nation while Scotland, along with the Catholic Queen of Scots, features as a foreign peril threatening to undermine a Britain centred on, and identified with, the Protestant kingdom of England.

Although such a problematic formulation of Scotland's relations with England in the structure of nation is particularly prominent in these dramas, it arises out of a broader body of Protestant polemic in which the Stewart Queen is similarly identified with Scotland itself. Interestingly, within this corpus of Protestant material the degree to which Scotland is ostracised from a given text's imagined Britain depends on the extent to which the writer in question envisages the Queen's Catholicism as threatening the task of producing a nation comprised of a community of Protestants.

In order to substantiate these claim, it is necessary firstly to establish the profound impact which the presence and policies of Mary Queen of Scots had on contemporary thinking about the place that might be afforded Scotland in a nation understood as a locus of Protestant identity. Having ascertained the centrality of Mary Stewart to prevailing perceptions of the relations between the two kingdoms within a prospective British nation, it will then be possible to show that in a variety of Protestant texts the figuring of Mary Stewart involves a distinctly imperial vision of Scotland's place in a nation conceived of in Protestant terms.



During the period under discussion, the task of forging a nation of Protestant faithful was

viewed at once as a political and religious necessity. The goal of sealing off the 'postern gate'⁷ of Scotland through which the Catholic forces of the continent might otherwise infiltrate England meant that, for England's Protestant government, securing Scotland as a Protestant ally by uniting with it in a nation impregnable to foreign invasion proved a pressing concern. Equally, the Scottish episcopalian followers of John Knox believed that salvation pended upon the achievement of unification and realisation of what Anthony Gilby described as an 'Ile [of] perfect religion.'⁸ Together, these specific, but symbiotic, agendas served further to fuel the already significant impetus among Protestants in Scotland and England to undertake the task of attempting to realise the godly nation. Indeed, the Scottish Protestant Lords of the Congregation had, since the 1550s, been covertly negotiating with the English government to instigate what Knox described as the 'confederacy, amity, and league'⁹ necessary to producing a nation at once pleasing to God and impenetrable to foreign invasion. Thus when, in 1561, Mary Stewart returned from France to assume her position as Queen of a Catholic country, she did so precisely at the point at which that country was being directed towards Protestantism by a minority in Scotland who, with the secret support of the English government, felt it necessary for the furtherance of 'God's cause'¹⁰ to unite the two realms in one common religion, the tangible expression of which was to be the realisation of Great Britain.

⁷R. B. Wernham, The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy: 1558-1603 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: The University of California Press, 1980), p. 25.

⁸Anthony Gilby, 'An Admonition to England and Scotland', cited in Arthur. H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1979), p. 12.

⁹John Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, cited in Williamson, p. 14.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

Consequently, when Queen Mary disembarked in 1561 to ascend the Scottish throne, 'the position was very fluid indeed; the question of Protestant consolidation or Catholic restoration was entirely open, and...the role of the monarch, once she was back in Scotland, was potentially crucial.'¹¹ Certainly, the part which Mary Queen of Scots would play in Scotland's future vis-à-vis the godly nation of Great Britain proved of widespread concern, with a number of questions uppermost in the minds of those keen to realise that formation. Whether under Queen Mary's leadership Scotland would remain Protestant, whether it would revert to Catholicism, or even whether a Catholic empire would be founded in the event of Mary Stewart either ousting or succeeding Queen Elizabeth, were all, in the 1560s, questions that were unanswerable and all the more worrying for that.

Given this state of affairs, it is hardly surprising that Mary Queen of Scots should feature prominently in texts concerned with Scotland's place in a potential British nation. Yet if the preoccupation with the Stewart Queen is in itself unremarkable, the manner in which Scotland is often made to partake of specific problems surrounding the Catholic Queen of Scots does merit further consideration. Texts written prior to the 1560s tend to associate the Queen of Scots with Scotland itself for purely circumstantial reasons. Pamphlets, tracts and treatises written during the union debate of the 1540s equate the prospective marriage between Mary Stewart and Edward Tudor with a union between Scotland and England only because this marriage was thought to be the means by which union and the associated formation of nation would be realised. Nevertheless, these texts serve as a useful point of departure for a consideration of material in which

¹¹Jenny Wormald, Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure (London: Collins and Brown Limited, 1991), pp. 110-111.

representations of Mary Stewart are used to negotiate Scotland's place in a would-be nation of Protestant faithful. Indeed, even in Protestant literature from the 1540s, images of Mary Queen of Scots reveal a certain amount about Protestant writers' conceptions of Anglo-Scots relations within the structure of nation.

James Henrisoun's Exhortacion to the Scottes, to conform themselves to the honorable, expedient, and godly union betwene the twoo realmes of Englande and Scotlande of 1547 is informed by a patriarchal view of marriage, which in turn impacts on his understanding of nation. Like the Queen whose betrothal is considered (despite the Scots having by this stage reneged on the Treaty of Greenwich) as enabling the emergence of Britain, Scotland is, along with the nation itself, portrayed as the 'righteous possession'¹² of the King of England. Through her marriage to Edward Tudor, Queen Mary's country, after the manner of its monarch, is, the tract suggests, to become the property of England. Written a year after the Exhortacion, An Epistle or exhortacion to unitie and peace, sent from the Lorde protector and others the kynges moste honourable counsaill of England To the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons, and al others the inhabitauntes of the Realme of Scotlande may or may not have been penned by Henrisoun. It has been argued that, because the Epistle emphasises that there will be 'no conquest to bee had' from the proposed marriage and consequent union, it is as such less imperial in its conception of the basis of Anglo-Scots relations in a British nation than other texts

¹²James Henrisoun, Exhortacion to the Scottes, to conform themselves to the honorable, expedient, and godly union betwene the twoo realmes of Englande and Scotlande (1547), cited in Roger. A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain' in Scotland and England 1286-1815, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1987), p. 70.

produced during the 'Edwardian Moment.'¹³ Certainly, the Epistle avoids the bald language of possession which characterises the Exhortacion, adopting instead a rhetoric of destiny. In this tract, the 'inscrutable' forces of 'providence' are seen to be steering Mary Stewart into a marriage with Edward Tudor and pressing Scotland into a union. Like the marriage, which will make of two individuals one couple united in the loving bonds of matrimony, the union will 'make of one Isle one realm, in love [and] amitie.' The nature of the love between the couple whose marriage is portrayed as the means by which union and nation will be realised is, however, conceived of in terms which enforce the text's imperial understanding of these formations. Where Mary Stewart is to be a pawn, propelled into a dynastic marriage for political reasons, Scotland is likewise to become a vehicle, 'annexed' within a nation governed from England.

Given that the Epistle was written in the same year as Protector Somerset's victory over the Scots at the battle of Pinkie, its suggestion that any resistance to England's claims will involve 'conquest com[ing] upon you whether you will or no'¹⁴ is clearly no idle threat. Thus in this tract, in which Edward Tudor's right to Mary Stewart's hand in marriage is taken as a given, England's 'title...to the Croune of Scotland'¹⁵ is equally assumed to be a prerequisite for the founding of Great Britain.

¹³An Epistle or exhortacion to unitie and peace, sent from the Lorde protector and others the kynges moste honourable counsaill of England To the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons, and al others the inhabitauntes of the Realme of Scotlande (1548), cited in Marcus Merriman, 'James Henrisoun and 'Great Britain': British Union and the Scottish Commonweal' in Scotland and England, ed. Mason, p. 91. For the claim that An Epistle promotes Anglo-Scots parity, see Merriman, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴An Epistle or exhortacion, cited in Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', pp. 67, 68.

¹⁵An Epistle or exhortacion, cited in Mason, 'The Scottish Reformation and the origins of Anglo-British Imperialism' in Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), ed. Mason, p. 175.

While the English writer William Pattern argued in his The expedition into Scotland that this marriage would mean ‘not...mastership...but...fellowship’,¹⁶ by the late 1540s it was becoming clear that if the match meant submission for the wife, for Scotland union meant subjection. It is unsurprising then, that by 1548 the Treaty of Greenwich had been replaced by the Treaty of Haddington and the prospective marriage of Mary Stewart to Edward Tudor had given way to a proposed match between the Queen of Scots and the French dauphin. With this transition in the political landscape, ‘the dream of a united and Protestant Brit[ain] appeared to evaporate’, at least until the succession of Elizabeth Tudor in England in 1558 and the rebellion of the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland in 1559 ‘breathed new life into the unionist rhetoric of the late 1540s and once again the prospect of a Protestant Brit[ain] appeared tantalizingly on the horizon.’¹⁷ It was precisely at this point, however, that the figure who in the 1540s had seemed capable of facilitating the emergence of nation by playing her part in a dynastic marriage which would have aligned Scotland with England, returned to take up her place as Queen of Scots. This time, however, Mary Stewart was not available to be utilised as a pawn either in the English imperial project or the related process of producing a Protestant nation. A Queen regnant, she was by this stage entitled to set her own agenda. Given her adherence to Catholicism, this seemed unlikely in the 1560s to square with her earlier position as the vehicle through which Protestant apologists had, in the 1540s, hoped to found a nation that would encapsulate the experience of being part of a godly community of Protestants.

John Knox’s The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of

¹⁶William Patten, The expedition into Scotland (1548), cited in Mason, ‘The Scottish Reformation’, p. 177.

¹⁷Mason, ‘The Scottish Reformation’, p. 179.

Women, written three years prior to the return of Mary Stewart, is indicative of a transition in Protestant polemicists' attitudes towards the Scottish Queen. Along side the emergence of anxiety amongst Protestant apologists about the Stewart Queen's potential to disrupt the project for forming a godly nation, there arose a tendency to explore questions relating simultaneously to the Queen of Scots and the production of Britain. In this respect, The First Blast lends itself to being read as a precursor to the Protestant texts which, from the 1560s onwards, would mobilise images of Mary Stewart while concurrently exploring ideas about Britain and, in so doing, developing a form of representation through which to negotiate the problems she posed for their understanding of nation.

The animosity Knox expresses towards Queens in The First Blast is considered by Constance Jordan to be symptomatic primarily of patriarchal resistance to gynaecocracy.¹⁸ Certainly, the second section of the tract sets out to demonstrate that women's inherent weakness predisposes them to being governed by men. Focusing predominantly on patriarchy, however, causes the tract's equating of female leadership with a Catholicism imagined as jeopardising the project for founding a nation to be overlooked. What then fails to be recognised is that The First Blast is 'not simply a critique of women governors [but] a treatise on behalf of Anglo-Scottish union'¹⁹ in which the necessity of drawing the Protestant community together by producing a nation of the faithful relates directly to its representation of women.

Knox does indeed focus on 'Queens who are more than consorts' in order to

¹⁸See Constance Jordan, Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 128-129.

¹⁹Williamson, p. 11.

demonstrate that ‘gynaecocracy invites disorder.’²⁰ His concern is, however, as much with the impact which transitions in Protestant/Catholic relations have on the task of realising Britain as with changes in the balance of power between the sexes. Sexual politics are used here to address territorial concerns. Throughout the tract, the contention that women in office destabilise patriarchy is interlinked with the assertion that Queen regnants undermine Protestantism and, in so doing, put paid to the possibility of founding the Protestant ‘sanctuary’²¹ of Britain. Citing Mary Tudor as a prime example of the instability attendant on female government, Knox promptly conflates issues of gender with questions surrounding Catholic/Protestant relations, and specifically with the ramifications those relations might have for the task of realising Britain. Mary Tudor is, he argues, not merely an insubordinate woman who poses problems for patriarchy, but also a punishment sent by God for the ‘horrible ingratitude of the realmes of England and Scotland’ for failing in the 1540s to seize the moment in which ‘they might have bene ioyned together for ever in [the] godly concorde’²² of a Protestant nation. Because of their failure to recognise themselves as part of a Protestant community by uniting and producing what Gilby, in his appendix to Knox’s Appellation, calls the ‘safe sanctuary’²³ of Britain, the English must now, Knox contends, ‘bowe their necks under the yoke of [the] pestilent papiste’,²⁴ Queen Mary.

²⁰Jordan, p. 129.

²¹Anthony Gilby, ‘An Admonition’, cited in Williamson, p. 12.

²²John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (Edinburgh, 1687), p. 30.

²³Gilby, ‘An Admonition’, cited in Williamson, p. 12.

²⁴Knox, The First Blast, p. 32.

The negative effect of female leadership on the task of founding a Protestant polity not only, therefore, proves as pressing a problem for Knox as female power per se, but through a discussion of women in power he is able to explore matters pertaining to the realisation of Britain. It is interesting in this respect to note that Knox qualifies the extent to which gynaecocracy can be considered a threat to patriarchy, rather than to Protestantism and the goal of formulating a nation as seminary for perpetuating the Protestant faith. Arguing that Queen regnants are usurping men's roles as state leaders, he also contends that these women are overtly willing to be ruled by their husbands. That The First Blast depicts the Queen regnant as at once submissive before, and assertive in the face of male authority, suggests it is not her outright refutation of patriarchy that Knox is anxious about. Indeed, he argues that in the event of marriage she is liable to find herself pressurised by her husband into passing over to him the business of government. Were Knox in this tract primarily concerned to consolidate male hegemony, he would, surely, welcome the return of 'right' rule by means of the husband subjugating the Queen in her capacity as wife. Yet man's power over woman in marriage is viewed as a crucially damning factor of female government. The reason given for this is, significantly, that it leads to outside (and thus potentially Catholic) intervention in the internal affairs of the realm.

In his list of examples of Queens whose marriages have exacerbated the damage already done to their countries through their adherence to the Catholic faith, Mary Tudor is closely followed by Mary Stewart. Where the marriage of Mary Tudor to King Philip has subjected England to the 'yoke' of a 'pestilent' Spanish 'papist', the union between Mary Stewart and the French dauphin has resulted in Scotland being resigned 'under title

of marriage into the power of France.²⁵ In both cases the Queen regnant's willingness to bow down before the Catholic powers of Europe figured in the person of her husband renders her responsible in Knox's eyes for sabotaging the possibility of realising the nation. Dragging England and Scotland back into Catholic alliances with the continent rather than cordoning the two kingdoms off from Catholic Europe by forging the Protestant haven of Britain, these women's wilfulness is not characterised solely in terms of their rejection of male rule. Rather, women's assertiveness is felt to arise from the Queens' refutation of the Protestant project of producing a godly nation. Certainly, the disorder consequent upon denying the 'true' faith is equated in The First Blast with oppositional femininity. In the last instance though the idea of insurrection is grounded in issues of religious and national policy. These preoccupations find their focus in a discussion of sexual politics, but the text cannot be explained in terms of gender relations alone. Rather, it can more productively be understood as using those relations to address the religious and political concerns with which they are made to intersect.

In the body of Protestant polemic produced between 1565 and 1567 which addresses problems posed by Mary Stewart for the task of realising the nation, the relations between the sexes are also made to bear the weight of considerations relating to that formation. The First Blast was written three years prior to Mary Stewart's return to Scotland in 1561. Over the next seven years, Protestant apologists' attitudes to Mary Queen of Scots hardened, with 1565 marking a turning point in their relations with the Catholic Queen. The uneasy relationship between Mary Stewart, the Lords of the Congregation and their covert ally, the English government, had come to a head in 1565

²⁵Ibid., pp. 32, 48.

when the Queen of Scots married the English born Catholic Henry Darnley. The Queen's 'political motive in choosing' Darnley was to 'free herself from the domination of the Protestant-English party...led by [the] earl of Murray'²⁶ and the Lords of the Congregation. Her marriage enabled her to assert the independence of the Scottish monarchy, for the prospect it offered 'was at root that of an independent kingdom, able to restore itself to its rightful and equal status with its neighbour.'²⁷

The Darnley match thus proved an immediate obstacle to the task of uniting the kingdoms in one Protestant state because it afforded a union of the 'best two Catholic claims to the English throne.'²⁸ In so doing, it served to revitalise arguments surrounding Mary Stewart's right to succeed, or even supersede, Elizabeth Tudor as Queen of England. Much vaunted in the wake of her marriage to the dauphin in 1558 when, over the course of the following year, Queen Mary publicly adopted the style of 'queen of England, France and Scotland', the Stewart claim had subsequently been held in check by the Treaty of Edinburgh which contained 'a clause that...Mary would henceforth refrain from using the arms of England.' Yet it was one thing to contain the Marian claim and 'an entirely different matter to...snuff [it] out'²⁹ altogether. Indeed, the claim was lodged anew in 1565 in a manuscript entitled Allegations in behalf of the high and mighty Princes, the Lady Mary, now Queen of Scots, touching the succession of the Crown which was circulated throughout Scotland and England at the time of the Darnley marriage.

²⁶Phillips, Images of a Queen, p. 27.

²⁷Michael Lynch, in Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms, ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 14.

²⁸Ibid., p. 8.

²⁹Merriman, 'Mary, Queen of France' in Mary Stewart, ed. Lynch, pp. 46, 47.

Thus in 1565, by way of her marriage to Darnley, Mary Stewart refashioned herself as a 'patriot queen' in whose person Scottish sovereignty was allied with Catholicism. Indeed, the marriage lent itself to being viewed as a consolidation of the Queen of Scots's pro-Catholic policy. Supplementing her own Catholic claim to the English throne with Darnley's, Mary Stewart simultaneously set about supplanting Murray and the Protestant lords with Catholic advisers. Equally, crushing a Protestant backlash in the Chaseabout Raid and sending Murray, the head of the pro-English faction, to seek succour in England, she appeared in 1565 to be adopting a 'policy directed squarely at encouraging a Catholic revival'³⁰ in Scotland. The notion that Mary Queen of Scots sought to instigate a counter reformation in Scotland, either in 1565 or at any other point in her chequered career is open to question.³¹ But, whatever the realities of the Queen's religious policy, they were probably less important to contemporaries than the fact that her marriage to Darnley afforded Scotland an identity as an independent country governed by a monarch whose claim to the English throne, if deemed legitimate, stood to turn the tables on Protestantism's ascendancy and the imperialism enshrined in the discourse of English suzerainty. If from the 1540s English and Scottish Protestants alike had been attempting to establish a Protestant nation, by 1565 Mary Queen of Scots appeared capable of appropriating this project and refiguring it to serve Catholic ends.

Were the Queen of Scots at this juncture to have relinquished her adherence to the Catholic faith, the spectre of the two kingdoms uniting in what John Hamilton

³⁰Lynch, in *Mary Stewart*, ed. Lynch, pp. 14, 20.

³¹See Ian. B. Cowan, 'The Roman connection: Prospects for counter-Reformation during the Personal Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots' and Julian Goodare, 'Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude', in *Mary Stewart*, ed. Lynch, pp. 105-123 and pp. 154-170.

described as ‘the halie union of Christ’s Catholic kirk’,³² and of Britain thus being formulated as a Catholic rather than a Protestant state, would never have raised its head. Were she to have foregone the opportunity of adding Darnley’s claim to her own by way of marriage, the prospect of a Scottish monarch ousting native claimants to the English throne and thereby inverting the principle of suzerainty by having Scotland lay claim to England rather than *vica versa* would not, in 1565, have seemed so imminent. As it was, in this year Mary Stewart not only assumed the role of a patriot Queen in whose person Scottish sovereignty was identified with Catholicism, but she also allowed her supporters to revitalise her claim to the English throne. Thus from this date onwards both the person and the policies of the Queen of Scots stood to contradict the work already undertaken by the Lords of the Congregation in conjunction with the English government towards establishing Protestantism in Scotland and thereby instigating in that country a receptivity to participating in the production of a Protestant nation.

Both Mary Queen of Scots and the kingdom with which she was associated appeared in 1565, therefore, to be at once powerful and poised to utilise that power to undermine the Protestant project of realising a godly Britain. Indeed, within Protestant polemic produced at this time, it is not only the Queen of Scots, but Scotland itself which is envisaged as antagonistic to the formation of the godly nation. However, although Protestant material written between 1565 and 1567 does conflate the Queen of Scots, Catholicism and Scotland, it tends on the whole to partake of the earlier figuration,

³²John Hamilton, *A Facile Traictise, Contenant, first: ane infallible reul to discernere trew from fals religion: Nixt, a declaration of the Nature, Numbre, Vertew and effects of the sacraments: together with certaine Prayeres of devotion* (London: Laurence Kellam, 1600), cited in *Catholik Tractates of the Sixteenth Century 1573-1600*, ed. Thomas Graves Law (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Text Society, 1901), p. 222

exemplified in Knox's The First Blast, in which the threat of Catholicism to Protestantism and the task of realising a godly nation, is imagined in terms of a struggle between women and men.

The murder of Darnley in 1566 and Mary Stewart's suspected involvement afforded Protestant apologists an opportunity to criticise the Queen not on the grounds of her religious policies, but on the basis of her conduct as a wife. The events at Kirk o' Field meant that representations of gender relations were at this time particularly suited to the task of destabilising the Queen of Scots and, in so doing, neutralising the problems she posed to the Protestant ideal of establishing a nation comprised of the faithful. Between 1566 and 1567 'protestants attacks were launched...not against religion per se, but against Mary's character.' To be more precise, the Queen was criticised for her conduct in her dealings with men, and particularly for her behaviour towards her husband. Much as Knox in The First Blast had couched Protestant resistance to Catholicism in terms of patriarchal disapproval of female headship, so now a nucleus of Protestant writers brought sexual politics into play as a means of negotiating broader political concerns. Between 1566 and 1567 a series of broadside ballads were produced by the Lords of the Congregation, most of which were 'written by Robert Sempill, a Protestant of the extreme Knoxian type [and] printed by Robert Lekprevik, the major publisher of Protestant works after the Reformation in Scotland.'³³

Declaring that Mary Stewart 'moste be keipit or all will spill', Sempill, in his ballad Heir followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis, sets the terms for the figuration of a

³³Phillips, Images of a Queen, pp. 34, 42.

‘spillage’,³⁴ or transference of power, as having to do with wives getting the upper hands over husbands, rather than Catholicism gaining ground in the struggle with Protestantism. In his ballad Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie written, along with its companion ballad Heir followis ane Exhortatioun, in 1567, Sempill criticises the Stewart Queen for being a typical example of disorderly femininity. As Phillips remarks, if

it was necessary to defame Mary’s character completely, in order to discredit her religion and to justify deposing her [then] Sempill was a good man for the job. Judged both by the virulence of his attack and the resultant storm of public feeling that enabled Murray’s faction to depose the Queen, Sempill was eminently successful as a propagandist.³⁵

By appealing to a sense of patriarchal outrage over woman’s wilfulness, Sempill was able to tarnish the Queen in her capacity as the potential locus of a Catholic resurgence in Scotland and as the source of a refiguring of nation as a Catholic structure. Sempill’s Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie recounts the experience of marriage from Darnley’s point of view, with the Queen of Scots characterised as a wife who typically renders her husband’s life ‘unstabil.’³⁶ Here, his representation of Mary Stewart as a spouse who undermines the marital relation usefully corresponds with his view, held by Knoxian Protestants in general, that she was

³⁴Robert Sempill, Heir followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis (Edinburgh, 1567), cited in Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation, ed. James Cranstoun, Volume I, (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1891-1893), p. 47, line 48.

³⁵Phillips, Images of a Queen, pp. 44-45.

³⁶Sempill, Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie (Edinburgh, 1567), cited in Cranstoun, Volume I, p. 44, line 164.

damaging Scotland's chances of becoming a participant in the project of realising Britain.

Written in the same year as Sempill's ballads and directly informed by them, John Pickeryng's morality play Horestes similarly uses marriage and the wife's position in it as a way of exploring the effects that government by Mary Stewart had on Scotland's prospects of being a party to, rather than opponent of, the task of forming a godly Britain. In her analysis of Horestes, Angela Ingram gives voice to the widely held view that Pickeryng's disorderly wife, Clytemnestra, 'mirrors the political threat posed by Mary Stewart.' Ingram goes on, however, to suggest that the play's representation of Clytemnestra is disassociated from any political reality other than that of patriarchy owing to the fact that here, as in other contemporary renditions of the Clytemnestra story, the unruly woman is 'condemned as a destroyer of...womanly and wifely...order rather than as an exemplar of political disorder.'³⁷ The problem with this analysis, as with Jordan's treatment of The First Blast, is that it contextualises the text under discussion primarily in relation to patriarchal polemic and thereby fails to take account of its function as Protestant propaganda. When the delineation of the unruly woman in Horestes is situated in the context of contemporary concern over the relations of Catholicism to Protestantism, and of the effect Mary Stewart was capable of having on the task of producing a Protestant nation, it can nevertheless be seen, like The First Blast, to be imbued with broader political significance than that pertaining to gender relations alone.

'Pickeryng wrote to urge the legal punishment of Mary Stuart and he simplified

³⁷Angela Ingram, In the Posture of a Whore: Changing Attitudes to 'Bad' Women in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama, Volume 2, (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), pp. 242, 243.

his legend to this end.³⁸ Any correspondence between Horestes's treatment of Clytemnestra and Pickeryng's stance *vis-à-vis* Mary Stewart is 'neither incidental nor coincidental [but is rather] evidence of the playwright's controlling purpose in his rehandling of...classical legend...to dramatize the arguments that justify in principle the deposing of a sovereign queen.'³⁹ As both Marie Axton and Phillips note, Pickeryng's purpose is to promote the Protestant cause by producing propaganda which legitimates disenfranchising a Catholic authority figure. Yet what neither focuses on is the degree to which Pickeryng is concerned with the impact Mary Stewart's government was imagined as capable of having on the task of realising the godly nation. Pickeryng's method of addressing this concern involves telescoping the notion of the Queen as intent on destabilising the community of Protestants of which Britain was to be comprised, into a figuration of the Queen as a disorderly wife committed to undermining the sacred bond of marriage. Such a figuration is certainly patriarchal in conception. Nevertheless, the play's portrayal of woman's wilfulness justly punished is not, as Ingram argues, solely motivated by Pickeryng's urge to advocate the necessity of men in their capacities as husbands constraining women in their roles as wives. Rather, his depiction of patriarchy restored provided him with a way of negotiating his primary concern which is indeed, as Axton and Phillips contend, to justify rejecting the Catholicism associated with the play's figuration of Queen Mary. But what is also important, and which neither remarks, is the extent to which the overthrow of the Catholic Queen of Scots is deemed necessary in this play precisely because of the threat the playwright envisages Mary Stewart posing for the

³⁸Axton, p. 60.

³⁹James. E. Phillips, 'A Revaluation of *Horestes*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 18 (1955), 229-230.

community of Protestants of which a godly nation was to be comprised. In this respect, what has yet to be adequately addressed in discussions of Horestes is the manner in which Pickeryng utilises representations of instabilities in the relations between the sexes in wedlock as a means of considering the repercussions that the leadership and legacy of the Catholic Queen of Scots had for the goal of instituting a godly Britain.

The play stages a sequence of events in which Clytemnestra gains the upper hand in her marriage and disorder consequently ensues. Murdering her husband and thus violating the law of wifely subjection, Clytemnestra justifies her son's decision to place 'Dewty' before 'Nature'⁴⁰ and punish his mother for her insubordination by murdering her. Clytemnestra's marriage is characterised by wifely insurrection, which is figured as much in terms of her volubility as of her rebellious actions. Conversely, her son's subsequent marriage is one in which his wife is largely silent, a state of affairs that indicates she is appropriately self-effacing and submissive. The respective marriages of mother and son are thus sharply juxtaposed, with right order equated with the son, Horestes, and the patriarchy of which he is an exponent. Horestes is also, however, a champion of Protestantism. Consequently, the restoration of right rule is connected at once with the reinstatement of patriarchy and with a Protestant victory over the Catholicism identified with the play's figuration of the Catholic Queen of Scots.

Yet the reinstating of patriarchy in Horestes is also depicted as the culmination of a process in which Horestes's eradication of the disorderly Clytemnestra ensures that the subjects of the Mycenaean state are now 'ioyned, in love' (I.xiii.1340) and 'lyve,

⁴⁰John Pickeryng, The Interlude of Vice (Horestes) 1567, ed. Daniel Seltzer (Oxford: The Malone Society Reprints, 1962), I.xiii.345, I.iv.486. All quotations from Horestes are taken from Seltzer's edition.

inpleasaunt state cartaine,/Devoyd of wars and civill stryfes' (I.xiii.1341-2). These lines suggest that liberation from Clytemnestra's reign ameliorates civil unrest, allowing the play's citizens to join as one, forming a loving community 'devoyd of...stryfes' (I.xiii.1342). Given that the drama equates its unruly Queen with Mary Stewart, the message released here would appear to be that only through liberation from the Catholic reign of the Queen of Scots might Scottish and English subjects expect to converge in a manner which would actualise the emergence of the godly nation of Great Britain. Indeed, the way in which the play draws to a close suggests that Horestes is ultimately concerned with the fate of the nation, and with the threat posed by Mary Queen of Scots to the imagined religious community of Protestants of which Britain was so often seen to consist.

Horestes concludes with the personified figure of 'Truth' commenting that Horestes's victory over Clytemnestra has resulted in the kingdom of Mycenae being 'kept in Amyte, and voyde of dissention/Ne devydyd in him selfe, by aney kynde of waye' (I.xiii.1371-2). Pickeryng could have expected his audience to equate the 'devydes' (I.xiii.1372) which have scarred Mycenae throughout the period of Clytemnestra's insurrection with the Catholic/Protestant divisions which, exacerbated by the presence and policies of the Stewart Queen, had erupted in Scotland from the 1560s onwards and, complicating its relations with its Protestant neighbour, raised questions around its eligibility to be deemed a participant in the religious community of Britain. Indeed, Horestes was 'designed for an audience...aware of the current political situation in Scotland'⁴¹ where, following the battle of Carberry Hill, Mary Stewart had been forced to abdicate by the pro-English earl of Murray and the Protestant Lords of the

⁴¹Phillips, A Revaluation of Horestes, p. 239.

Congregation. Given, then, that the play was delivered to an audience who were likely to have been aware of the instabilities effected within Anglo-Scots relations by Mary Stewart's Catholicism, it seems plausible to suggest that *Pickeryng* is establishing correspondences between the state of Mycenae and the kingdoms of England and Scotland. That 'amye' (I.xiii.1371) is only restored in Mycenae by eradicating the unruly Queen, and that that Queen is linked with Mary Stewart, suggests Scotland and England can only expect to become 'ioyned, in love' (I.xiii.1340) and mutually to participate in the imagined community of a British nation by disenfranchising the Queen of Scots.

Probably published and staged only months before the deposition of the Scottish Queen,⁴² *Horestes* utilises the ridding of the realm of the disorderly wife and related restoration of amity to the kingdom of Mycenae as a means of addressing the obstacle posed by the Catholic Queen of Scots to the production of a Protestant nation. Yet for all that *Horestes* addresses the ramifications of Mary Stewart's Catholicism for Scotland's relations with England in the formation of Britain, it only ever implicitly aligns Mary Queen of Scots with Scotland itself. In other texts produced by Protestant apologists across the period 1566-1567, the representation of the Scottish Queen as an insubordinate wife is coupled with a more explicit identification of Queen with country.

Scotland tends, in certain of the ballads of the Lords of the Congregation and like-minded English Protestants, to be depicted as akin to its sovereign in untrustworthiness. If the English ballad *Earl Bothwell* simply denounces 'Scottlande' as 'false'⁴³ like its Queen, then Sempill's *Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie*

⁴²See Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, p. 46.

⁴³*Earl Bothwell*, cited in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. F. J. Child, Volume 3, (New York: The Folklore Press, 1957), p. 400.

Stewart of gude memorie aligns Mary Stewart's duplicity in her capacity as wife with the deceitfulness of the Scots in their relations with the English. Scotland is for Sempill untrustworthy because it proves accepting of the Catholic leadership of the Stewart Queen. Sempill was a Scot whose allegiance to his country was complicated by that country's apparent willingness to accept the Catholicism of Mary Stewart. In the face of an acquiescence that might easily be translated as an endorsement of Catholicism, Sempill, like numerous other Scottish Protestants, looked to England as an exemplar of Protestant virtue. In Sempill's Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie, England features as a safe space, in direct contrast to Scotland, the predatory nature of which is encapsulated in the ballad's representation of the Scottish Queen. Indeed, the ballad consistently conflates Queen and country.

Warning prospective husbands of the dangers of marrying a 'wylie' woman like Mary Queen of Scots, Sempill's ballad at the same time cautions those outwith Scotland (presumably the English) about the perils of crossing the border. Darnley informs us that when 'Inglan I left [and] Scotland I socht' he was 'seducit by ignorance' into succumbing to the 'crewell tyrannie' of the Queen of Scots. When the Stewart Queen has Darnley slain, his ghost not only regrets having wedded this cunning woman, but equally rues 'the day that I thee, Scotland, knew.' Sempill has Darnley recall that, as he crossed over into 'Scotland...in houpe for to get hir...fra my trew God [I] declyne[d].'⁴⁴ By way of this recollection, Sempill is able to suggest that in quitting England, Darnley relinquished his fealty to God. Scotland thus figures in the ballad as a godless space

⁴⁴Sempill, Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie (Edinburgh, 1567), cited in Cranstoun, Volume I, pp. 41, 39, 42, 44, 39, 40, lines 63, 46, 8-9, 95, 160, 9, 32.

presided over by a heartless monarch whose lack of compassion, the text intimates, stems from a Catholicism which contaminates Queen and country alike. England, by contrast, features as a sanctified space, with notions of godliness implicitly equated with England's Protestant position. It is because Darnley sought Scotland, rather than simply the hand of its sovereign, that he strayed from the path of righteousness and was punished, accordingly, with death.

The anonymous English ballad A dolefull Ditty or Sorrowfull Sonet of the Lord Darly, sometime King of Scots, nephew to the noble and worthy King, King Henry the eyght elaborates on the association underpinning Sempill's ballad between the Queen of Scots and Scotland itself. Here, however, Scotland and the Scots are represented as more dangerous than their sovereign. In A dolefull Ditty, written for 'all men... Throughout this English land', the focus on Mary Stewart's cruelty to Darnley rapidly shifts toward an exploration of the Scots' animosity towards the English. Unlike the Queen of Scots who repents of murdering Darnley, her noblemen, whom she initially enjoined to slaughter him, are portrayed as unrepentant and relishing their task. It is almost as if the Scottish nobility take pleasure in killing Darnley because he is English, rather than because their sovereign wishes him punished for his part in the murder of Rizzio. In the final conversation with his assailants prior to his death, Darnley is explicitly identified as English and it is not implausible to read this interchange as suggesting that he is sacrificed because of it: "I am an English man," quoth he.../King Henry once myne Uncle was,/Which was of England King."/ "I know the[e] well," quoth one of them,/ "For that thou shalt fare the worse."⁴⁵

⁴⁵A dolefull Ditty or Sorrowfull Sonet of the Lord Darly, sometime King of Scots, nephew to the noble and worthy King, King Henry the eyght, cited in Cranstoun, Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation, Volume 2, (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893), pp. 40, 43.

In the ballads discussed above, the threat the Scottish Queen poses for her English husband translates into a danger posed by the Scots and their country for England and its subjects. As such, tensions in Catholic/Protestant relations are figured in these ballads as having to do not simply, as in The First Blast and Horestes, with instabilities in the relationship between Mary Stewart and her husband, but also with animosity in the relations between Scotland and England. The early-modern identification of sovereign with state ensures that the Catholicism of the Scottish Queen is envisaged here as having polluted the country with which she is associated. Scotland, like its sovereign, acquires the characteristic qualities of the Catholic 'other', and emerges as threatening, malignant, and implicitly requiring surveillance, if not outright subjugation. It is, nonetheless, in the drama that the identification of Queen and country is pressed to the point where Scotland, rather than merely partaking of the problems which surrounded its sovereign during the period under discussion, effectively replaces her as the Catholic 'other' of the text's polemic.



In Norton's and Sackville's Gorboduc and the co-authored play The Misfortunes of Arthur, anxiety surrounding Mary Stewart's Catholicism is displaced onto her country. In both plays, Scotland, sullied by the Catholicism associated with the Queen of Scots, figures as a foreign space which threatens the community of Protestants of whom the playwrights' imagine the nation to be composed. England is in each case forced to act in the best interests of Britain by enforcing the discourse of suzerainty. Only, the texts' intimate, by assuming precedence in its relations with Scotland, can England hope to

safeguard Britain from a replay of the events that are outlined in both texts. The Scotland of each play acts as an opponent of the nation and ruptures its relationship with England, threatening to invade and expose England to further foreign intervention. What both dramas ultimately suggest is that it is not only the Catholic Queen of Scots who must be held in check by the Protestant powers that be, but her country must likewise be brought to heel, either by the King of England in council or, if necessary, by the English council acting in place of their King on the British nation's behalf.

First performed in 1561, the year of Mary Stewart's return to Scotland, Gorboduc was presented before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall in 1562. The Misfortunes of Arthur, staged for Queen Elizabeth in 1588, was performed the year after the beheading of the Queen of Scots. Both plays as such partake of moments of inception which constitute liminal points in the development of contemporary perceptions of the problems posed by Mary Queen of Scots for Scotland's role in the Protestant project of forming a godly nation.

Described as 'a tract for the times on the subject of the succession, containing a palpable attack on Mary's title',⁴⁶ Norton's and Sackville's drama has long been recognised as registering resistance to the Stewart claim. As we have seen, in the years immediately prior to the production of Gorboduc, the Queen of Scots had openly claimed her cousin's throne. Furthermore, within three days of returning to Scotland in the year the play was produced, Mary Stewart sent Maitland of Lethington to negotiate with Queen Elizabeth for a public acceptance of her place as heir presumptive. As is often

⁴⁶Sir John Neale, Queen Elizabeth (London, 1938), p. 200, cited in Mortimer Levine, The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568 (California: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 39.

remarked, the idea of a Catholic monarch ascending the English throne was anathema to Norton, with his 'Puritan...proclivities and...consequent hatred of anything connected with the church of Rome',⁴⁷ and to Sackville, himself decidedly anti-Catholic. Being the joint product of these two Protestant playwrights, Gorboduc has tended to be read straightforwardly as anti-Catholic propaganda. What is often overlooked, however, is that it is not simply the prospect of a Catholic, but specifically of a Scottish succession that the playwrights present as problematic. Indeed, Gorboduc not only attacks Queen Mary's title, but also makes 'free use of the Scottophobia that was still endemic in England.'⁴⁸ The play's fifth Act, often read as the nub of its anti-Marian polemic, couches resistance to the Stewart claim in terms of a discourse of Anglo-Scots divide, with notions of division, difference and 'otherness' centred as much on Mary Stewart's kingdom as on the Queen herself.

Arostus' plea to 'Ne suffer you, against the rules of kind,/Your mother land to serve a foreign prince'⁴⁹ draws on the arguments derived from the English common-law rule against alien inheritance. As noted in the previous chapter, according to this ruling Scotland was beyond England's jurisdictions and the Scots were as such foreigners debarred from inheriting property there. The rule against alien inheritance became, in due course, a staple of anti-Marian polemic, being utilised, for example, by John Hales in his A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England. In this treatise, Hales argued that as a foreigner the Queen of Scots could not expect to succeed to the English

⁴⁷Levine, p. 39.

⁴⁸Ferguson, p. 84.

⁴⁹Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex, edited by Irby. B. Cauthen, Jr., (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), V.ii.178-179.

throne. Arostus mobilises the same arguments to the same ends. It is important to note, however, that the differentiating of England as 'native' (V.ii.166) and Scotland as 'foreign' (V.ii.179) terrain is not particular to Gorboduc's final Act, with its fairly overt allusion to Mary Stewart. Rather, it is endemic to the play as a whole. Indeed, during the course of the drama, the distinguishing of Scotland from England on the basis that Scotland is foreign territory takes precedence over the play's focus on Mary Queen of Scots.

If Gorboduc in its final act glances across to the Stewart Queen by referring to foreign rather than indigenous claimants, on the whole it avoids any overt representation of the Scottish Queen. It is, in this respect, fairly typical of Inns of Court plays which 'risked no tragedies of virgin queens plagued by clamorous female rivals' but instead 'conjure[d] up an ancient British King and his warring sons' in Gorboduc and 'King Arthur and his bastard' in The Misfortunes of Arthur. Axton argues that, for Inns of Court writers, the deployment of 'oblique allusion and analogy'⁵⁰ was a necessary evil if they were to avoid offending Queen Elizabeth and thereby placing themselves on the wrong side of the censors. However, 'the applicability of [Gorboduc's] last act to the contemporary scene could hardly have escaped [Queen Elizabeth's] suspicious ears.'⁵¹ Indeed, if Norton and Sackville were attempting in this play to disguise a treatment of a power struggle between the Tudor Queen and her Scottish cousin as a clash of wills between the older King Gorboduc and his youngest son Porrex, then their disguise was self defeating in its flimsiness. Such transparency suggests that either these dramatists had

⁵⁰Axton, p. 38.

⁵¹Levine, p. 44.

little to fear from the censors, which appears not to have been the case, or that they did not consider their play primarily a treatment of the relations between their monarch and the Queen of Scots--and thus did not feel it necessary to make their allusion to these persons more opaque and difficult to interpret. Indeed, although Gorboduc attacks Mary Stewart's claim to her cousin's throne, its focus is not on the Queen of Scots per se, nor on her strained relations with her English cousin. Rather, its sights are set on exploring what it imagines as being the combined effect which Mary Stewart's presence, her religious position, and her title to the English throne, have on Scotland's place in the configuration of nation. Britain, and Scotland's position within it, is the play's presiding concern, and it is this that determines the playwrights' choice of the Gorboduc story.

Gorboduc's handling of the Brutus myth, which it mirrors and also diverges from in crucial respects, provides an imperial vision of nation. As we established in Chapter One, the legend of Brutus looked back to a mythical time when the kingdoms had been united in one nation under Brutus's leadership. Brutus had supposedly divided Britain between his three sons, but sought to safeguard its unified structure by determining that his eldest son Locrinus and his English kingdom assume precedence over the younger brothers and their Welsh and Scottish territories. These actions ensured Britain remained united, but only as long as all three realms recognised the nation as centred on England, with Scotland and Wales assuming a secondary position in the united kingdom.

In their reworking of the myth, Norton and Sackville depict Gorboduc, like his legendary counterpart, dividing Britain between his sons. Importantly, however, there are only two sons here, the elder son Ferrex, whose position as first born equates with the English King's in the Brutus legend, and his younger brother Porrex. The play finds ways of indicating that the brothers' dominions be understood as England and Scotland

respectively. We are told, for instance, that ‘Humber shall part the marches of their realms./The southern part the elder shall possess;/The northern shall Porrex, the younger, rule’ (I.ii.345-347). While this south/north divide itself suggests an allusion being made to England and Scotland, intimations to that effect are further established by the claim that the elder brother receives ‘that half which in abounding store/Of things that serve to make a wealthy realm.../Doth pass the double value of the part/That Porrex hath allotted to his reign’ (II.i.36-44). We saw in the previous chapter how frequently contemporaries differentiated between England and Scotland on the basis of their respective wealth and poverty. That just such a distinction is made here between Ferrex’s and Porrex’s southern and northern states indicates we are being invited to identify the sons’ kingdoms as imaginary versions of England and Scotland.

In addition to this important departure from the Brutus myth, the playwrights make another significant amendment. Unlike Brutus, Goboduc abrogates primogeniture. In so doing, he jeopardises national unity. As his secretary Eubulus points out to him, this can only be retained by enforcing the privileging of the first born which, with the eldest boy associated with the kingdom of England, means implementing the discourse of English suzerainty.

Eubulus is the ‘explicator of...political lesson[s] to be learned’,⁵² the first of which is that Gorboduc ought to teach his sons ‘such behaviour as beseems their state:/The elder, mildness in his governance,/The younger, a yielding contentedness’ (I.ii.302-304). Gorboduc though, heeding the negative council of Philander, chooses to ‘place’ the elder brother and his younger sibling ‘in the same’ (I.ii.65) position believing, as Philander puts

⁵²David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics: a Critical Approach to Topical Meaning (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 144.

it, that 'such an egalness hath nature made/Between the brethren.../As an unkindly wrong it seems.../To throw the brother subject under feet/Of him whose peer he is by course of kind' (I.ii.181-185). Eubulus's warning that 'egal state doth raise an egal hope/To win the thing that either would attain' (I.ii.267-268) falls on deaf ears and, in the wake of what is shown to be Gorboduc's erroneous decision to dismantle Britain's centralised power structure, his sons fall, as Eubulus predicts, to competing with one another. The ensuing struggle between the younger northern and older southern monarch precipitates the destruction of the royal family and the outbreak of civil war, with Gorboduc's dynasty destroyed and Britain torn asunder. The drama ends with England's dukes bewailing the dissolution of the British nation and praying that God in his wisdom will restore the unity which the coming to pass of Eubulus's predictions has shown to be dependent on enforcing the supremacy of the play's southern state over its northern realm.

Axton argues that the advice given to Gorboduc by his councillors reads as a plea on the part of Norton and Sackville for their own sovereign to reject any course of action which would involve establishing equality between Scotland and England.⁵³ Viewed in this light, the thrust of the play is towards suggesting that only by settling the succession in a manner which will prevent a Scottish sovereign from assuming any right to lay claim to the English throne will the catastrophes which engulf Gorboduc's kingdom be prevented from erupting in Queen Elizabeth's realm. If we accept this interpretation, Eubulus's argument can be understood as advice proffered by the playwrights to their own sovereign. The play then becomes a warning to Queen Elizabeth that only when Scotland is taught to know its place will it lapse into a 'yielding contentedness' (I.ii.304) in the face

⁵³Axton, p. 47.

of England's 'governance' (I.ii.303) and acknowledge the need for England to be ruled by a 'native' (V.ii.166) English claimant, and Scotland subject to English overlordship.

Certainly, in the drama itself, Queen Elizabeth's counterpart fails to recognise that it is his responsibility to grant precedence to his eldest son and his southern realm. Whilst this knowledge is lost on Gorboduc, it is nevertheless available to Porrex, the northern King, who confirms the truth of Eubulus's arguments when he contends that if dissention has arisen from introducing equal rule into the relations between himself and his older brother, then 'from your highness' will alone it sprung' (IV.ii.83). Calling Gorboduc to account for the murder he himself has committed, Porrex is not depicted as abnegating responsibility for his own deeds, but rather as justifiably apportioning blame. The suggestion arising from these events is that, like Gorboduc, the Tudor Queen will have only herself to blame if she too fails to fulfil her responsibility to educate the Scottish sovereign into recognising that hers is a secondary status in her relations with England.

By establishing associations between their own sovereign and Gorboduc, and the Stewart Queen and Porrex, Norton and Sackville are thus able to suggest that should their ruler likewise fail to heed council of the kind encoded in their play, her kingdom is also liable to be subjugated by an ambitious young relative. Indeed, as the play progresses, Porrex becomes increasingly overweening while Gorboduc gradually grows more ineffectual. Where the latter sinks into the role of recipient of bad news, Porrex, from being one of the siblings whose future looks set to be determined by his father, rapidly supersedes him as the instigator of change and focus of dramatic attention. Driven by a combination of pride and paranoia fuelled by the false council of his parasite Tyndar, Porrex quits his northern kingdom, invades the south and murders Ferrex, before meeting his own death at the hands of his mother, Videna. Porrex's progress steals theatrical

thunder from Gorboduc who, having fostered in the northern King a false of equality with his elder brother, finds that once he has created in northern Britain an independent and overbearing monarch, he cannot control his creation.

The dramatic eclipsing of Gorboduc by Porrex signifies a transference of power from the one to the other, which has obvious implications for the dramatists' perceptions of potential developments both in their Queen's relations with Mary Stewart, and England's relations with Scotland. Yet *Gorboduc* does not deal exclusively with the relationship between these two royal persons, nor does it settle simply for a treatment of Anglo-Scots relations. Rather, the play addresses the effect which Mary Stewart's Catholicism is imagined as having on a nation conceived of as a community of Protestants. Events develop in such a way that the playwrights are able to indicate that the Queen of Scots's Catholicism has a negative impact on her country, in turn destabilising Anglo-Scots relations and, in due course, undermining the British nation. As we shall see, connections are forged between Porrex and the Catholicism of Mary Queen of Scots, in the course of which Porrex becomes metamorphosed into a monster. This figuring of the northern monarch as monstrous paves the way for the play's subsequent representation of his kingdom as 'other', a foreign space which, in the drama's concluding scenes, stands in opposition to a Britain anchored in, and centred on, England.

The development of Porrex into a dynamic and dangerous character is enabled by linking him with classical images of oppositional femininity. It has been argued that these images work to equate Porrex not simply with Mary Stewart, but more particularly with her Catholicism. Following Porrex's murder of his elder brother, a dumbshow is staged in which three Furies in the shape of Gorgons ascend from hell. Axton notes that the 'snakes writhing on the head of the Gorgon are serpents of division', and that these tended

to be connected with 'the threat of Mary Stuart's religion.'⁵⁴ Significantly, in the dialogue following the dumbshow, these Furies are associated with Porrex. Here, Porrex is 'hysterically described in the same terms as Medusa. Gorgon and Fury merge: he is [a] changeling' who, by the conclusion of the fourth Act, has 'become a monster.'⁵⁵ Affiliated by those around him with the diabolic femininity of the Gorgon, itself identified with the Catholicism of Mary Queen of Scots, the change in Porrex might thus be seen to mark this northern monarch out as accepting of, and engaging with, Roman Catholicism. If such is indeed the case, then Gorboduc, and by analogy Queen Elizabeth, is threatened not simply by a Scottish sovereign, but by a ruler whose Catholicism renders them monstrous, alien and other. It is important, however, to note that in due course that condition comes to encompass Porrex and his kingdom alike, with his realm increasingly portrayed as a threat to the text's imagined nation.

In the dumbshow prior to the fourth Act what Axton identifies as allusions to the Catholicism of the Queen of Scots arise in the context of the dissolution of Great Britain. The 'menace of division is visualized'⁵⁶ here in the demonic femininity of the Furies who 'came forth from under the stage, as though out of hell.'⁵⁷ Hell is thus figured in terms of Ptolemaic theory, in which it is situated in the centre of the earth, and the Furies, accordingly, appear to rise up from beneath the ground. Given that Gorboduc has invoked these terrifying figures to punish his sons over a dispute surrounding the division of the

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 44.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁷'The Order and Significance of the Dumbshow Before the Fourth Act', Gorboduc, p. 44.

land, it is entirely in keeping with the play's engagement with Britain that the Furies should seem to issue forth from within the very body of the nation. In so far as they emerge from the interior of the British state, these unruly fiends connote division at once in the family and the structure of nation. Indeed, the dumbshow in which these mythical monsters appear generates meanings which relate back to Eubulus's argument for the necessity of differentiating between the southern and northern kingdoms in order that power might be centralised in the former, thereby ensuring national stability.

The inclusion of Medea alongside the Furies in the dumbshow at the outset of the fourth Act is important in this respect. Medea's presence in this scene signifies a breakdown in the relations between members of Gorboduc's family. Yet the representation of Medea also refers to the problems in the relations between the southern and northern realms of which, in the world of this play, Britain is comprised. Medea features in the dumbshow as one of the monarchs thrice driven across the stage by the Furies. With the stage directions informing us that Medea's presence, along with that of the other Kings and Queens, 'signifie[s] the unnatural murders'⁵⁸ of sibling by sibling and son by mother, she furthers the play's Senecan theme of the destruction of the royal house. Medea's story was frequently equated with 'the death of the family.' Suggestively though, 'in both the Euripidean and the Senecan version of [Medea's] tragedy, the chorus lays the blame for these disasters on the 'confusion' represented by the miscegenation between Greek and barbarian'⁵⁹ that occurs when Jason marries Medea. Seneca's play is often seen as a source for Gorboduc. In Seneca's text, when 'Nature's germens tumble

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 45.

⁵⁹John Gillies, Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 18.

all together⁶⁰ because of a marriage that fails sufficiently to discriminate between two subjects from different locales and of differing ethnicities, what ensues is the violent imploding of familial relations which, in turn, leads to the dissolution of the royal house. In Gorboduc too the dynasty collapses and that disintegration is identified also with a confusing of persons associated as much with distinct geographies as with different positions in the social hierarchy. Indeed, the Medea motif may well work for Norton and Sackville, as it did for Seneca, to connote the notion of geographical distinctions being brought into a state of confusion which simultaneously causes a bloodbath at once in the ruling family and the body politic. Certainly, from here on out the fraught interactions between members of Gorboduc's dynasty are used to generate meanings around the conflicted relations between the southern and northern portions of the play's imagined nation.

The sequence of events in which Porrex becomes violent toward his brother and is accordingly rejected by his family provides the play with a way of imagining an antagonistic Scotland excluded from the configuration of Britain. Critics seldom, however, notice that it is the changing nature of Scotland's position in the nation which is explored here by means of the depiction of Porrex's relations with his family. Usually, the sibling rivalry is read solely at the level of an allusion to the Tudor Queen's tense relations with her Scottish cousin. However, had this been the playwrights' sole concern, Gorboduc would surely have ended with the murder of Ferrex by Porrex, thereby issuing an implied warning to the English monarch to beware the Queen of Scots and her claim to the English throne. Instead, Porrex's and Ferrex's story, and the tale of the dissolution of

⁶⁰Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Kenneth Muir (London and New York: Routledge, 1951), IV.i.59.

Gorboduc's family, develops into a treatment of the tensions between the Duke of Albany and the English dukes.

This aspect of plot development is best explained in terms of the play's preoccupation with Scotland's relations with England in a British nation. Indeed, as Albany supersedes Porrex, the focus on family relations is increasingly eclipsed by the territorial interactions which the characters' relationships are used to signify. If in Porrex the drama figures a Scotland associated with Mary Stewart's religion, then the delineation of Albany develops that identification in such a way as to enable the play to address the repercussions which Scotland's connection with Catholicism has for its place in a British state. A tendency to read both Porrex and Albany as representations of Mary Stewart has, however, led this shift in the play away from an initial engagement with the threat posed by the Stewart claim to a broader anxiety about Scotland's place in the nation to be overlooked. Levine, for instance, argues that Norton and Sackville 'intended that their audience identify Fergus, Duke of Albany, with Mary Stuart' because 'Albany was manifestly a Scottish title...usually held by a Stuart.'⁶¹ Reading Albany, like Porrex, as a type of the Stewart Queen, what Levine fails to register is that, unlike Porrex, Albany is never associated with oppositional femininity.

That Albany is never feminised makes his identification with the Queen of Scots less pressing than Porrex's. Indeed, it is rather Albany's masculinity which is emphasised. By contrast with Porrex, who is made monstrous by being equated with images of the unruly Furies, Albany's monstrousness is located firmly in his maleness. Of the resonances accruing to the title Albany, it is less the association with Mary Stewart than with

⁶¹Levine, p. 41.

Scotland that is important. Once we see Albany not as a type of the Stewart Queen, but as a representative of a Scotland sullied by that Queen's Catholicism, the different kinds of sexual imagery surrounding Albany and Porrex provide different kinds of identifications for these characters. Porrex, feminised, is indeed identified with Mary Stewart. But Albany, who in due course takes his place, is disassociated from images of femininity but still connected with Porrex's northern kingdom. As will shortly be demonstrated, defined in terms of his potential, as a predatory male, to penetrate and violate the sanctified, feminine body of the mother land, Albany arguably signifies the danger that a Catholicised Scotland poses to the stability of the British state.

In this respect, it is suggestive that when Albany replaces Porrex as the play's opponent of the characters who represent England--Ferrex and the English dukes respectively--a linguistic substitution also occurs with regards to the words used to describe Britain's northern and southern realms. With Albany's entry into the play, the epithet 'Great Britain' (V.i.161) is increasingly made to stand in place of, or is used in conjunction with, the word 'realm' (I.ii.168) and its synonyms, 'region' (I.ii.172) and 'land' (I.ii.28), as terms used by the English dukes to describe England. Simultaneously, the word 'foreign' surfaces in characters' descriptions of the north. As Albany steps into the breach left by the dead Porrex as the northern subject who threatens England's power base, England is increasingly characterised as Britain and Scotland as a foreign space willing and able to invade and undermine a nation centred on, and championed by, England.

We have seen that in the tale of Porrex in his relations with Ferrex and Gorboduc, with its allusion to the interaction between Mary Stewart and Queen Elizabeth, the play advocates the necessity of enforcing suzerainty if England is to remain safe from Scottish

aggression. The drama engages in this respect with questions surrounding the Elizabethan succession. However, with its introduction of Albany in the fifth Act, and treatment of his relations with the English dukes, a further set of concerns are brought into focus which involve promoting a perception of England as synonymous with Britain and Scotland as extrinsic and antagonistic to that formation. The representation of Anglo-Scots relations featured in the latter half of the drama, and which surrounds the figure of Albany, recalls Colley's account of the operations of Protestant polemic. In the closing scenes of the play, Britain is arguably envisaged by means of a characteristically Protestant discourse of inclusion and exclusion. England, being included in the nation, implicitly features as a Protestant space, while an imagined north that reverberates with connotations of contemporary Scotland is excluded from Britain, intimating that its position has become that of the Catholic 'other' of the play's polemic.

There are no stage directions in the drama's closing scenes to confirm that the final Act is set in England. However, with the exit of the English dukes in the first scene of the fifth Act, Albany is left alone on stage to articulate his plan to 'depart/To Albany and raise in armor there/All power I can; and here my secret friends.../shall solicit still/To seek to win to me the people's hearts' (V.i.166-170). That Albany must 'depart' from 'here' if he is to reach Albany, the Scottish realm from which he derives his title, suggests this scene is set in England. When Albany returns with his troops in the second scene of the fifth Act, it is to the same location, which in turn indicates that the play culminates in England. Accordingly, when in the closing scene the Nuntius refers to 'my country' (V. ii.69) as 'Britain land' (V.ii.82), he conflates England with Britain. A similar elision occurs when Arostus counsels the English dukes to 'save your country' (V.ii.116), 'your realm' (V.ii.119) and 'your native land' (V.ii.138) by saving 'Britain' (V.ii.135). Here, England

is rendered interchangeable with a Britain which must be protected from the incursions of a Scotland that, in the person of Albany, is not only imagined as beyond the boundaries of England, but also portrayed as beyond the parameters of the British nation.

The vision of nation that prevails in the closing Act of Gorboduc is distinct from a commonplace and thus unremarkable English chauvinism. Certainly, the aligning of England with Britain was a characteristically Anglocentric move. Willy Maley remarks the aptness of the description offered in his edition of Shakespeare's Richard II of John of Gaunt's 'this sceptred isle...this realm, this England' speech. The speech is described here as 'one of Shakespeare's most moving speeches.' As Maley notes, it genuinely 'is moving, because it moves the map of England north and west to obliterate Scotland and Wales, which are no doubt included in the list of 'less happier lands' waiting to jump the moat.'⁶² This tendency to elide England with Britain had been identified in the 1400s in John of Fordun's elaboration of Walter Bower's Scotichronicon, and was noted again in the 1540s in The Complaynt of Scotlande, which refers to a 'kyng of grit bertanze, quhilk is nou callit ingland.'⁶³ In Gorboduc, however, not only is England's importance in the nation exaggerated, as in chauvinistic rhetoric, but Scotland is actively ostracised from the nation. A similar movement is discernable in other contemporary texts, as for example Thomas Churchyard's The Miserie of Flaunders, Calamitie of Fraunce, Missfortune of

⁶²Willy Maley, "This sceptred isle': Shakespeare and the British problem' in Shakespeare and National Culture, ed. John. J. Joughin (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 94.

⁶³The Complaynt of Scotlande, cited in Merriman, 'James Henrisoun', p. 95. Fordun's development of Bower's Scotichronicon, written between 1384 and 1387, provides perhaps the earliest instance of a Scot 'outraged by the way the English used the term 'Britain'...and applied it indiscriminately to mean either England or the whole island.' See Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p. 63.

Portugall, Unquietness of Irelande, Trowbles of Scotlande: And the blessed State of ENGLANDE of 1579. Churchyard ‘rehearse[s] the dual position of the Elizabethan state as an island cut off from Europe...that both includes and excludes Scotland’ when he claims:

This ILE is kinnell of the Nutte
 and those that neare us dwell,
 (Our forraine neighbours rounde aboute,)
 I counte them but the shell:
 That holdeth in this kinnell sweete,
 as Nature hath ascende.⁶⁴

Such a conflicted geography is typical not simply of Anglocentrism per se, but more especially of a Protestant reaction to a perceived Catholic threat to Protestant space. As we have seen, Protestant apologists often deployed a discourse of inclusion and exclusion which served at once to differentiate Protestants from Catholics and define Britons as members of an imagined community from which Catholics were excluded. It is just such a discourse which is evident in the final acts of Gorboduc. In the second scene of the fifth Act, the English dukes stand united in their opposition to their ‘common foe’ (V.ii.94) the ‘foreign’ Albany. Figuring a Scotland which is alien, Albany functions in precisely the fashion of the Catholic ‘other’ of Protestant discourse, acting as the catalyst which produces a ‘common’ identity amongst his opponents. The English dukes’ shared opposition to the Scottish ‘other’ serves to enhance their identities as representatives of

⁶⁴Thomas Churchyard, The Miserie of Flaunders, Calamitie of Fraunce, Missfortune of Portugall, Unquietness of Irelande, Trowbles of Scotlande: And the blessed State of ENGLANDE (1579), cited in Maley, p. 95.

the kingdoms of Cornwall, Wales and Cumberland respectively by supplementing these individual identifications with a further, collective identity as Britons.

The production amongst the English dukes of a sense of sharing a 'common' Britishness is further enabled by the representation of the dukes as members of a family group from which Scotland is excluded and which, in the person of Albany, Scotland threatens to destroy. Arguing that 'Britain land [is] the mother of...all' (V.ii.135) the English dukes, Arostus identifies Britain as a mother associated with her English offspring, but not with Albany, the Scottish Prince. This method of characterising Anglo-Scots relations within the framework of nation recalls, while elaborating on, the representation of the mother's relations with her two sons in Gorboduc's family group. The opening scenes of the play show Videna, the mother of the Kings of England and Scotland, preferring her eldest son, the King of England, to her younger child, the King of Scots. Likewise, in the drama's closing scenes, Britain is repeatedly referred to as a mother identified with the English dukes rather than with Albany. Importantly though, Videna is able to revenge herself on Porrex, the King of Scots, for his aggression towards her favourite son, the King of England. Britain, however, figures in the play's closing scenes as a mother incapable of defending England from Scottish aggression.

Given the confounding of England with Britain which occurs from the fourth Act onwards, Britain's powerlessness to protect England from being assaulted by Scotland is rendered synonymous with Britain's inability to defend herself from Scottish violence. Britain, 'left alone/Amid these broils.../Offers herself' (V.i.140-142) to the Scottish Prince. Helpless and vulnerable, the sanctified body of the mother is here shown to be in danger of being violated by the 'invading' Scottish 'foe' unless, acting in their capacity as sons of the mother land, England's dukes 'withstand' (V.ii.175) Albany's assault. 'Ne

suffer[ing] against the rules of kind' their 'mother land to serve a foreign prince' (V.ii.178-9), the dukes mobilise a rhetoric of kinship which, in the play's closing scenes, serves to legitimate excluding Scotland, in the figure of Albany, from the formation of the British state. Pressed back beyond what the play projects as the boundaries of Britain, Scotland, in the character of Albany, assumes the position of the Catholic 'other' of Protestant polemic. Indeed, what we see here is the play following a Protestant pattern of envisaging the nation as that which is cleansed of, and in turn excludes, the Catholic outsider. In the closing acts of Gorboduc, Britain has become the typically mobile formation of Protestant discourse. Retracting in the fifth Act to encompass only England, the nation, in the play's closing scenes, is identified exclusively with England, a space deemed pure because purged of a Scotland that threatens to contaminate the godly state.

It is important that Scotland's potential to pollute Britain by violating the sanctified body of the mother land is defined not only in terms of the aggressive political ambition encoded in Albany, but also by means of the different 'kind' (V.ii.178) of religious position implicitly associated with Scotland. What this suggests is that the drama's treatment of difference goes beyond raising questions about the legality of Mary Stewart laying claim to Queen Elizabeth's throne. As we have seen, that claim was challenged on the basis that, as a Scot, Queen Mary hailed from beyond England's borders, and was as such a 'foreign' (V.ii.179) claimant seeking to oust 'native' (V.ii.166) English contenders. In Gorboduc, however, from pertaining initially to arguments surrounding the disadvantages of the Queen of Scots succeeding to the English throne, notions of being beyond or within a given community, rapidly become refocussed around contemporary anxieties over Scotland's place in a British nation. When in the fifth Act the play circles back, with its reference to 'native' and 'foreign' claimants, to alluding to the

Stewart claim, a rhetoric of difference characteristic of an anti-Marian position in the Elizabethan Succession Debate has accrued broader meanings pertaining to Protestant anxiety around the threat posed by a Catholic Scotland to the stability of the godly state.

As long as the play's discourse of difference is seen to gain meaning purely from Norton's and Sackville's desire to differentiate Mary Queen of Scots, on the grounds of origin, from the English claimants which these playwrights favoured, the wider meanings accruing to difference in Gorboduc will continue to be overlooked. That Gorboduc's critics have often perceived notions of 'otherness' deployed in the play as a strategy through which to argue against the Stewart claim, has meant that the play's discourse of difference has rightly been identified with Mary Stewart. It has also, however, resulted in notions of 'otherness' being thought of as adequately accounted for and not, consequently, related in any meaningful way to the play's representation of Scotland. Accordingly, the language of difference in Gorboduc has not been envisaged as connected at once with an anti-Marian stance and a specific understanding of Anglo-Scots relations in the formation of nation. Yet the play's engagement with Mary Queen of Scots allows as much for a treatment of the effects of the Queen's Catholicism on Scotland's role in the production of nation as for a meditation on problems surrounding the Stewart claim.

Gorboduc famously culminates with Arostus advising the English dukes that 'Such one so born within your native land;/Such one prefer, and in no wise admit/The heavy yoke of foreign governance' (V.ii.170-172). Arostus's advice here has tended to be read as a coded warning on the part of the playwrights to Queen Elizabeth to reject the 'foreigner' Mary Stewart and favour instead a 'native' contender such as Catherine Grey. Accordingly, the terms 'native' and 'foreign' have been thought to refer to the inhabitants of England and Scotland respectively. Thus Levine, reading Arostus's lines as indicative

of the playwrights' 'anti-Stewart and pro-Suffolk'⁶⁵ leanings, assumes 'foreign' refers to Scotland and the Scots, and 'native' to England and the English. Bevington likewise interprets 'native' as meaning that the 'right leader must be English-born', thereby ensuring that Mary Stewart, a Scot 'foreign' to England, is 'eliminated from consideration.'⁶⁶ However, by the time we get to the play's closing scenes, the terms 'native' and 'foreign' cannot, with any confidence, be read as referring solely to England and Scotland and their respective peoples.

As we have seen, with the substitution of Albany for Porrex the terms used to describe the two kingdoms become flexible. In the play's final scenes, the word 'native' proves as fluid as the word 'realm' and its synonyms. In the same way that from the fourth Act onwards the words 'realm', 'region' and 'land' are used to refer both to England and to Britain, the word 'native' is likewise employed to allude concurrently to England and to the nation. Just before Arostus delivers his advice to the English dukes, Clotyn, the Duke of Cornwall, mentions Scotland's attempt to 'attain the crown of Britain land' (V.ii.92). In response to Clotyn, Mandud, the Duke of Logris, replies 'now the common mother of us all,/Our native land.../Cries unto us to help ourselves and her' (V.ii.98-102). The 'common mother' referred to here is, as Clotyn has confirmed six lines previously, 'Britain land.' Consequently, the 'native land' which cries out to the English characters for help in mobilising resistance to Scotland's incursions is not England as such, but rather a Britain championed by England. To be more precise, 'native land' is, in the play's closing scenes, a Britain centred on, and identified with, England.

⁶⁵Levine, p. 44.

⁶⁶Bevington, p. 146.

Such conflating of England with Britain complicates the argument that, when referring to 'native' and 'foreign' claimants, Arostus alludes simply to contenders from England and Scotland and thereby provides a coded pointer to the Suffolk and Stewart claims. Once the slippage between England and Britain and the telescoping of Britain into England is taken into account, it becomes apparent that by the time the play draws to a close, to be 'native' is, indeed, understood in terms of being from, and belonging to, England. Yet being 'native' can also be seen to refer to hailing from Great Britain. Conversely, to be Scottish is envisaged in the play's concluding scenes as being 'foreign' both in the sense of 'other' than English and of not belonging to, or being part of, the British nation. This is a very different figuration of foreignness from that which was characteristic of anti-Marian polemic produced during the course of the Elizabethan Succession Debate.

Concepts of difference in Gorboduc, going beyond those which feature in the legal arguments employed to resist the Marian claim, are best understood in the context of Protestant responses to Catholicism. As well as the Stewart Queen's religion being of concern it is, however, also the ability of her faith to sully her country which is of paramount importance in the play. Thus, while Gorboduc is rightly hailed as the 'first Elizabethan succession tract',⁶⁷ it nevertheless needs to be placed in the broader framework of Protestant polemicists' attempts to imagine a godly nation, and to envisage the positions that Scotland and England might assume within it.

The Misfortunes of Arthur relates in a number of ways to Gorboduc. Both dramas share significant moments of inception, with Gorboduc being written in the year of Mary

⁶⁷Levine, p. 30.

Stewart's return to Scotland, and The Misfortunes of Arthur presented fifty-five weeks after the beheading of the Scottish Queen. The topicality of both plays has meant they have tended to be read in relation to their immediate political contexts, Gorboduc as an anti-Stewart succession text, and The Misfortunes of Arthur as an attempt to legitimate the recent beheading of Scotland's sovereign. Phillips, for instance, claims The Misfortunes of Arthur is best situated in the context of the English campaign for justifying the execution of the Queen of Scots. As he points out, 'no authorized attacks on Mary were allowed until the end of 1586' but in '1587 Elizabeth signed the commission for Mary's execution [which apparently] signalled the lifting of the ban upon attacks on Mary.'⁶⁸ Richard Compton's pamphlet A Short Declaration of the End of Traitors, George Whetstone's The Censure of a Loyall Subjecte and the co-authored The Misfortunes of Arthur all appeared in the aftermath of this unofficial lifting of the ban. Furthermore, the appearance in the late 1580s of Catholic counter-propaganda by Leslie, Adam Blackwood and the Jesuit William Crichton provided additional impetus for the dissemination of the kind of message contained in The Misfortunes of Arthur which, Phillips contends, works to endorse the English government's final offensive against the Queen of Scots.

Such evidence supports the assertion that The Misfortunes of Arthur 'fits well into the published apologia directed at justifying Elizabeth's decision to execute Mary.'⁶⁹ Historical context, moreover, lends itself to substantiating such a reading. In the wake of

⁶⁸Phillips, Images of a Queen, p. 117.

⁶⁹Francis Bacon, William Fulbecke, Thomas Hughes, Nicholas Trotte, John Penruddocke, Francis Flower, John Lancaster and Christopher Yelverton, The Misfortunes of Arthur: A Critical, Old-Spelling Edition, ed. Brian Jay Corrigan, (New York and London: Garland Publishing Ltd., 1992), p. 47. All quotations from The Misfortunes of Arthur are taken from Corrigan's edition.

the beheading of Mary Stewart, pro-government propagandists tended to argue that the Tudor Queen had been left with no choice but to execute her power-hungry cousin. The Misfortunes of Arthur is predicated on a similar argument. Mordred's aggression, which forces Arthur to retaliate by slaying him, can plausibly be interpreted as corresponding with Mary Stewart's anti-government activities from 1569 onwards and with their brutal outcome. Certainly, since 1568 when, following the battle of Langside, Mary Stewart had fled for succour to England, she had proved as dangerous to her English cousin as Mordred turns out to be to his father, the King of England.

Between 1568 and 1586 four significant incidents had occurred in which the Queen of Scots had served as a focus for attempts to oust Queen Elizabeth, put Mary Stewart in her place, and restore Catholicism in England. The Northern rebellion of 1569 had been followed by the Marian party gaining ascendancy in Scotland when, under the leadership of Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange, Queen Mary's supporters took Edinburgh castle for the King's men and established it as a Marian stronghold. The triumph in Scotland of the Marian faction coincided both with the Ridolphi plot, by means of which Queen Mary sought to combine a Scottish with a Spanish invasion on her behalf, and the massacre of the Huguenots in France in 1572. The fragility of the Protestant ascendancy in England thus became apparent in the mid 1570s, with Mary Stewart one of its prime causes. Fears for the future stability of Protestantism were once more to be focused around the Queen of Scots when, in 1582, she served again as a point of resistance to Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant faith. The Enterprise plot of that year constituted yet another bid to recruit Spain as champion of the Marian cause. In light of the Parry Plot of 1584, the English government issued the Act of Association which decreed that any person attempting to dethrone Queen Elizabeth or to aid and abet such

an attempt would be sentenced to death. Thus when in 1586 the Babington Plot was 'uncovered', the Act of Association was invoked to justify executing the Scottish Queen.

Texts appearing in the wake of the lifting of the ban of commentary on the execution consistently cite the various attempts made to usurp Queen Elizabeth either by, or on behalf of Mary Stewart, as evidence which legitimates her beheading. This context adds weight to the claim that in The Misfortunes of Arthur Mordred's forcing of Arthur's hand, encapsulating Mary Stewart's antagonism towards Queen Elizabeth, likewise works to justify the latter's final offensive against the former. Yet this play, like Gorboduc before it, sets out to do more cultural work than merely attempting to tarnish Queen Mary, whether that be for the purpose of exonerating her cousin for signing the death warrant, or privileging English Protestant claimants in the succession debate. Here, as in Gorboduc, the focus is as much on the impact of Mary Stewart's Catholicism on Scotland's relations with England in the formation of Britain as on the relationship of the older monarch to her younger relative. As William Armstrong points out, the play 'deliberately links the fate of the British nation to that of the dynasty'⁷⁰ in question, consistently aligning its treatment of Mordred and Arthur with a broader engagement with the configuration of nation. Most of the play's critics, conceding that Mordred and Arthur function as analogues of Mary Stewart and Queen Elizabeth, also accept that the Scottish Queen's Catholicism is portrayed as effecting instabilities within the Britain of the playworld. However, the kinds of conclusions they tend to draw regarding the nature of such instabilities, and of what the play posits as their potential impact on the future relations of Protestant England to its Catholic opponents, are problematic.

⁷⁰William Armstrong, 'Elizabethan Themes in The Misfortunes of Arthur', The Review of English Studies, 7 (1956), 239.

Irving Ribner, suggesting that 'The Misfortunes of Arthur was written not only with an eye to past events, but also with one to future dangers', argues that the perils encoded in the play's figuration of Mary Stewart are those of 'Spanish invasion' and of 'all Catholic Englishmen who might be tempted to join in the attempt against Elizabeth.'⁷¹ Axton, who agrees with Ribner, outlines the logic for identifying in the play's depiction of Queen Mary the potential threats of Spanish invasion and internal support for Spain's Catholic cause arising from within Britain itself. She points out that, in the wake of the beheading and at the time of the play's inception, it was the Stewart Queen's 'claim not her person [which] remained as a burning issue [i]n despair and with dubious legality...Mary had finally offered her claim and commended the Catholic cause to Philip of Spain.' The consequences of these actions were that the

smouldering antagonisms between Scotland and England and between Catholic and Protestant threatened to break out under the threat of Spanish invasion. [Accordingly] [s]tatesmen in the audience of The Misfortunes of Arthur did not know in February of 1587/8 whether a greater peril lay beyond the sea or within the island.⁷²

Thus, like Ribner, Axton finds in The Misfortunes of Arthur an uneasiness over internal dissidence (whether that be among Britain's Scottish, or more generally its Catholic, subjects), which is overlaid by a broader anxiety regarding the possibility of Britain being invaded by the Catholic power of Spain. Reading Mordred less as a figuration of Mary Queen of Scots than of the Marian claim enables both Levine and

⁷¹Irving Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 234, cited in Corrigan, p. 49.

⁷²Axton, p. 76.

Axton to equate the Catholic threat in the play primarily with Spain, a reading that gains substance from the proximity of the Armada's invasion to the play's moment of production. However, such an argument is predicated on the assumption that in the world of this drama Britain is taken as a given, and features as a concept which characters either identify with and fight for, or betray in favour of the foreign power of Spain. Yet in The Misfortunes of Arthur, as in Gorboduc before it, the very concept of nation is what is under consideration.

The central concern of this play, as of Gorboduc, is with questions regarding what constitutes Britain, what are the 'boundes' (IV.ii.41) of the nation and the point at which a participant in the production of nation becomes a peril who, no longer deemed part of that configuration, must be excluded and understood as a 'foe' (IV.i.112). In the play's fourth Act, Conan claims that 'when...our Childrens Children reade/Our woefull warres displaid with skilfull penne:/They'll thinke they heere some sounds of future facts,/And not the ruines olde of pompe long past' (IV.iii.29-32). When Conan looks to the future here, it is to that of a nation so riven by internal conflicts that it has lost the chance to be united, having been prized apart not by the political guile and military might of a foreign force, but by 'civill warres' (II.i.69).

The crucial problem in this play, as in Norton's and Sackville's drama, is with identifying the enemy within who threatens to undermine Britain's stability. Like its literary antecedent, The Misfortunes of Arthur grapples with notions of difference, utilising its representation of Mary Stewart to address the concepts of self and other and to define the parameters of its community of Britons by way of a Protestant discourse of inclusion and exclusion. In this respect, the play's notion of what it is to be 'native' (III.i.232) is not as clean cut as is usually assumed. Once we recognise that, as in

Gorboduc, what it is to be British has to be gradually defined through a process of distinguishing Briton from 'foe' (IV.iii.40), we are in a position to realise that here too the revelation is that the overriding enemy is not beyond the boundaries of Britain, and is not therefore the kingdom of Spain, but is precisely 'within the island.'⁷³ Consequently, and in a characteristically Protestant move, the play excludes the peril that threatens to contaminate British space by sifting what it portrays as being the corrupting influence of Catholicism from the purifying force of Protestantism. In the process, the drama produces a Britain which, after the manner of Gorboduc, is exclusively centred on, and identified with, England--the sole space these playwrights, like Norton and Sackville before them, deem to be appropriately godly.

To identify Mordred with Spain, although a logical move given the association of Mary Stewart with the Spanish cause and the imminence of the invasion of the Armada, is to risk interpreting the play as a mirror to history. However, as Carol Wiener has shown, Protestant polemic especially constitutes less a mimetic engagement with prevailing realities than an enactment of the imagined relationship between self and other.⁷⁴ What The Misfortunes of Arthur identifies as 'other' and casts in the role of the Catholic peril is not a Hispanic, but a Celtic enemy. This play envisages the return of Celtic kingdoms which England had in the past, continued in the present, and would go on in the foreseeable future to repress in order to fashion itself as an expansive force capable, from the 1540s onwards, of extending its hold over the entire British nation.

In The Misfortunes of Arthur, Queen Elizabeth, who features in the person of

⁷³Axton, p. 76.

⁷⁴See Carol Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', Past and Present, 51 (1971), 27-62.

Arthur as ruler of England and Great Britain, is opposed by Mordred, the play's analogue of Mary Stewart, and his followers, the Irish King, the Scottish King of the Picts, Gilla, a claimant to Cornwall, and Cheldrichus, Duke of Saxonie.⁷⁵ In the figure of Gillamor, the Irish monarch, Ireland is shown as having, after the fashion of Britain in its relations with Rome, to offer tribute to Arthur's Britain. Ireland's subjugation to Arthur's nation has not, however, dissipated its desire for independence any more than Roman conquest has crushed Britain into unquestioning submission to Rome. Rather, Gillamor, along with the Scottish King of the Picts, is portrayed as unwilling to be assimilated into a Britain in which Arthur and the England over which he presides are to be understood as paramount. In the guise of Mordred, the Queen of Scots takes advantage of these territorial frictions. Appealing to Ireland's desire to regain its status as an equal of Britain, Mordred at the same time affords the Scottish King of Picts, along with Gilla and Cheldrichus, the opportunity to break away from Arthur.

As a figuration of Mary Stewart, Mordred is envisaged as allowing for, and in part producing, a Celtic block which stands opposed to the claim, levelled by the play's analogue of Queen Elizabeth and her kingdom, to be the sole governing force in the British nation. Promising both to restore Ireland's status as 'piere' (II.iv.15), rather than 'homage[r]' (II.iv.16) to Arthur, and take the 'Albane Crowne' (II.iv.33) out of the hands of Arthur's half-brother Gawain and return it to the 'right hardy Picts' (II.iv.30), Mordred

⁷⁵That Arthur and Mordred are types of Elizabeth and Mary is argued for by Corrigan, who takes issue with Bevington's resistance to interpreting the play allegorically. See Corrigan, p. 45 and p.42, n. 98 and p. 47, n. 116. These characters are also understood as figuring the English and Scottish Queens by Armstrong, pp. 246-249. Axton similarly views Arthur as Elizabeth, but finds in Mordred more Mary Stewart's Catholic claim to the English throne and the ramifications that claim had for British Catholics than any direct correlation with the person of the Queen of Scots. See Axton, pp. 76-79.

strives to liberate Ireland from English rule and release Scotland from alliance with England. What is projected in Mordred's plan is thus a scheme in which, should it succeed, the northern portion of Britain, as well as Ireland to the West, would become independent of England. Moreover, by transferring Cornwall out of the hands of Arthur's man Cador and into those of Mordred's follower Gilla, while at the same time proffering the Saxon King 'all Brytish lands that lie/Betweene the floud of Humber, and the Scottes,/ Besides as much in Kent' (II.iv.21-23), Mordred is envisaged attempting to press back further Arthur's hold over Britain's terrain.

Under Mordred, Cornwall is to gain independence from England, Kent is to become a contested region and the Scottish marches, like Scotland itself, are to be relinquished from England's grasp. Mordred's plan to encounter Arthur is at one and the same time a plan to circumscribe England's dominion within the British nation. Indeed, were Mordred to win out in his struggle with Arthur, the Celtic 'fringe' would be rendered no longer a periphery of England but a significant wall of opposition to it. Stretching from Cornwall in the South through Ireland in the West across to the north, Celtic opposition to the English King Arthur would carry down from the 'Orcade Isles' (V.i.161) to the Scottish marches, extending even as far south as the Humber.

Hence, in the world of this play, Queen Elizabeth's counterpart is faced with the return of those realms which England would have to suppress in order to gain supremacy in a British state. Under the leadership of the play's figuration of Mary Stewart, these troublesome arenas are imagined shaking off the mantle of English repression and rallying around Mordred who, offering a coalition of allied Celtic powers as the most productive means of opposing Arthur, presents a very real threat to the cohesion of the Britain of the playworld.

As conceived of in this play, Britain is identified with Arthur whose cause, as Axton rightly suggests, 'is England, Ireland and Scotland united by allegiance to one sovereign, encircled by one crown, independent of European domination.'⁷⁶ Governing a Britain whose independence from Europe is figured in his initial resistance to Rome, Arthur also presides over a formation in which England holds sway over internal and neighbouring powers. Consequently, Mordred, encouraging native British rulers and Britain's immediate neighbour, Ireland, to reclaim sovereignty or strike out for independence from Arthur, destabilises a nation whose strength and durability is shown to reside in the fact that it is highly centralised, being centred on, and radiating outward from, England. Devolving power away from Arthur as King of England towards outlying Celtic regions and kingdoms, Mordred, threatening to effect a dissolution of the centrality of England in the configuration of the nation, poses a threat to the production of Britain as an enlarged England. Indeed, the peril in this play is less a European power such as Spain impinging from without and being invited in by Mordred, than the more urgent prospect of internal dissidence breaking up a British state unified because governed from England. Celtic areas imagined as inadequately subjugated by England are depicted as finding in Mordred a leader under whose guidance they are able to organise resistance to Arthur's attempt to '[s]tretch out [his] conquering hands' (III.iii.43) to claim what they perceive as being their own domains.

Misgivings about a projected return of repressed 'others' in the form of an antagonistic block of Celtic territories centre on the play's figuration of Mary Stewart. This suggests that on one level the representation of the Queen of Scots serves to address

⁷⁶Axton, p. 77.

the fear that, in the wake of her beheading, pro-Stewart factions in Scotland and Ireland might, in the name of the dead Queen, organise opposition to England in its capacity as an imperial, as much as a Protestant, power. The solution the play posits to any potential resistance to its English orientated perception of Great Britain is the forceful reinstatement of bonds of homage and outright subjugation of opposition. One by one, Mordred's followers are reined in by Arthur and his allies. The Scottish King of the Picts is 'opprest' (III.iv.125), the 'Scots...subdude' (V.i.161-164) and the 'Irish...Nation wilde...tamde' (V.i.160). In this respect, we see in 1588 a continuity of a desire, previously apparent in the pamphlet war of the 1540s, in the Elizabethan succession material of the 1560s, and subsequently to resurface during the Jacobean union debates of 1603-1610, to produce a Britain wherein England features as the dominant party.

That The Misfortunes of Arthur touches on issues which would be central to the union discourse of the 1600s is unsurprising given the preoccupations of the play's writers. Of the eight Inns of Court men who contributed to the play--William Fulbecke, Christopher Yelverton, Francis Flower, John Lancaster, John Penruddocke, Nicholas Trotte, Francis Bacon and Thomas Hughes--Hughes is credited with having written the best part of the drama, and Bacon with instigating the production in the first place. Like Yelverton, Bacon went on to intervene in the Jacobean union debates. In his A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland of 1603, Bacon implicitly argued that the nation be founded on the principle of English suzerainty. Conceiving of England as the mightier and Scotland the more marginal power, he claimed the 'greater' kingdom ought to 'draw the less[er]' after it. If in A Brief Discourse England is 'greater' than its 'lesser' neighbour, then in The Misfortunes of Arthur, the King of England is 'huge' and Mordred 'small' (II.iii.103). Where Mordred's attempt to challenge

Arthur's control of Britain precipitates civil war, in Bacon's union treatise the effect of the 'lesser' kingdom of Scotland aspiring 'to draw the greater' England either into a partnership of equals, or a union that favours Scotland's interests, is that 'the kingdoms brake...and so continue...divided.'⁷⁷ Hence the position which in the 1580s Bacon et al allocate to Mordred, whom they portray as the 'small' but ambitious subject who refuses to recognise the English King's 'right' (II.iii.16) to govern Britain, has by 1603 been designated, in A Brief Discourse, to Scotland itself. Like Mordred in his relations with Arthur, Scotland in this, as in so many other Jacobean union texts, must acknowledge its 'lesser' status as subject of its 'greater' English neighbour if Britain is to be realised as a strong and stable formation.

Thus it is possible to trace across The Misfortunes of Arthur of 1588 and A Brief Discourse of 1603 continuities with regards to the notion that English precedence is necessary to the production of nation. As we have seen, the idea that suzerainty is a prerequisite for forming a stable Britain is apparent in Gorboduc of 1561 and in much of the pamphlet material produced during the 1540s. If, however, there are notable continuities vis-à-vis the pro-English bias of the aforementioned texts, it is important to be aware of the departures in their respective conceptions of the relations between the kingdoms within the nation.

The degree to which Scotland is ostracised from a given text's imagined Britain depends, as previously demonstrated, on the extent to which the writer in question envisages the Catholicism of the Stewart Queen as threatening the task of producing a

⁷⁷Francis Bacon, A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (London, 1603), cited in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. James Spedding, Volume 10, (London: Longmans, 1868), p. 98.

nation comprised of a community of Protestants. Thus Gorboduc, written at a time when the possibility of Catholic ascendancy pertained to the Stewart Queen, and was, by association, envisaged also as emanating from Scotland, excludes Scotland--in the figures of Porrex and Albany--from its imagined nation. Although The Misfortunes of Arthur was written during a period in which the Stewart claim and the legacy of the Queen of Scots's Catholicism continued to be important, it was nevertheless produced in the wake of her beheading and in light of the Queen's throne being ceded to her son. As a Protestant, pensioned to England in 1586 and allied with the Protestant Lords of the Congregation, James Stewart appeared in the year of the play's inception to provide a more negotiable position for Scotland in its relations with its Protestant neighbour than had his mother before him.

The Misfortunes of Arthur engages with transitions which had occurred in the religious landscape since the period in which Gorboduc was produced. In the sense that it retains in Mordred an aggressive and tyrannical portrayal of the Catholic Queen, this play corresponds with Gorboduc. Yet, featuring an image of a workable relation between Scotland and England in its representation of the Prince of Albany's interaction with the English King, the later play also departs from the earlier drama. Gorboduc, associating Porrex with Albany, identifies its analogue of Mary Stewart and her Catholic religion with Scotland, as figured in the person of Albany, the Scottish Prince. Conversely, The Misfortunes of Arthur ascribes different political affiliations to Mordred and Albany, thereby distinguishing between them, and, as such, differentiating its representation of the Scottish Queen and her faith from its depiction of Scotland itself. In The Misfortunes of Arthur, unlike Mordred who resists the English monarch in a manner akin to Porrex in Gorboduc, Albany instead offers fealty to England when he 'yeeld[s]' (II.iii.13) to Arthur.

Consequently, the Albany of The Misfortunes of Arthur is allowed to be part of Arthur's Britain and, unlike the Albany of Gorboduc, participates in the play's community of Britons rather than being excluded from a nation championed by, and associated exclusively with, England.

Developments in the characterisation of Albany across the period 1560-1588 would appear to suggest that a move amongst Scotland's leaders towards sharing England's Protestantism provided Bacon and his colleagues with the assurance they required in order to grant Scotland a place in the Britain of their playworld. The place carved out for Scotland in The Misfortunes of Arthur is not, however, that of an equal partner. Scotland in this play remains relegated to the position of subject while England assumes the place of suzerain. This is unsurprising given, as Axton suggests, that plays set in the reign of Arthur tended to carry connotations of English precedence. Events in Arthur's lifetime were frequently 'cited as early evidence for the oath of fealty; Plowden remembered Arthur's feast at Caerleon as a precedent for homage due from the Scottish monarch [and] Plowden's arguments were adduced by...Bacon [to] affirm...Arthur's...importance...in...The Misfortunes of Arthur.'⁷⁸

More surprising than the promotion of notions of precedence by means of the play's historical setting is its furtherance of suzerainty through the characterisation of the Scottish Prince of Albany. While Gawain, the Prince of Albany, differs from the Albany of Norton's and Sackville's play--being affiliated with, rather than standing opposed to, English government--it remains debatable whether this departure in the characterisation of Albany signals the emergence of a more productive attitude towards Scotland.

⁷⁸Axton, pp. 75-76.

Scotland's shift away from any immediate championing of Catholicism at the time of this play's inception does allow its writers to portray Gawain as being tractable in a way that Norton and Sackville could not have countenanced. That the Scottish Prince's compliant aspect is, however, traceable to his acceptance of English precedence suggests that while the common ground of a shared Protestantism might allow Protestant polemicists to accept Scotland as a participant in a British nation, it did not necessarily dissolve Anglocentric understandings of that formation. Indeed, in their depiction of Gawain, Bacon and his co-writers drew upon a tradition of deploying Gawain to signify Scotland's submission to England. Many English writers believed Gawain to be the 'son of that...king of Albany who carried the sword before Arthur at Caerleon in sign of Scottish homage to his superior king.' Similarly, the Gawain of The Misfortunes of Arthur is strongly identified with the act of homage. As Axton points out, 'Gawain's support of [Arthur] in the civil war affirms a strong 'feudal' bond between the kingdoms and implies the historical subjection of Scotland to England.'

Certainly, Gawain, counselling Mordred to 'yeelde' to Arthur because 'fitter were...due submission done,/Then wrongfull warres to reave [Arthur of] his right and Realme' (II.iii.15-16), acknowledges Arthur's 'right' to control Scotland in his role as King of Britain. Conversely, Mordred, encouraging Picts and Scots alike to break free of Arthur, images an antagonistic conception of Scotland as opponent of, rather than, in the person of Gawain, ally to England. Indeed, in this play '[c]hronicle sources are altered to heighten the...significance of Gawain's loyalty and Mordred's treachery.'⁷⁹ Unlike Mordred, the play's analogue of the Stewart Queen and her Catholic faith, Albany, the

⁷⁹Axton, p. 78.

Scottish Prince, identifies with Arthur, a type of Queen Elizabeth. That identification, causing him to reject Mordred, engenders actions akin to those of James Stewart, the King's men and the Lords of the Congregation, all of whom were willing to place fealty to the Tudor Queen as a champion of Protestantism before loyalty to the Catholic Queen of Scots. Arguably, Gawain's rejection of Mordred in favour of allegiance with Arthur is enabled, as it was for James Stewart and a number of his followers, by the bond of Protestantism, common ground which Mordred and Arthur do not share. Related by blood, Mordred and his father, like the Stewart King and his mother, nevertheless differ in the kinds of religious positions with which they are associated. Drawing on Norton's and Sackville's strategy, the authors of The Misfortunes of Arthur deploy classical images of oppositional femininity as a means of equating their anti-hero with the Catholicism of the Stewart Queen.

Where in Gorboduc 'Gorgon and Fury merge' in the characterisation of Porrex, their snaky heads signifying 'the threat of Mary Stuart's religion',⁸⁰ in The Misfortunes of Arthur the Gorgons enter Mordred's house in the dumbshow prior to the first Act. The presence of the Gorgons equates Mordred, as it does Porrex in the fourth dumb show in Gorboduc, as much with the Catholicism of the Queen of Scots as with the Queen herself. The Gorgons are connected, moreover, with Gorlois's ghost which enacts their mission by ascending out of hell with the intention of making Mordred 'the hammer' (I.i.50) of his hatred of Arthur.

Corrigan puts forward the persuasive claim that the association between Gorlois and the Furies identifies Gorlois's ghost as a type of the Catholic church. Just 'as the

⁸⁰ Axton, pp. 47, 44.

Catholic church was presumed to be in control of Mary so Gorlois is', he points out, 'the secret motivating force behind the rebellious Mordred.'⁸¹ Viewed in this light, Gorlois's extracting of his revenge on Arthur through the agency of Mordred serves as an allusion to the Catholic church attempting to undermine Queen Elizabeth in her capacity as Protestant champion by means of the Catholic Queen of Scots.

But, for all that such an interpretation is persuasive, it nevertheless portrays the play as dealing primarily with religious war. While it is certainly useful to identify in this drama a battle of belief, if the ramifications of the play's treatment of religious struggle are to be adequately understood, that battle needs to be located in the context of its engagement with the production of nation. In this drama, in which 'warres...gr[o]w from out the ground' (II.iii.101), the Protestant/Catholic divides figured in Arthur and Mordred are at the same time envisaged as divisions between Arthur's England and Mordred's coalition of Celtic regions and realms. When the territorial context is taken into consideration, the play's types of the Tudor Queen and Mary Stewart can be seen to be less representations of purely religious concerns, than mediums through which the playwrights address the relations between religious and territorial preoccupations.

In Arthur, these writers provide an analogue of Queen Elizabeth in her capacity as the godly prince. In so doing, they characterise Arthur as a leader whose cause is a united Britain. Just as in contemporary Protestant discourse the Tudor monarch is hailed as the godly champion of the project for producing the nation, so in The Misfortunes of Arthur her counterpart is lauded for defending and promoting a united kingdom. As a godly prince, having 'reformed and brought to perfection of obedience' the kingdoms of

⁸¹Corrigan, p. 47.

Scotland, England and Ireland, 'the Queene of England' is now able, as one contemporary commentator put it, to 'establish a certayne monarchie be it selfe in the ocean devidit from the rest of the world.'⁸² Similarly, in The Misfortunes of Arthur, Arthur is eulogised by Conan as having been 'The Realmes defence.../our wall and forte.../His shoulders did the Brytaine state support./ Whiles yet he raignd, no forren foes prevailde,/Nor once could hope to binde the Brytaine boundes' (IV.iii.37-41).

Arthur's cause is thus akin to the task presented Queen Elizabeth in her capacity as godly prince; namely, the engendering of national cohesion. Within the world of the play, such cohesion is implicitly associated with that form of Protestantism which identified the founding of a British nation with the consolidation of a Protestant creed across Scotland as well as England. Only, as Gilby put it, by 'joyninge the Ile together in perfect religion'⁸³ might the two realms realise their common destiny of coming together in one, Protestant state. In The Misfortunes of Arthur the fealty which the Scottish Prince Albany offers King Arthur, if read as a sign of Albany's subscription to the cause of forging an Anglo-Protestant alliance, can be seen to correspond with the allegiance offered Queen Elizabeth by those Scottish Protestants for whom she featured as defender of the project for producing a godly Britain. Indeed, the 'trust' (III.iii.99) Gawain shares with Arthur can be construed as homologous with the common bond of Protestantism which allowed James Stewart, certain of the Lords of the Congregation and their allies in England, to put aside a history of Anglo-Scots divide and join together in an attempt to realise a Protestant Britain. Conversely, Arthur and Mordred, like Queen Elizabeth and

⁸²The Scottish commissioners in London, cited in Williamson, p. 14.

⁸³Anthony Gilby, 'An Admonition', cited in Williamson, p. 12.

Mary Stewart, are unable to find that 'trust' because, although bound by ties of blood, they are implicitly affiliated with differing religious positions.

Arthur, believing that 'To spoile my sonne were to dispoile my selfe' (III.i.89), is confused by the bond of kinship into considering Mordred the same as himself. 'To bid the battayle to my proper bloud.../From kin to kin' (III.i.40-42) is, he argues, something he 'abhorres' (III.i.39) because it is against 'nature' which 'doth inforce' (III.i.41) through kinship a related sense of familial compassion. It is up to Conan, the astute councillor and equivalent of Eubulus in *Gorboduc*, to warn Arthur that Mordred is 'other' than Arthur in a way that Gawain is not. The logic informing that sense of difference is arguably that Gawain, reminiscent of James Stewart and the Lords of the Congregation who were of the same religious persuasion as the English Queen and her parliament, is of the same spiritual, if not genetic, family as Arthur. Conversely, Mordred, associated by way of the Gorgon motif with the Catholicism of the Queen of Scots, is alien to this religious community.

Mordred's and Gawain's differences are not merely those of the ambitious subject and the citizen who accepts his vassal status. Indeed, the play is not simply, as Bevington claims, a treatment of tyrant versus good governor.⁸⁴ Certainly, tyranny is a concern of the drama, which, being a prominent characteristic of Mordred and a staple of anti-Marian polemic, works to connect Mordred with the Stewart Queen. Such an association does not, however, mean that the play, referring to the person of the Queen of Scots, rehearses events from her lifetime, relating the argument that her ambition brought about her downfall, and thereby legitimating her execution. Mordred is not merely a type of the

⁸⁴See Bevington, pp. 152-155.

Scottish sovereign whose life ended so brutally on the block in 1587. Rather, Mordred signifies the potential legacy of the Stewart Queen's Catholicism on Scotland itself. Encoding anxieties regarding the prospect of Catholic forces in Scotland aligning with other Celtic powers to form a Catholic front, Mordred stands at once for the threat of opposition to Protestant plans to produce a godly nation and for the related peril of resistance to England expanding its hold over outlying territories. In this respect, Mordred images fears about the potential legacy of the Stewart Queen's Catholicism for Scotland's future relations with England in the context of attempts to produce a nation comprised of Protestants and centred on England.

The Misfortunes of Arthur, in its concluding moments, proffers a vision of the Britain which might be realised under the leadership of Arthur, its analogue of the Tudor Queen and the kingdom with which she was associated. That vision is characterised by language which renders it akin to a revelation of the promised land. 'Brytaine [is] an Angels land' in which 'Divels and sprites must yeelde to Angels power' (V.i.24-25). Yet, whilst this sanctified space bodies forth the Protestant dream of a godly nation, that dream is nevertheless identified with Arthur and therefore with Queen Elizabeth and the realm over which she reigned. Consequently, the play's imagined nation is connected with England in precisely the manner of the nations projected by Foxe, Knox, their followers and other adherents of the concept of the godly prince. Within such a nation, as the Bishop of Galloway rightly pointed out in 1619, 'Scotland faced political submersion.'⁸⁵ The problem of Scotland's place in a godly Britain is likewise the concern of the writers of The Misfortunes of Arthur, whose sympathies, however, go elsewhere than the

⁸⁵Williamson, p. 35.

Bishop's.

The Misfortunes of Arthur projects two possible futures for Scotland within its imagined nation. In Albany, it envisages a Scotland which, partaking of the same Protestant creed as England, can be assimilated into the body of a godly Britain, but only if it accepts its secondary status in the nation. Conversely, Mordred conceptualises a Scotland which must be pressed back beyond the borders of Britain if the godly nation is to escape being infected by the Catholic creed, and if England's supremacy is to survive the challenge posed by an alliance between a Catholic Scotland and other marginalised regions and realms.

The relegation of a Scotland associated with Catholicism to the position of an outsider which threatens the sanctified space of the Protestant state is enabled, as in Gorboduc, by figuring Britain as female. We have seen that the English dukes in Gorboduc, in order to protect Britain from the incursions of Albany, the Scottish Prince, must defend a body personified as that of a woman from an invasion which is characterised in sexual terms. Similarly, the eponymous hero of The Misfortunes of Arthur must prevent Mordred from making sexual advances towards his wife, Gueneuora. Gueneuora thus assumes a position in the later drama similar to that which is ascribed to Britain in the closing scenes of Norton's and Sackville's play. Such correspondences support Corrigan's claim that 'Gueneuora represents Britain'⁸⁶ and that her fraught position simultaneously as mistress of Mordred and wife of Arthur paves the way for the territorial conflicts with which Britain is riven in the drama's closing scenes.

Certainly, a motif in which Britain features as a woman caught in a struggle

⁸⁶Corrigan, p. 23.

between competing parties had previously surfaced not only in Gorboduc, but also in a text which, like both Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur, was similarly concerned with the relations between the realms in a projected British nation. Henrisoun's Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honourable, expedient and godly union betweene the realmes of England and Scotland personifies Britain as a mother who finds herself emotionally torn by divisions occasioned in Anglo-Scots relations by attempts to realise the nation. Speaking out of her confusion, Henrisoun's Britain pleads with England and Scotland, characterised as her bickering offspring, to 'subdue...me to one governoure.' For Henrisoun, an assured Scot writing in the 1540s on behalf of Protector Somerset's Protestant and Anglocentric cause, the 'unitie'⁸⁷ for which Britain cries out can only be attained by centralising government in the hands of one of her children, with England implicitly promoted as Britain's natural governor.

In The Misfortunes of Arthur, Gueneuora, deliberating between 'Sacred wedlockes faith' (I.ii.31) and that 'love [which] impugnes the lawes' (I.ii.69), must likewise struggle with the demands placed on her by competing parties. Like Henrisoun's Britain before her, she too opts to favour the character who represents England, choosing her husband, Arthur, rather than her lover, Mordred, as rightful claimant to her obedience and affections.

Similarities between Henrisoun's Britain and Gueneuora support the claim that the Queen in this play functions as a 'humanized version of Britain.'⁸⁸ Viewed as such,

⁸⁷Robert Henrisoun, Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honourable, expedient and godly union betweene the realmes of England and Scotland, cited in Mason 'The Scottish Reformation', pp. 173, 174.

⁸⁸Corrigan, p. 23.

Gueneuora's marriage and the threat posed to it by Mordred can be seen to encode the dramatists' conception of the nature of the relations between England and Scotland in the formation of nation. Furthermore, as they are presented in this play, adultery and marriage lend themselves to being read as motifs through which the playwrights allude to the impact which specific religious stances might have on the kingdoms' relations to the nation and to one another within such a structure. Where Arthur's centrality in his relationship with his wife is challenged by the adulterer Mordred at the outset of the play, Protestant England's supremacy in a godly Britain is ruptured at the close of the drama by a Catholic Scotland allied with other Celtic territories. The triangular relations between Gueneuora, Arthur and Mordred, are thus consistently deployed to further political meanings relating to the effect of differing religious affiliations on Scotland's relations with England in a Protestant nation.

Ingram, however, argues that Gueneuora's emotional confusion renders her 'politically unimportant', with the 'irrelevancy' of women in the play being 'shown by the way in which the dramatists confine women's actions to the private world of sexual intrigue.'⁸⁹ Yet, once the relations of woman to man, after the manner of other Marian texts discussed in this chapter, are understood as producing a particular perception of Anglo-Scots relations in the context of the fashioning of nation, Gueneuora's dilemma can no longer be seen as purely personal and therefore peripheral to the politics of the play. When the interrelation of personal and political is taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that the play's suggestion that it is right for Gueneuora to identify herself with her husband rather than her lover paves the way for the broader contention that it is

⁸⁹Ingram, p. 243.

appropriate for Britain to be centred on Protestant England rather than a Catholicised Scotland and its Celtic allies. If the marriage is to be saved, and Britain is to remain a formation revolving around England and the Protestant creed, then England, imaged in its figurehead Arthur, must protect Britain in the person of Gueneuora from the advances of a Catholicised Scotland imagined by means of the character Mordred. It is thus crucially important to the play's representation of England's relations with Scotland in a British nation that Gueneuora herself feels that Arthur fails sufficiently to defend their marriage from Mordred's incursions.

That Gueneuora is ever in doubt over whether her loyalties are due to her husband or her lover is in itself suggestive of her dissatisfaction with her marriage. Equally significant is the manner in which that dissatisfaction is traced not to Gueneuora's faithlessness as a wife, but rather to Arthur's failings as a husband. Gueneuora's wavering is portrayed not, as might be expected, as an instance of woman's fickleness, but rather as a symptom of what she describes as her loss of 'faith' (I.iii.19) in her spouse. Gueneuora points out to her lady in waiting that during the period in which Mordred has succeeded in seducing her, Arthur has been consistently absent. Her recriminating tone, 'And dares he after nine yeares space returne,/And see her face, whom he so long disdain'de?/Was I then chose and wedded for his stale,/To looke and gape for his retirelesse sayles...?' (I.ii.I-4) is suggestive of the resentment born of a sense that Arthur has not only removed himself from her in a physical, but also in an emotional sense. Indeed, by arguing that her husband has made himself a 'stranger' (I.ii.77) to her, she characterises his absence as a form of emotional estrangement. Gueneuora's attitude indicates she feels it is less Arthur's physical distance that has enabled Mordred to act opportunistically towards her, than Arthur's failing as a husband to cherish her as his wife

which has fostered in her a receptivity to Mordred's advances.

This scene, then, is important in that it shows Gueneuora to be confused primarily about her marital, rather than her extra-marital, relationship. Avowing her respect for 'sacred wedlockes faith' (I.ii.31) while at the same time contending that being locked into a marriage in which she is 'disdain'de' prevents her keeping 'faith' with her spouse, Gueneuora is presented with a dilemma. In view of her feeling that her husband has withdrawn his affections from her, she cannot continue in the marriage. Equally, her respect for the institution of marriage prevents her pursuing her adulterous relationship with Mordred. As such, she lights upon what she sees as being the sole solution to this problem; namely, to retreat from the world of secular relations. Withdrawing from her marriage as well as from adultery, she resolves her predicament by placing herself beyond the world of men in the confines of a nunnery.

Gueneuora thus quits the stage without taking the blame for the breakdown of her marriage or laying blame at the doorstep of her seducer, Mordred. Rather, she puts the blame squarely on the shoulders of Arthur. As a type of Britain, whose marriage to Arthur associates the nation with Protestant England, Gueneuora's point of view here is crucial to the play's political perspective. The fissures in her marriage figure fault lines in the drama's formulation of the nation as a synonym for Protestant England.

When Gueneuora warns Arthur that he will find 'Farre woorse at home' (I.ii.26) if he continues to neglect her in favour of quashing foreign opponents, she not only posits the home and wife within it as more perilous if overlooked than foreign powers, but also, in her capacity as a figuration of nation, suggests that it is at his peril that Arthur attends to foreign policy at the expense of domestic affairs. Indeed, that it is Arthur whom Gueneuora presents as responsible for jeopardising his standing in their marriage has

connotations for England's handling of its status as the supreme, Protestant power in the British nation. Just as, in allowing his wife to feel distanced from him, and thus dissatisfied with him, Arthur has fostered circumstances that enable his son to 'abuse [his] wedded bed' (I.iv.63) so, in focusing exclusively on Britain's policy 'abrode' (I.ii.24), he has failed to note the emergence in Britain of internal opposition to his reign. His personal standing as husband in the marital relation and his political location as representative of Protestant England's supremacy within Great Britain are thus simultaneously undermined. Accordingly, the personal, far from precluding the political, instead 'presents a microcosm of what will follow in the play.' Indeed, after 'Gueneuora leaves the play in the first act, her role is filled, figuratively speaking, by Britain itself.'⁹⁰

We have seen that Gueneuora responds to the emotional turbulence occasioned by the conflicting demands of husband and lover by retreating from the secular world, being transformed by the time Arthur returns home from a tangible reality to a living memory. Likewise, Britain, torn apart by the competing claims of Protestant England and an alliance of Catholic, Celtic kingdoms and regions, undergoes a comparable metamorphosis. From having, at the outset of the play, been a concrete formation, the British nation, in the play's closing scenes, is reformulated as an abstract idea. Retreating beyond the world of human relations into a quasi-divine arena, Britain is reconstituted in the drama's concluding moments solely as an ideal. The ideal of the godly nation is, however, one which those members of the audience who have learnt the lessons spelt out during the course of the drama are now equipped to strive for.

Providing the lesson that Arthur, and not Mordred, is ultimately to blame for the

⁹⁰Corrigan, p. 23.

breakup of Arthur's marriage to Gueneuora, the play delivers the message that if Protestant England fails adequately to secure its centrality in the British nation, as Arthur fails to do in his marriage, that nation will, like the drama's broken marriage, fragment, with immediate consequences for Protestant ascendancy and England's supremacy. Arming its audience with a knowledge of what it promotes as being necessary to securing Britain as a Protestant formation centred on England, the play encourages that audience to sympathise at once with the interests of Protestantism and of the English state.

It has been argued that The Misfortunes of Arthur is less concerned than Gorboduc to proffer advice to Queen Elizabeth regarding issues of government.⁹¹ Yet the play consistently, after the manner of Norton's and Sackville's drama, traces connections between the Tudor Queen and its eponymous hero. We have seen that Arthur is presented, like Queen Elizabeth in much Protestant polemic, as a godly monarch responsible for producing and maintaining a stable Britain. The connections between the English Queen and the play's protagonist serve, as in Norton's and Sackville's drama, to place the onus to stabilise the nation by centring it on Protestant England as much on the actual sovereign as on the drama's fictitious ruler. That Arthur loses his wife by failing at once to manifest his commitment to her and to recognise and resist Mordred's designs upon her, suggests that his counterpart, the Queen of England, ought to take heed. Unlike Arthur, England's Queen should actively, the play implies, articulate her Protestant kingdom's special relation to Britain whilst, at the same time, remaining alert to any bid for centrality within the nation by areas associated with Catholicism.

The lesson Arthur learns about Mordred, that someone whom he assumes to be

⁹¹See Bevington, p. 153.

similar to and in harmony with him, is in fact diametrically opposed to him, is equally a lesson for the Tudor Queen. The import of that lesson is not, moreover, simply that, were Queen Elizabeth to have ignored their differences and allowed Mary Stewart to remain alive, she would have suffered the consequences. Rather than envisaging what would have happened had the Stewart Queen been allowed to live, the play focuses on what might yet happen whilst factors relating to the Catholicism of the Queen of Scots remain living issues. The foremost of such factors concerns the legacy of the Catholicism of the late Scottish Queen upon Scotland itself, and what that might mean for Scotland's relations with England in any potential British nation.

Certainly, the way in which Arthur learns to recognise Mordred as 'other' works not merely to endorse Queen Elizabeth's decision to break the bonds of kinship by signing her cousin's death warrant, but serves also to provide broader political meanings. The 'othering' of Mordred, who figures at once Mary Stewart's Catholicism and its impact on Anglo-Scots relations, signifies the necessity of England's Queen disassociating herself from the Queen of Scots and, in addition, the importance of the Tudor monarch--as well as her parliament and peoples--differentiating between spaces infected by Catholicism and those associated with Protestantism. The thrust of The Misfortunes of Arthur, as of Gorboduc before it, is towards arguing that differences must be identified and boundaries demarcated. Only then will the husband's domain be secure from the incursions of the interloper and wedlock remain free from the taint of adultery. Equally pressing for these English Protestant playwrights is the corresponding notion that only in such an event will it be possible to avoid any potential conflating of Protestant with Catholic and subsequent laxity in recognising the encroachment of Celtic, Catholic arenas upon English, Protestant space.

Significantly, once Arthur recognises Mordred's 'otherness', Britain is redefined as the typically Anglocentric formation of the kind of Protestant discourse under consideration. With the identification of Mordred as alien comes the simultaneous telescoping of Britain into the Protestant realm of England, which acts as champion of Britain in the face of a combined Catholic and Celtic invasion that threatens to pollute the godly nation. The corollary of the identifying of Britain with England by way of an association between the nation and Arthur, is that Arthur's opponents, in the form of Mordred and his Celtic allies, no longer figure merely as rivals of Arthur, but become rather enemies of the Britain with which the latter is associated. When Arthur 'staggering scant sustained him selfe...there was Brytaine lost' (IV.ii.228-30) for, as Arthur begins to lose the battle to Mordred and his Celtic contingency, it is not simply Arthur in his capacity as King of England who has 'lost the field' (IV.ii.26), but 'all the Realme, and Brytaines bounds' (IV.ii.27). In effect, what is lost in the final battle is a Britain in which England dominates over Celtic regions and realms imagined as having been subdued by England's expansionist policy. As Arthur's man Gildas laments, those spaces which 'the former age subdude/With hourelie toyles to Brytaines yoke, this day/Hath set at large, and backwardes turnde the Fates' (IV.iii.10-12).

The particular areas which have broken free of their subjugation to England in its capacity as champion of Britain are specified in the remainder of Gildas's speech, in which he mourns the fact that 'Hencefoorth the Kernes may safely tread their bogges;/The Scots may now their inrodes olde renewe' (IV.ii.13-14). That it is the 'Scots' along with the 'Kernes' who have broken free of 'Brytaines yoke' is verified by Conan who, elaborating on Gildas's complaint, anticipates 'Scottes/Enioye[ing] our meadowes, fieldes, and pleasant plaines' (IV.iii.46-7).

The collapsing of Britain into England thus sees the Scots, like the Irish Kernes and Saxon claimants, translated into foreign powers envisaged as encroaching on, and defiling, England's 'pleasant plaines' which, by this stage, have been imaginatively expanded to contain 'all the Realme...all a Nation...this Isle' (IV.iii.20-23). That Britain in this play becomes an enlarged England is due to the drama's implicit contention that only England is pure enough in its Protestantism to support a nation imagined as in danger of being sullied by powers no longer understood as internal to Britain, but refigured as foreign. Scotland, along with Ireland and the Saxons' space has, by the time the play draws to a close, been placed beyond the borders of a nation whose geography has been realigned in a manner in which its parameters are made to concur precisely with those of the kingdom of England.

The way in which, in The Misfortunes of Arthur, Scotland, in the figure of Mordred, is associated with the creed of Mary Queen of Scots and accordingly excluded from an imagined community of Britons centred on, and identified with, England, suggests continuities with Gorboduc. At the same time, that the later drama concedes to a shared Protestantism that enables some sense of community between the two realms, with Gawain, unlike Mordred, afforded a place in the Britain of the playworld, signals a departure from that earlier play. Nevertheless, as we have seen, that the terms of Scotland's participation in the nation of The Misfortunes of Arthur constitute, in Gawain's fealty to Arthur, an acceptance of vassal status, indicates an ongoing anxiety about Scotland's position in a prospective British nation. Ultimately, the message of The Misfortunes of Arthur is that prevention is better than cure. To avoid those 'warres that gr[o]w from out the ground' (II.iii.101), areas either potentially polluted by Catholicism or resistant to English rule must be identified and contained before they are able to

undermine a nation envisaged at once along Protestant and English lines.

In real terms, what this means is keeping an eye on Scotland. If Scotland subscribes to the Protestant cause, it needs nonetheless to be made to acknowledge its subordinate relation to England if it is to be granted a place in a godly nation. If, on the other hand, it reverts to Catholicism, it must be subjugated. Indeed, the play draws to a close with a list of Arthur's achievements in his capacity as both King of England and of Britain, in which context the conquest of Scotland features prominently. The concluding anticipation of Arthur's return, intimating the potential for a future reenactment of that particular source of triumph, suggests that the vision of Britain conjured up in The Misfortunes of Arthur in 1588, while containing some departures from, nevertheless on the whole corresponds with the understanding of nation promoted in key union tracts of the 1540s and in Gorboduc in 1561. Certainly Sackville, if he was, as has been argued, in the audience of The Misfortunes of Arthur when it was first played at Greenwich Palace in 1588, must have recognised a number of the concerns that had preoccupied him twenty-six years previously.⁹² Those concerns, which clearly continued to engage the authors of this play, were brought to the attention of the public at large by means of the dissemination of both Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur.

Gorboduc was staged before a coterie audience. That it was, however, designed to be consumed by a readership other than the intelligentsia is suggested by the fact that the playwrights' chose to write in their native tongue rather than Latin. This decision may have been made with a view to ensuring the play's appeal for a wider audience than either the courtly, or those connected with the Inns of Court. The play certainly appeared in a

⁹²See Axton, p. 78.

pirated edition in 1565, before being made officially available in print from 1570 onwards. The Misfortunes of Arthur likewise made it into print, being 'rushed to press', an occurrence unusual enough to indicate that 'a demand for the play [called for] special effort to get the play into print.'⁹³ With the publication of these Inns of Court dramas, the figuration of Scotland which they encapsulated by means of their representation of Mary Queen of Scots probably achieved a wider circulation than, say, either those Protestant pamphlets produced in the 1540s for a narrow target audience, or the ephemeral genre of the ballad deployed in the 1560s by the Protestant Lords of the Congregation.

Whatever the realities of the distribution and reception of the texts discussed in this chapter, a perception of Scotland as antagonistic to a Britain understood as an enlarged England certainly proved an enduring currency south of the border. Indeed, it is suggestive of writers' ongoing engagement with Anglo-Scots relations that, as will be further demonstrated in the following chapter, representations of women were utilised into the 1600s to address concerns pertaining to Scotland's place in a British state which, although in some respects of a different complexion, were in other ways markedly similar to those alluded to across the period 1560-1588 by means of the delineation of Mary Queen of Scots.

⁹³Corrigan, p. 4.

Chapter Three: The 'Imperial Theme' and the 'Fiend-Like Queen':

Imagining the Nation in Macbeth.

The previous chapter explored the ways in which, between approximately 1560 and 1588, Protestant polemicists conceptualised a godly Britain through broadside ballads, religious treatises and Inns of Court dramas. With the actual advent of the union of crowns, the founding of the Anglo-Scots Union Commission in 1604, and parliamentary time given over in 1603-4 and 1606-7 to deliberating more extensive forms of union, writers not hitherto mentioned were motivated to intervene in the Jacobean union debate.

In order to demonstrate the importance of the union context for an understanding of Shakespeare's Macbeth, this chapter will draw on texts by George Chapman, John Marston, John Day, Anthony Munday and William Camden. Allusions to James Stewart's succession and to his progeny will be shown in Macbeth, as in Mathew Gwinn's Tres Sibyllae and Rubens's 'The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain', to operate as signs of the advent of nation rather than solely as representations of sovereignty. In addition, the chapter considers some of the ways that representations of women are made in Macbeth to further an engagement with the relations between Scotland and England in a nascent Britain.

Like Theodore de Bry's Folio edition of Thomas Harriot's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, Macbeth is shown to fuse characteristics associated with the martial Celtic woman with attributes typical of the American Amazon. In its delineation of the witches and Lady Macbeth, the play marries an image of Scottish womanhood with a type of representation utilised in contemporary discourse on the New World to indicate the necessity of implementing a colonial solution to problems posed by

alterity. The chapter argues that the ways in which the play associates the Amazonian witches and Lady Macbeth with the Highland region mark that territory out as requiring subjugation. The agents of conquest are viewed as the Anglo-Scots army which vanquishes Macbeth, the man affiliated with the play's unruly Amazons. That Malcolm's Scottish forces are championed by the Thane of Fife is seen to provide a Lowland complexion to the army of Scots which, in the play's closing scenes, aligns itself with the English. In this respect, Macbeth partakes of the contemporary tendency to see the Scottish Lowlands as similar to England, similarities often understood in terms of shared Protestant sympathies. The Highlands too tended to be differentiated from the Lowlands and England on the basis of perceived religious difference. In the course of Shakespeare's play, connections forged between the oppositional Amazons and the Highland region confer upon that locale an 'otherness' that is shown to be redolent with connotations of Catholicism.

Macbeth's uniting of the Scottish Lowlands with England in opposition to the Highland 'other' is viewed as gesturing at once towards the recent union of crowns and ongoing debates about effecting further forms of unification between England and Scotland. However, resonances with the homage tradition that in several of the play's source histories surround Malcolm's relations with the English recall the unequal footing on which Protestant Scotland interacts with its English 'partner' in The Misfortunes of Arthur. Consequently, Macbeth's treatment of Anglo-Scots relations is seen to accord with contemporary moves to contain Britain's Catholic, Celtic locations in a nation centred on Protestant England. Equally, having recourse to the type of the American Amazon in order to intimate the necessity of effecting territorial conquest, the play implicitly engages with prevailing attempts to draw America into that form of imperial

relation which would eventually form the basis of the British Empire. Yet Macbeth is also found to anticipate The Winter's Tale in making a metaphor drawn from the terrain of the union debate, in which the nation is figured as a child, function to indicate the impossibility of an imperial relation providing a stable foundation for a durable Britain.

In considering sexual politics central to Macbeth's handling of the relations between Scotland and England in an emergent British polity, the approach adopted in this chapter remains unusual, for while the play's treatment of gender relations has increasingly preoccupied its critics, its engagement with territorial concerns has not. Indeed, so little critical debate has surrounded the play's territorial considerations that the manner in which representations of women are made to address Anglo-Scots relations and the rise of nation has tended to be noted only in passing. Thus Janet Adelman, arguing that 'the play's psychological geography' is such that the 'shift from Scotland to England is strikingly the shift from the mother's to the father's terrain',¹ identifies, but does not pursue, the ramifications of the links forged in the drama between Scotland, England and female and male space. Similarly, Sarah Beckwith, observing Macbeth 'is obsessed with...the borders of...England and Scotland [and] the borders of the masculine subject',² notes that the play aligns territorial divisions with sexual difference, yet refrains from exploring the implications of that alignment. Hence, before considering woman's place in the play's treatment of a nascent Britain, it is necessary firstly to demonstrate that Macbeth does deal in significant ways with Anglo-Scots relations and to show that such interest speaks to the

¹Janet Adelman "Born of Woman" Fantasies of Maternal Power in Macbeth in Cannibals, Witches, and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance, ed. Marjorie Garber (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 110

²Sarah Beckwith, 'The Power of Devils and the Hearts of men: Notes towards a Drama of Witchcraft', Shakespearean Criticism, 19 (1991), 248.

contemporary preoccupation with the production of Britain.

The contention that by 'categorising as tragedies those later histories which deal with an earlier period in the development of the British polity, we deprive them of their historical specificity'³ is particularly pertinent to criticism of Macbeth. The play's debt to the medieval morality tradition, together with its treatment of what have been considered 'conflicts between the sacred and the unholy',⁴ has often been understood as 'cut[ting] the cable...moor[ing the] tragedy to a particular spot in space and time.'⁵ Frequently, the play has been viewed as keyed to the universal at the expense of any meaningful engagement with the particularities of its imagined temporal and geographical location.⁶ Those critics who have attended to the play's chosen geography, like the perpetrators of the well known superstitious theatrical tradition who substitute for Macbeth's proper title that of 'The Scottish Play', have tended to focus primarily on the text's depiction of Scotland. Consequently, the import of Scotland's interaction with England for Macbeth's conception of Anglo-Scots relations in an emergent British nation has tended to be overlooked.

³Willy Maley, "This sceptred isle': Shakespeare and the British problem' in Shakespeare and National Culture, ed. John. J. Joughin (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 104.

⁴John Turner, 'Macbeth' in Shakespeare and the Play of History, eds. Graham Holderness, Nick Potter and John Turner (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1988), p. 119.

⁵William Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Muir, p. xxvii. For a discussion of the medieval morality tradition in Macbeth, see Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama, (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 47-48.

⁶Turner points out that all 'too often critics of Macbeth have been tempted to discard its Scottish setting as superficial trappings, distracting us from the inner body of truth which should be our real concern', and cites a number of examples of the tendency to find Macbeth transcending the temporal and geographical aspects of its setting. See Turner, 'Macbeth' in Holderness, Potter and Turner, p. 119.

The claim that it is the text's own concerns which have precipitated the tradition of retitling Macbeth 'The Scottish Play' might, of course, appear to explain critics' tendency to focus on Scotland when discussing the text.⁷ After all, Macbeth does strive to evoke a sense of the Scotland in which the majority of its action is set. The third scene of the fifth Act, for instance, contains intimations of the Scottish vernacular, references are made to Scottish legal as well as political traditions (in the 'interdiction' Macduff mentions in the fourth Act and the brief acknowledgement of the system of tanistry in the first Act), and the play has recourse to a panoply of Scottish (if also to several English) source texts.⁸ Moreover, in his inclusion of a network of references to the names of places within Scotland, and to the birds and beasts associated with these spaces, Shakespeare 'relates...Macbeth to the Scottish landscape and topography, as he does not, to anything like the same degree, any other play to its locale.'⁹ Clearly, then, Macbeth displays a 'heightened awareness of all things Scottish.'¹⁰ Yet if the 'word "Scotland" is mentioned thirteen times', then the 'seven uses of "England" and the four of "English" also...keep reminding the audience of a background that Shakespeare never wants them to forget.'¹¹ The 'background' which the play foregrounds concerns transitions in Anglo-Scots

⁷Marjorie Garber suggests that the practice may partly be traceable to the text's own preoccupation with taboo and characters unable to name or speak directly of particular events. See Garber, Shakespeare's Ghost Writers, Literature as Uncanny Causality (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 88-90.

⁸For Scottish dialect in Macbeth, and the 'interdiction' as an element of Scottish legal tradition, see Arthur Melville Clark, Murder Under Trust, or The Topical Macbeth and Other Jacobean Matters (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), pp. 33, 51.

⁹Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁰Lisa Hopkins, The Shakespearean Marriage: Merry Wives and Heavy Husbands (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 145.

¹¹Clark, p. 31.

relations, Macbeth being 'a play about Scotland, seized at a crucial moment of transition in its history--transition from cultural independence of England to an increasingly close relationship with it.'¹²

Indeed, Macbeth consistently gestures towards the topical subjects of unification and the rise of nation. The killing of Siward's son, for instance, serves thematically to link Siward, the English captain, with Macduff, the Scottish champion. Both are rendered immediate victims of Macbeth's actions in a scene that concurrently unites English and Scots in a shared act of resistance to Macbeth. Moreover, that the Anglo-Scots force celebrate as a joint endeavour their victory over Macbeth marks a departure from the emphasis of much earlier English drama on presenting the English army as serving a state keen to subjugate Scotland. As we saw in Chapter One, in the closing scene of The Scottish History of James the Fourth the King of England manoeuvres his army into Scotland in order to conquer its sovereign and make him act out the ceremony of homage. Likewise, Gorboduc, The Misfortunes of Arthur and the anonymous Lochrine all bring the two Kings together then use their proximity to stress the precedence of England's King. Conversely, Macbeth deprives the English army of the King who might claim for England precedence in its relations with Scotland. Choosing not to have the English monarch participate in the military coup, and ensuring that the King of Scots' 'exact relationship' to England's sovereign 'remains ambiguous',¹³ Shakespeare dispenses with an opportunity seized upon by previous English dramatists to promote England's

¹²Turner, 'Macbeth', in Holderness, Potter and Turner, p. 120.

¹³David Norbrook, 'Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography' in Politics of Discourse, the Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England, eds. K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987), p. 96.

leader as suzerain, Scotland's as vassal.

Closing instead with an image of England and Scotland working together as one power, Macbeth makes use of a staple motif of Jacobean union discourse. The sentiment apparent in, for instance, Mundy's The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia--which has Albania and Loegria (Scotland and England respectively) celebrating the 'blessedness' of 'Britain's unity'¹⁴--is a commonplace of texts written during the course of the Jacobean union debates. Macbeth is thought to have been penned at the height of these debates, in either 1606 or 1605.¹⁵ Were the play to have been written in 1606, its moment of inception would have coincided with parliamentary discussions concerning the impact unification might have on law and commerce and, had it been composed in 1605, it would have been written in the immediate wake of the upsurge of pamphlet activity which helped render union so topical that, as one contemporary put it, '[t]here is nothing more in the mouthes of men then discoursing the Union of England and Scotland.'¹⁶

We saw in Chapter One how contentious a subject union proved to be. According to Guy Fawkes, one of the purposes of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, alluded to in the

¹⁴Anthony Mundy, The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia (London, 1605), cited in Jacobean Civic Pageants, ed. Richard Dutton (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1995), p. 129.

¹⁵Nicholas Brooke finds in the allusion in the third scene of the first Act to the voyage of the Tiger an indication that Macbeth was composed late in 1606, while Muir sees in the play's references to the Gunpowder Plot signs of Macbeth having been written in 1605. See Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Brooke (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 62 and Muir, p. xxiii. The arguments put forward by A. M. Clark, Dover Wilson, and Daniel Amneus for an earlier date of composition are not convincing and are persuasively refuted by Muir who, along with Brooke, provides compelling evidence for tracing the play to 1605-6. See Brooke, pp. 59-64 and Muir, pp. xviii-xx.

¹⁶The Jacobean Union, Six Tracts of 1604, eds. Bruce Galloway and Brian P. Levack (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1985), p. xxviii.

second scene of the third Act of Macbeth, was to 'blow [the Scots] back into Scotland.'¹⁷ Such a wish, if never far from the surface of Henry Spelman's Of the Union and Henry Savile's Historical Collections, is expressed forthrightly in Eastward Ho! Ben Jonson's, George Chapman's and John Marston's play, first entered on the Stationer's Register in 1605, was either written in the same year as, or shortly after, Macbeth. Here, the character Seagull, wishing the Scots as far afield from England as the New World instead of closer to the English through co-habiting with them in the newly formed nation, desires to see the Scots 'blown', in Fawkes' phrase, out of England and into Virginia. 'I would', he professes, 'a hundred thousand of 'em were there; for we are all one countrymen now, ye know; and we should find ten times more comfort of them there, than we do here.'¹⁸ With its closing image of Anglo-Scots unity, Macbeth, by depicting a dissolution of Anglo-Scots animosity, dissolves the satirical thrust of Seagull's claim that English and Scots 'are all one countrymen now.' Rather than promoting resistance to further convergence of the kingdoms within a united nation, Shakespeare, centring his play 'on...an historic moment of...expanding national consciousness', effectively 'announc[es] the threshold of his own new nation.'¹⁹

Celebrations of the advent of Britain proliferated during the period in which

¹⁷Jenny Wormald, 'Gunpowder, Treason, and Scots', Journal of British Studies, 24 (1985), 161. Galloway considers Scottophobia to have been 'of secondary significance' in the Gunpowder Plot. See Galloway, The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1986), p. 80. For persuasive evidence to the contrary, see Wormald and Lilian Winstanley, Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 42-43.

¹⁸Ben Jonson, George Chapman and John Marston, Eastward Ho!, ed. C. G. Petter (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), III.iii.42-45.

¹⁹Arthur. F. Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Question of Nationalism' in Literature and Nationalism, eds. V. Newey and A. Thompson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), p. 57.

Macbeth was composed. Such a celebration provides the point of departure for, amongst other material, King James's 'A Proclamation for the uniting of England and Scotland', Jonson's Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage, Daniel's A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme, Mundy's The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia, and constitutes the very epicentre of the proclamation of Great Britain which, 'geared to[wards] register[ing] unity in the hearts and minds of the peoples',²⁰ was read out in Westminster in 1605. Given that Macbeth deals with transitions in Anglo-Scots relations and concludes with what, when the contemporary preoccupation with the emergence of Britain is taken into account, proves a standard image of the rise of nation, it is all the more surprising that union and nation should be subjects so neglected in criticism of the play.

There are a number of reasons why this might be the case. As well as the erroneous (and conflicting) assumptions that Macbeth transcends the specificities of place, and that its Scottish focus precludes any broader interest in the territorial transitions currently allowing for the establishment of Britain, there is also a commonly held view that it is King Lear in which Shakespeare addresses these topical territorial concerns. Consequently, King Lear rather than Macbeth has tended to be viewed as the Shakespeare play most closely engaged with the issues raised by the debates of 1603-10.

Certainly, King Lear may activate elements of contemporary union discourse, much as Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale mobilise the popular trope of union as marriage. Indeed, the play has been seen to share with John Thornborough's Joifull and Blessed Reuniting the two mighty and famous kingdomes a metaphorical language of

²⁰Galloway, The Union, pp. 32, 60.

sibling rivalry which functions to figure the relations of England and Scotland in union.²¹

Yet King Lear neither relates its chosen figure to any particular strand of the union discussions, nor to England, Scotland or the broader formation of the British nation.

Instead, territorial spaces are throughout vaguely and inconsistently defined.²²

²¹Annabel Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation, The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 65-71. R. A. Foakes too argues for the importance of the union context in King Lear. He claims that the reference to Albany's and Cornwall's armies as 'the British powers' (4.4.21) echoes the proclamation of King James as King of Great Britain in 1604 because 'possibly Albany and Goneril were given Scotland; and Regan...Wales, marked out by Lear on the map.' To extrapolate from such slight evidence that 'Lear has presumably reserved...for Cordelia...the rest of England, if Goneril is to have Scotland and Regan Wales and Cornwall' is to speculate. We are not told which territories are designated to which parties, nor consequently invited to consider location in any detailed way. See Shakespeare, King Lear, ed. R. A. Foakes (Surrey: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1997), pp. 19-20.

It is worth also considering the slipperiness of the text's use of the term 'British'. At points the term is employed to refer to the whole nation (as at 4.4.21 and 3.5.180). Elsewhere it alludes solely to England. For Oswald in the Folio to refer to 'the English party' (4.4.246), the play's editor must amend the Quarto's reference to the 'British forces' on the grounds that 'English was what Shakespeare first wrote' (Foakes, p. 346). Were Shakespeare originally to have written 'English' here, this would suggest inconsistency in his conception of Britain, which would variously figure as the entire nation and as England alone.

Although inconsistent in its understanding of the designation 'Britain' and 'British', King Lear shows none of the characteristic ambiguities surrounding the notion of Britain that we earlier identified in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur. Here, a systematic slippage between 'British' and 'English' comprises a weapon in the arsenal of dramas calculated to promote Anglocentric understandings of nation. Conversely, in King Lear Shakespeare shows little interest in Britain and the kingdoms of which it is comprised. That this is the case is further suggested by the lack of resonance which accrues to the title 'Albany'. Unlike Gorboduc, in which that title is related to a consideration of Scotland's relations with England in an imagined Britain, there is nothing in King Lear to connect Albany to Scotland, beyond the implicit territorial associations attendant on the title itself.

²²A. J. Hoenselaars points out that the Folio edition of King Lear eliminates 'the sharply outlined patriotic framework of the Quarto', conjecturing that this is due to censorship as opposed to the purely aesthetic reasons put forward by Gary Taylor. See Hoenselaars, Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1624 (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992), p. 130 and Taylor, 'Monopolies, Show Trials, Disaster, and Invasion: King Lear

Conversely, Cymbeline's union metaphor is deployed in conjunction with an elaborate allusion to the position of those Scots born after 1603, the so called Post Nati, and their right to claim British citizenship.²³ Similarly, in The Winter's Tale, that same figure is anchored in a treatment of the relations between two territories which, in various ways, are rendered analogous with England and Scotland.²⁴

King Lear's concern with the union and the founding of Great Britain has thus tended to be over emphasised. However, if King Lear has been allowed to eclipse Macbeth in this regard, a more pressing reason for the failure to acknowledge the significance of the union context for an understanding of Macbeth has to do with assumptions accruing to the circumstances frequently thought to surround Macbeth's inception. Edmond Malone, conjecturing that Macbeth was one of three plays staged before King James at Hampton Court in 1606, afforded a basis from which it could be claimed that the play was an occasional piece, written at the command of King James for the state visit of King Christian of Denmark. This in turn opened the drama to the charge

and Censorship' in The Division of the Kingdoms, Shakespeare's Two Versions of King Lear, eds. Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 75-119. Importantly, however, the invasion is less explicitly presented in both the Folio and the Quarto versions of King Lear than it is in the source play The True Chronicle History of King Leir and His Three Daughters, again suggesting Shakespeare's interests go elsewhere in this play than towards territorial concerns.

²³For connections established in the play between Posthumus and the Post Nati, see Leah. S. Marcus, 'Cymbeline and the Unease of Topicality' in The Historical Renaissance, New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 143-144.

²⁴Analogies between Bohemia and Sicilia and Scotland and England are argued for by Donna. B. Hamilton in her article 'The Winter's Tale and the Language of Union 1604-1610', Shakespeare Studies, 21 (1993), 230 and 234-237.

of enacting the 'code of flattery which attended the theatre of patronage.'²⁵ According to Lily. B. Campbell, for example, Macbeth expounds the King's 'pet political ideas',²⁶ one of which is frequently thought to have been the project for uniting Scotland and England and founding Great Britain. Thus, when listing Macbeth's 'deferential allusions to the new monarch', Frederick Harries cites 'the reference made in IV.I to the union of the two crowns.'²⁷

The allusion in this scene to James Stewart's coronation emblems tends particularly to be understood as one of the play's flattering references to the Stewart King. Such a reading feeds into, and gains credence from, a misconception perpetrated within Whig historiography that the union project was 'a personal foible' of King James's springing from his autocratic desire to impose upon his reluctant parliament the 'pet policy'²⁸ of consolidating his hold over his recently enlarged domains. This line of argument, as well as being founded on speculation (there is no evidence that Macbeth was written at the royal command)²⁹ is thus often compounded by a misconception that the union venture and questions around the realisation of nation were preoccupations largely peculiar to King James alone. When taken together, these fallacies have the effect of ensuring that Anglo-Scots relations and the emergent nation are deemed of importance in Macbeth only because they were important to the King. Yet these topics had proved

²⁵Garber, Shakespeare's Ghost, p. 117.

²⁶Lily. B. Campbell, 'Political Ideas in Macbeth IV.iii', Shakespeare Quarterly, 2 (1951), 286.

²⁷Frederick. J. Harries, Shakespeare and the Scots (Edinburgh: W. F. Henderson, 1932), p. 46.

²⁸Galloway, The Union, p. 161.

²⁹See Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Brooke, p. 72.

of intense concern from as early as 1540.

We saw in the previous chapter the extent to which Protestant writers found in representations of Mary Queen of Scots a way of airing anxieties about the basis of the relations between the kingdoms in any prospective nation. In light of this context, we might usefully reappraise the ends to which allusions to the royal person are mobilised in Macbeth. That both Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur, as well as other material discussed in Chapter Two, refer to a Stewart monarch as a means of engaging with questions surrounding Scotland's relations with England if brought together within the formation of Great Britain ought to cause us to pause before assuming that Macbeth alludes to James Stewart's accession only in order to please the King. Indeed, if we reformulate the question so often asked of Macbeth and, instead of enquiring into the ways in which Macbeth relates its action to King James, ask rather how the King figures in the drama, it becomes apparent that the play's one explicit allusion to the sovereign serves as much to point towards union and the production of Britain as towards the Stewart King *per se*.³⁰ We have seen that critics who view Gorboduc as in significant respects about Mary Stewart miss the manner in which images of the Queen enable the playwrights to consider Anglo-Scots relations in the context of attempts to found the nation.³¹ Similarly, those who subscribe to the 'Jamesian reading'³² of Macbeth,

³⁰There may well be several implicit allusions to King James in the play. As well as the ancestral connections of Duncan, Malcolm, Banquo, Fleance and old Siward, there is

a potential reference to the North Berwick witch trials at I.iii.24-5. The coronation reference remains, however, the only explicit allusion to James Stewart, and this is best understood, as I argue in this chapter, in the broader context of what that coronation tended to signify.

³¹See David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics: a Critical Approach to Topical Meaning (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 141-155, and Mortimer

interpreting it as a 'Royal Play'³³ focused on the King's person, disregard the ways in which the allusion to the King's coronation provides Shakespeare with a vehicle through which to address the union and attendant emergence of Britain. In the early 1600s, however, the Stewart succession was likely to be associated as well with the advent of nation as with the ascent of the new sovereign. 'James' accession [to] the throne of England seemed', as Terence Hawkes notes, 'to presage the...union...As James VI and I in one person, he seemed to represent and literally to embody...unity: that final knitting together of the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales into a political and cultural identity...for which the name "Great Britain" had recently been devised.'³⁴

While contemporary texts might have made reference to the King's coronation only in order to flatter James Stewart, they may also have relied on associations between the King's succession and the founding of Great Britain to bring the topics of union and the emergence of nation into view. Of course, in the show of eight Kings the 'two-fold balls and treble sceptres'³⁵ are carried by Banquo's descendants, and the mythical Banquo had long been identified as the King's ancestor (by Boece in his Scotorum Historiae, for instance, and Holinshed in the Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland). Accordingly,

Levine, The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568 (California: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 30-44.

³²Alan Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history, ideology and intellectuals', Critical Quarterly, 28 (1986), 66.

³³Henry. N. Paul, The Royal Play of Macbeth (New York: Macmillan, 1950).

³⁴Twentieth Century Interpretations of Macbeth: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Terence Hawkes (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), p. 3.

³⁵William Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Kenneth Muir (London and New York: Routledge, 1951), IV.i.121. All quotations from Macbeth are taken from the Arden edition.

there are grounds for interpreting Macbeth's coronation allusion as a flattering reference to the longevity of the Stewart dynasty. Such, certainly, is the argument put forward by Henry Paul, the most influential of Macbeth's 'Jamesian'³⁶ critics, who, in addition, contends that Macbeth conceives of imperial power in terms of Stewart might. Paul supports the latter contention by relating Shakespeare's play to Mathew Gwinn's Latin playlet, Tres Sibyllae. Staged before King James at Oxford in 1605, Tres Sibyllae had featured three sibyls who, praising the King on the occasion of his recent investment, referred to 'imperium sine fine'³⁷ (the 'imperial theme') in the context of delivering a panegyric on the Stewart succession. Hence the phrase 'the imperial theme', which occurs also in the first scene of the third Act of Macbeth, is, Paul conjectures, derived from Gwinn and is, as in Gwinn's text, associated with Stewart power. Thus when Shakespeare later, in the fourth Act of Macbeth, alludes to the King's accession, he too, after the manner of Gwinn, transforms 'the imperial theme...into 'the Stuart theme.'³⁸

One of the effects of Paul's arguments becoming common currency in criticism of the play is that the reference to the King's succession tends to be understood simply as Shakespeare glancing deferentially towards his sovereign, with the 'imperial theme' inflected in such a way as to flatter the play's patron. As Marilyn French puts it, 'the implications of the vision' sequence within which the succession reference occurs 'are not essential to the play' except in so far as they suggest an 'organic line of succession - all

³⁶Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history', p. 66.

³⁷Mathew Gwinn, Tres Sibyllae, cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', p. 69.

³⁸Paul, p. 172.

the way to James I of England.³⁹ However, once it has been shown that the King's investment supplies Gwinn and Shakespeare alike with the opportunity simultaneously to speak of nation and to praise their sovereign, it becomes apparent that the notion of the 'imperial' is made in both Tres Sibyllae and Macbeth to pertain as much to the territorial inheritance by means of which King James was able to found a British state as to the sovereign himself.

In Tres Sibyllae Gwinn's sibyls' praise is directed towards King James in his peculiar capacity as a sovereign capable, on claiming his inheritance, of simultaneously realising Great Britain. Hailed as 'thou who rulest Scotland...England...Ireland...whom Britain, now united though formerly divided cherishes' and imagined as 'supreme British, Irish, Gallic Monarch', King James embodies precisely that national unity which Hawkes identifies as having been associated with the Stewart succession. With four countries united in the person of the Stewart monarch 'the world', Gwinn's sibyls' prophecy, 'is the limit of thy dominion'⁴⁰--and King James, integrating four realms into one overarching whole, instrumental in bringing forth Britain. Accordingly, imperial power is Stewart power, but 'imperium sine fine' (the 'imperial theme') is not exclusively understood as the consolidating of the house of Stewart. Rather, the 'imperial theme' here pertains also to the project of unifying, centralising and cohering disparate territories in one united nation with aspirations to world 'dominion'.

In Macbeth, the reference to the King's coronation emblems similarly point concurrently towards the King and a context in which imperial strength involves the

³⁹Marilyn French, Shakespeare's Division of Experience (Abacus: Sphere Books Ltd., 1981), p. 249.

⁴⁰Gwinn, Tres Sibyllae, cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', p. 70.

forging of Great Britain. Witnessing ‘some...That two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry’, Macbeth does not see the King himself, but only the coronation insignia through which the monarch’s presence is metonymically invoked. That Shakespeare selects King James’s coronation emblems to be the means by which he incorporates his sovereign into the scene is significant, for these particular signs of Kingship had, by the time of the play’s inception, come to encode the advent of Britain. If in the case of most monarchs, the ball and sceptre sufficed as signs of majesty, signifying Kingship by divine right and Kingly power respectively, in James Stewart’s case their symbolic properties had had to be doubled and trebled accurately to represent the circumstances of his inheritance. In order to declare ‘the undoubted Right of...King James, to the Crowne of the Realmes of England [Scotland] and Ireland’,⁴¹ there must be two balls to represent the claim to Scotland and England and the recently effected union of the crowns, and three sceptres to signify the King’s dominion over the aforementioned territories as well as Ireland and, through that dominion, his unique position as King of the British Isles.

A celebratory pageant of 1604 considers King James noteworthy for having brought with him a new kind of coronation emblem. Characterising the King as that ‘Great Monarch of the West, whose glorious stem/ Doth now support a triple diadem.../Wearing above Kings now, or those of olde,/A double crowne of lawrell and of gold’,⁴² the pageant

⁴¹Robert Cecil, A Proclamation, declaring the undoubted Right of our Sovereigne Lord King JAMES, to the Crowne of the Realmes of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, cited in Kinney, ‘Scottish History, the Union of the Crowns and the Issue of Right Rule: The Case of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*’ in Renaissance Culture in Context, Theory and Practice, eds. Jean. R. Brink and William. F. Gentrup (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), p. 21.

⁴²Thomas Dekker, The Magnificent Entertainment Given to King James, and Queen Anne His Wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, cited in Kinney, ‘Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*’, p. 59.

deems the Stewart emblem to be 'above'--in so far as it exceeds, and thus distinguishes itself from, 'those of old'--because of its tripling of the sceptre and doubling, in this instance, of the crown rather than the ball.

Macbeth too is preoccupied with 'triplicity and repetition',⁴³ and the signs of Kingship in the fourth Act's image of King James's insignia are no exception. Here the sceptre and the ball, trebled and doubled, signify a Kingship that, as in the celebratory pageant of 1604, exceeds in might all prior claims to power. Indeed, faced with a vision of the 'two-fold balls and treble sceptres', Macbeth is confounded by the fullness of Stewart signification. Given that Macbeth's is a 'barren sceptre...No son of mine succeeding' (III.i.61-63), his is consequently a waning power which, the vision intimates, is shortly to be extinguished by the sons of the house of Stewart who, 'stretch[ing] out to th' crack of doom', will supersede Macbeth as claimants to the imperial diadem. Of course, in so far as Macbeth is challenged here by a prophesied reinstatement of primogeniture, exemplified in the chain of descent culminating in King James and his offspring, the image of King James's coronation emblems does provide Shakespeare with a means of deferentially gesturing towards Stewart might. But Macbeth, in addition confronted by the doubled ball figuring the union of crowns and the trebled sceptre which 'correspond[s] with the first three salutations of the sibyls in Gwinn [to James as] King of Scotland, England and Ireland',⁴⁴ is confounded equally by the capacity of Banquo's line to unite erstwhile divided kingdoms and thereby realise Britain. Consequently, as in Tres Sibyllae, it is the British nation associated with, and which had in part been enabled

⁴³James. L. Calderwood, If It Were Done, Macbeth and Tragic Action (Massachusetts: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), p. 62.

⁴⁴Paul, p. 179.

by, King James's investment, that is invoked by means of the succession reference. Accordingly, imperial power is understood as the consolidation of Stewart might and as the cohering of territories within one national configuration.

The contention that early-modern writers tended to conceive of the imperial at once in terms of regal and of territorial concerns further supports reading Macbeth's coronation reference as simultaneously pointing towards James Stewart and his territorial inheritance. Frances Yates claims that the imperial person was frequently made to further a discourse about empire, with Queen Elizabeth often hailed as agent of empire through an appropriation of prior representations of the Hapsburg monarch Charles V. She finds in Spenser's allusion to the Tudor Queen in the third canto of Book Three of The Faerie Queene traces of Ariosto's mode of figuring King Charles as a symbol of national cohesion. In the fifteenth canto of Orlando Furioso, a 'prophetess [foretells] that the world will be put under a universal monarchy [by one sprung] from the union of the...houses of Austria and of Aragon [to whom God will grant] all this earthly Ile.'⁴⁵ Ariosto alludes here to the Hapsburg emperor but, Yates notes, in such a way as to identify him as the source and occasion of the formation of the Hapsburg empire. Similarly, when in Book Three of The Faerie Queene Merlin foretells that by the peace of York and Lancaster 'eternal union shall be made/Between the nations different afore' and that this shall occur when 'a royal virgin raine[s]', Queen Elizabeth is associated with, and made to signify, the founding of a strong, centralised, English state.

Hence, Spenser appears to have appropriated Ariosto's method of making prophecy the vehicle through which to fashion the monarch as sign of territorial expansion

⁴⁵Frances. A. Yates, Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (Harmondsworth: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1975), pp. 23, 53.

and consolidation. Similarly, Shakespeare utilises prophecy in the show of eight Kings to hail the advent of a King who likewise presides over a union. While the union alluded to in Macbeth is neither that of Austria and Aragon, nor York and Lancaster, but rather of Scotland with England, it also causes a more expansive territorial formation to be called into being--in this case a united British nation rather than the Hapsburg empire or stabilised English state. Indeed, if Spenser reaches back via Ariosto to 'the Hapsburg...concept of Holy Roman Empire [extending] out in ever-widening influence...under the rule of...One Monarch', then in Macbeth Shakespeare surely also taps into a similar cluster of identifications between the sovereign and the advent of nation. In fact, it can be argued that the discourse accorded the designation of 'the imperial theme', in which the emperor 'personified'⁴⁶ empire, and which was transmitted from the medieval to the early-modern period by (amongst others) Dante, Ariosto and Spenser, found the ideal conditions for its articulation only after the Tudor years which form the focus of Yates's study.

Certainly, the circumstances of the Stewart succession were more suited even than those which gave rise to the cult of Astraea, in which Queen Elizabeth was fashioned as the sovereign who realises and reinstates a lost unity of state, to inducing a mode of representation in which territorial expansion finds its focus in the figure of the royal person. Unlike the Tudor Queen, King James actually could, after the manner of the Hapsburg Charles, claim to be the catalyst for a cohering of diverse territories. Extending his claim not merely, as had his English predecessor, to Ireland and--rhetorically at least by way of Salic law--to France, the Stewart King was able in his capacity as claimant of

⁴⁶Yates, pp. 54, 51, 54.

the English throne to add to the principalities previously under the dominion of Queen Elizabeth the hitherto elusive kingdom of Scotland. That King James had in 1603 successfully united the crowns, meant that the 'postern gate'⁴⁷ to the continent, the border to a hostile Scotland across which the forces of Catholic Europe might steal, infiltrate and undermine England, might at last be considered closed. Seeking to 'remov[e] the difference'⁴⁸ between his two states, King James symbolically dissolved the border by renaming the Border region the 'Middle Shires'. Accordingly, the beleaguered realm of Elizabethan England appeared in 1603 to have become an Achillean state, the vulnerability of whose heel seemed now to have been removed. With England's weak spot dipped into the Styx, the state tended to be viewed as resurfacing from the baptism of the Stewart succession an altogether mightier formation. Michael Drayton, for example, referring to the Scottish succession in Song V of Poly-Olbion, claims 'This stem, to Tudors joined.../Shall spread itself so wide/As in his arms shall clip the Isle on every side,/By whom three severed realms in one shall firmly stand/As Britain-founding Brute first monarchised the Land.'⁴⁹ England, unhindered by a troublesome Anglo-Scottish border and part of the broader structure of Britain, seemed now impenetrable to invasion, no longer an Achilles, but a very Zeus. Such, at least, is the transformation envisaged by, among others, Drayton, Daniel and Mundy.

However, concurrent with what all three writers articulate as a felt experience of

⁴⁷R. B. Wernham, The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy: 1558-1603 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: The University of California Press, 1980), p. 25.

⁴⁸King James, A Proclamation for the Uniting of England and Scotland (Greenwich, 1603), cited in Stuart Royal Proclamations, eds. J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes, Volume 1, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 18.

⁴⁹Michael Drayton, Poly-Olbion, cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', pp. 68-69.

territorial transition arises a revitalised sense of the potential for expanding beyond domestic frontiers. That under James Stewart visible evidence⁵⁰ testified to an internal cohesion sufficient to enable the founding of a nation, induced in some quarters a belief that Britain's borders ought to be flexibly defined. For some, the nation might better be understood as the sum total of its potential acquisitions than as the actual composite of the King's territories. The full import of Daniel's claim in A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme, for example--that, in the wake of the Stewart succession and concomitant regal union, the nation has '[n]ow...[n]o Border'--is realised in the assurances Gwinn's sibyls offer King James that, where he is concerned, 'the world is the limit' of his 'dominion.'⁵¹ What, is the suggestion of these texts, is to prevent the King, having latterly cohered England and Scotland and engendered the resultant formation of Britain, from now striving to further an imperial project in which the nation's frontiers might, imaginatively at least, be defined only by the extent of its colonial aspirations? The imperial person of James Stewart, ensuring '[t]he pulse of England never more did beate/So strong as now: nor ever were our hartes/Let out to hopes so spacious and so great',⁵² is in such cases elided with a notion of territorial expansiveness--with England aspiring to increased 'spaciousness' and concurrent 'greatness'--and is, as such, made to articulate the idea of empire.

Notably, the concept of empire promoted here differs little from that which was

⁵⁰Such evidence took the form, for example, of new legislation and high profile parliamentary discussions over effecting further forms of unification.

⁵¹Samuel Daniel, A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme (London: Edward Blount, 1603), (Menston: The Scolar Press Ltd., 1969), stanza two, and Gwinn, Tres Sibyllae, cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', p. 70.

⁵²Daniel, A Panegyrike, stanza eighteen.

articulated in 1532-3 by Henry VIII when he declared that '[t]his realme of England is an Empire...gouerned by one supreme head and kynge, hauynge the dignitie and royall estate of thimperiall crowne of the same.'⁵³ Indeed, English writers at the turn of the century tend to conceive of Britain as consisting of no territory other than England, and simultaneously to envisage England's boundaries as expanding to encompass other territories, most notably England's Celtic neighbours. That England typically functions as 'a simplified synecdoche for the complex whole that is the British state'⁵⁴ ought to prepare us to find fault lines in the representation of Anglo-Scots relations in Macbeth. However, for our present purposes it is important simply to recognise that the discourse to which Yates accords the designation of 'the imperial theme'⁵⁵ finds its apotheosis in the person of King James VI and I. Indeed, not only King James's succession, but also his capacity for generation were mobilised by Jacobean writers to allude to unification and the advent of a nation increasingly considered, both within and outwith the boundaries of Britain, as intent on acquiring for itself the status of a world power.

Declaring to the English parliament in 1604 that 'I am the husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife',⁵⁶ the King himself set the terms for a fashioning of the nation in a familial language in which the generative capacity of the monarch's natural body might function to figure the territorial expansion currently occurring in his body

⁵³The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, eds. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, Volume 7, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 710.

⁵⁴Maley, in Joughin, p. 90.

⁵⁵Yates, p. 51.

⁵⁶King James, from a speech given to Parliament in 1604, cited in Michael. J. Enright, 'King James and his island: an archaic kingship belief?', The Scottish Historical Review, 55 (1976), 29.

politic. The logic of the King's analogy of being married to the island is such that the nation envisaged as born of the sovereign's relation with Scotland and England is implicitly positioned as the offspring of that match. Whether taking their cue from the King or not, contemporary writers regularly represented unification and the rise of Britain by means of a child motif. Thus where King James describes the union as 'a perfect child',⁵⁷ John Thornborough refers in 1604 to 'the child'⁵⁸ of union, while Salisbury speaks in 1610 of 'that beloved child [the Union], which must be the life and strength of this island.'⁵⁹ More particularly for our purposes, in the first panel of his painting on the ceiling at Whitehall, Rubens depicts Britain as King James's offspring. Such a mode of imagining the nation has ramifications for the import of the images of the progeny of King James's reputed ancestor Banquo with which the vision sequence of *Macbeth*'s show of eight Kings culminates. It is unlikely that Rubens knew of Shakespeare's play, and Shakespeare cannot have known of Rubens's painting for it does not appear to have been commissioned until 1621, and did not arrive in the Banqueting Hall

until 1635. Yet there are resonances between the painting, 'The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain', and the first scene

⁵⁷King James, from a speech given to Parliament in 1607, cited in Enright, p. 39, n. 5.

⁵⁸John Thornborough, *A discourse plainly proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie Union*, cited in Roy Strong, *Britannia Triumphans, Inigo Jones, Rubens and Whitehall Palace* (Hampshire: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 20.

⁵⁹Salisbury, from 'A Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the Late Lord Treasurer Cecil and of Several Observations of the Lords of the Council given to King James Concerning his Estate and Revenue in the Years 1608, 1609, and 1610', cited in Hamilton, p. 233. As we saw in Chapter One, Shakespeare too activates these meanings in his representation of the boy child Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*, and in Jonson's *Hymenaei* the anticipation of offspring arising from the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Lady Frances Howard is associated with the emergence of the new 'race' of Britons who will arise from the union of England and Scotland.

of the fourth Act of Macbeth. If correspondences between these two cultural artefacts cannot be understood as a case of deliberate borrowing, they can be explained in terms of a common metaphorical language being used to articulate a shared set of concerns.

There are extensive similarities between the show of eight Kings and Rubens's composition. Although diffuse, when taken as a whole, the visual tableaux conjured up by the witches for Macbeth fittingly (given the prophetic turn of events here) prefigure the scenario delineated in Rubens's painting. In fact, the vision sequence of the show of eight Kings is replayed in the painting, but with the same images occurring in inverse order. As in Rubens's image, the child is at the epicentre of the scene in Macbeth. Macbeth witnesses in succession a flaming cauldron, an armed head, two children, one of whom is crowned, and finally a procession of royal offspring (some of whom bear the Stewart coronation insignia) whom Banquo 'points at...for his' (IV.i.124). Conversely, the viewer's eye is encouraged in the Rubens image to follow an antithetical trajectory, with Banquo's supposed ancestor, King James, directing our gaze by pointing with a sceptre (perspectively aligned with the orb in his left hand so as to foreground the coronation motifs) towards the child. Like Banquo's progeny and the crowned child, Rubens's infant sports a diadem, but is here dangled above a crevice which contains armour (corresponding with the armour sported by the spectral head in the second of Macbeth's visions), and beneath which a flame rises. In this 'text', fire stems from a putto's torch rather than, as in Shakespeare's play, from under a witches' cauldron.

In having a 'putto set...fire to the weapons of warfare that divide the kingdoms with a nuptial torch',⁶⁰ Rubens's painting has been seen to echo the terms of King James's

⁶⁰Strong, p. 20.

marital analogy. The visual image of the King interacting with two women has been understood as a graphic metaphorical rendering of the marriage of the monarch to his two territories, with the child supported by the two women interpreted as ‘an allegorical being representing the happy birth of the United Kingdom.’⁶¹ With the child in Macbeth’s show of eight Kings also associated, in the last instance, with Stewart progeny, it too might feasibly be conceived of as metaphorically rendering the nascent British nation. Once such a meaning is seen to accrue to the child, the reception the infant receives in Shakespeare’s play is significant in ways that have hitherto gone unexplored. If in ‘The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain’ the Stewart babe features as the source of celebration, in Macbeth Stewart offspring are, on the contrary, a cause of consternation, being, along with King James’s coronation emblems, the ‘Horrible sight!’ (IV.i.122) from which Macbeth recoils.

Interestingly, in so far as Rubens’s painting reverses the image sequence found in Macbeth and, in addition, substitutes for Macbeth’s expression of revulsion at the sight of the King’s posterity the sentiments of appreciation and jubilation, the relation of the latter to the former is similar to that of the masque proper to the anti-masque. As modified by Jonson in 1609, the court masque was made to include the two-part structure of the anti-masque, comprised of images of disorder and disruption, and the masque proper in which order is restored and unity reinstated, a structural innovation which Jonson introduced in The Masque of Queens. Indeed, just as Rubens’s image sequence culminates

⁶¹Fritz Saxl, from an unpublished lecture delivered at the Institute of Historical Research, March 8, 1945, cited in The Renaissance Imagination, Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975), p. 39.

in an angelic flame illuminating a healthy boy child and thereby inverts Macbeth's motifs of the diabolic fire of the witches casting light on a bleeding babe, so The Masque of Queens concludes with the angelic Fame ushering in queens dancing with 'motions...even and apt' who banish a group of witches grotesquely dancing 'backward.'⁶² The transformations effected here by the masque proper of the actions and sentiments of the anti-masque are markedly similar to those transitions occurring between the events depicted in Rubens's painting and those presented in the show of eight Kings.

Importantly, the alterations occasioned by the masque proper of the substance of the anti-masque are ideologically freighted. In respect of The Masque of Queens, for instance, '[s]ymbolically the...disappearance of the hags and their hell demonstrates a basic assumption of the [masque] universe...: the world of evil is not real...so the antimasque is...threatening but in fact...powerless, and...when the transition takes place - without status even as a concept.'⁶³ Containing the subversive ideas projected in the anti-masque, the masque proper aspires symbolically to deny their reality by rendering them as if illusory. Rewriting whatever was presented in the anti-masque as opposed to the King's beliefs and political projects, the masque proper functioned to further the ideals and policies promoted by the prevailing sovereign. Such is also the purpose of Rubens's 'The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain.'

Designed to grace the ceiling of the masquing hall, Rubens's painting is no more merely decorative than were the lavish displays of the court masque itself, being rather propaganda commissioned by King Charles to celebrate his father's achievement in having

⁶²The Masque of Queens in Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 134, 140.

⁶³Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques, ed. Orgel, p. 9.

united England with Scotland and founded Great Britain. Reworking the tale of Solomon's judgement in the First Book of Kings, Rubens replaces Solomon with James VI and I and, for Solomon's decree that a feud between two women warring over one child be resolved by splitting that infant in two, substitutes King James's verdict that a babe be healed and made whole.⁶⁴

Reversing Solomon's judgement, King James's resolution, as depicted in this painting, speaks to the project which he unstintingly championed of forging the nation by uniting what had previously been divided, England and Scotland, to make one complete entity. However, in imaging Britain as a child healed because, unlike the fissured infant of the Book of Kings, it has again been made one, the painting strives--with its fantasy of the fashioning of the perfect union and of a stable, durable Britain--to replace, and in so doing render as if illusory, the realities of the Jacobean union settlement. In a movement akin to that of the masque-proper in its relations with the anti-masque, Rubens's painting attempts to banish the realities of, in this case, a prior historical, rather than theatrical, moment. No incorporating union had in fact been achieved under King Charles's father, but rather a partial arrangement. With the crowns united but none of Scotland's and England's other major institutions aligned, the nation resulting from the Jacobean union debates was less a unified, than a fractured entity. Galloway claims that with regards to the Parliamentary union of 1707, 'the new child of Britain remained a weakling and, in some ways, a Siamese twin.'⁶⁵ He might equally be speaking here of the Jacobean union. His choice of metaphor is certainly apt, for the Britain born in 1603-10 was, indeed, as far

⁶⁴That Rubens's painting involves a reworking of Solomon's judgement is noted by Strong in his Britannia Triumphans, p. 19.

⁶⁵Galloway, The Union, p. 175.

removed from the well knit infant of Rubens's painting and, paradoxically, as close to the fissured child of the Book of Kings, as it was possible to be.

Unsurprisingly, the territorial divisions Rubens's painting wishes away were subsequently to resurface, most vehemently in the period of the painting's production, when, during the war of the three kingdoms, King Charles was beheaded only yards from where this painting hung. Ironically, therefore, an image featuring the King's father reuniting Britain by engendering a Stewart child who, in contrast with the babe of the Book of Kings, is healthy because restored to its original well-knit form, witnessed England and Scotland divided along ecclesiastical lines and the King's heir decapitated. That 'The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain' could not--in its fantasy of a strong nation united under authoritative Stewart government--be further from the realities of the destabilising legacy of the partial union achieved under James VI and I, is, however, in keeping with the logic of this painting which, like that of the masque proper, is predicated on an attempt to replace with an imagined ideal the actualities of history.

If in the 1620s Rubens refashioned the biblical motif of the fissured infant in order metaphorically to speak of the dissolution of Anglo-Scots animosity and the rise of nation, the image of the divided child was elsewhere retained to figure resistance to the advent of Britain. In 1604 Thornborough, in his A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie Union, mobilised the trope of the fractured babe to warn of the dangers of resisting further unification and the consolidation of nation. '[L]et none', he exhorts, 'be so hardie (with the harlot in the daies of Salomon) to...Deuide the child, and cut it into two parts; least such diuision part that into two, which God...first made one: and now in his...goodness hath restored, in the royall person

of our gracious King.’⁶⁶ In this tract, we find once again the combined associations discerned in Rubens’s painting between the royal person, the babe and the British nation, but here, fissured rather than refashioning as a healthy, well-knit infant, the child speaks of Anglo-Scots animosity and its dangerous potential to fragment Britain. Hence, in these two forms--healed, healthy and made whole or damaged and divided--the infant motif surfaces in Jacobean union discourse (of which Rubens too partakes in his belated participation in the union debate) as a way of making available differing positions within, and conceptions of, the union project.

We have seen that Macbeth’s show of eight Kings shares with Rubens’s image the motif of the Stewart child, and that the babe serves in this scene further to enforce associations with the advent of nation evoked by the reference to King James’s coronation emblems. In the play as a whole, however, the babe motif bifurcates along the lines of the healed, triumphant child of Rubens’s painting and the assaulted, fissured infant of Thornborough’s tract. Indeed, in the course of the drama ‘a strongly marked pattern’ emerges not only of healthy, but also of ‘blighted progeny.’⁶⁷ On the one hand, the play presents images of ‘Pity’ who ‘like a...new-born babe/Strid[es] the blast’ (I.vii.21-22), the crowned child, the Stewart infants and ‘unrough youths’ (V.ii.10). On the other hand, it shows the babe with its brains ‘dash’d...out’ (I.vii.58), the ‘birth-strangled babe’ (IV.i.30), the ‘bloody child’ (IV.i.76) and those progeny on whom the ‘butcher’ (V.ix.35) Macbeth inflicts ‘hurts’ (V.ix.13). In this respect, the play’s infants concur at once with the child as featured in Rubens’s painting and with the infant of Thornborough’s tract. This in turn

⁶⁶Thornborough, A discourse, cited in Strong, p. 20.

⁶⁷Hopkins, p. 146.

suggests that Macbeth calls into play both aspects of a metaphor utilised in the terrain of the union debates variously to figure national unity and divisions between the kingdoms and the dissolution of the recently founded British nation.

Of course, in the show of eight Kings, the bleeding, fissured babe is superseded by the healthy Stewart child, and a symbol of territorial division thus rapidly replaced by a sign of national cohesion. Yet Macbeth's response to the healthy Stewart infant is, nonetheless, to seek to damage it. The vision of King James's reputed ancestor's offspring prompts Macbeth to resolve that from 'this moment,/The...firstlings of my heart shall be/The firstlings of my hand' (IV.i. 146-148). Macbeth's gruesome pun here indicates that, owing to the information received in the witches' visions, he now recognises that ultimately to execute his desires he must slaughter initially Macduff's, but eventually Duncan's, and especially Banquo's, first born son.⁶⁸ Given Cleanth Brooks's contention that 'the babe signifies the future which Macbeth would...and cannot control',⁶⁹ the manner in which the motifs of babes converge in this scene in a vision of Stewart descendants might be said simply to figure hereditary Kingship, pointing towards the capacity of a system of lineally inherited power to transcend disruptive intervention. Certainly, Macbeth's subsequent targeting of children is dictated by his realisation here that he has pawned at once his desire for 'honour, love, obedience, troops of friends' (V.iii.25) and his immortal soul for imperial power which, owing to his own barrenness

⁶⁸The punning use of the word 'firstlings' here is highlighted by M. M. Mahood, who points out that '*Firstlings* can mean "firstborn young" as well as "the first results of anything, or first-fruits."' Mahood, Shakespeare's Wordplay (London: Methuen and Co.Ltd., 1957), p. 135.

⁶⁹Cleanth Brooks, The Well Wrought Urn, Studies in the Structure of Poetry (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1949), p. 42.

and Banquo's fertility, will slip from his grasp and into the hands of the latter's ancestors, King James and his posterity. Consequently, striking out at Macduff's boy involves for Macbeth a displacement of his animosity towards Duncan's children, beyond his grasp in England and Ireland respectively, but particularly towards Fleance, whom he has merely 'scorch'd' (III.ii.13) and who will, he is now made to realise, circle back through the lines of the Stewart family tree to reclaim the imperial diadem Macbeth has but momentarily acquired for himself.

However, while the babe most obviously furthers the play's thematic engagement with lineal Kingship, that within the broader context of the union debates the infant--and the Stewart child especially--was utilised to signify Scotland and England becoming one united nation, suggests an alternative eventuality is in addition being glimpsed here. That Macbeth's reception of Stewart progeny involves not the jubilation found in Rubens's painting but, on the contrary, the resistance warned against in Thornborough's tract, indicates that although Macbeth's struggle is to prevent the ascent of Banquo's line, his venture might equally be read metaphorically as figuring resistance to the unionist policy and the advent of the empire associated with Banquo's reputed ancestor, King James.

Macbeth's response to the vision of King James and his posterity is, in effect, to pursue that course of action which Thornborough had, approximately one year before Shakespeare wrote Macbeth, warned contemporaries against contemplating, let alone instigating. To resist the unionism promoted by James Stewart and like minded union apologists, and hold out for separatism at the cost of fragmenting the nascent nation is, within the metaphorical matrix of the union discourse Thornborough calls into play, to

'[d]euide the child, and cut it into two parts.'⁷⁰ Such is precisely the course of action pursued by Macbeth, whose aim of slaughtering the first born son, when situated in the context of a political language in which a fissured babe might signify separatism and a healthy child a unionist stance, might be interpreted as figuratively encapsulating separatist tendencies.

However, in the broader world of the play, Macbeth's political persuasion remains contained. The Stewart offspring who, as well as being made in union discourse to signify the nation, are presented in the show of eight Kings carrying coronation insignia which likewise symbolised the rise of Britain, are also projected as resurgent--destined to triumph over Macbeth. Such a mode of representation suggests at once the futility of Macbeth's attempts to eradicate Banquo's line and, equally, the hopelessness of struggling to resist the advent of Britain. Yet that the Stewart youth should provoke in Macbeth such a violent reaction, precipitating in particular the brutal assault on Macduff's vulnerable child, indicates that within the local context of the play's immediate action all that is signified by the Stewart babe is in jeopardy. This means that what is presented here as under threat is hereditary (and implicitly Stewart) kingship, and that Macbeth's show of resistance is thus related to the futility of opposing the play's royal patron. But what is also under assault is arguably the aligning of Scotland with England in that unified nation with which James Stewart and his offspring had, by the time Shakespeare wrote Macbeth, come firmly to be identified.

The invoking in the show of eight Kings of the presence, if not the person, of King James, can thus be seen to allow for a representation of resistance, in the reaction and

⁷⁰Thornborough, A discourse, cited in Strong, p. 20.

subsequent course of action pursued by Macbeth, to the King's policy of pressing to unite Scotland and England. We can, as such, discern Shakespeare's 'two-eyedness'⁷¹ at work here, with Macbeth's multiple equivalences encompassing also its treatment of its royal patron. That recourse to the King's coronation emblems enables a critical treatment of the union and concomitant advent of nation, formations known to be championed by James Stewart, suggests the flattery occasioned by the play's allusion to King James is qualified flattery at best. In so far as this is the case, Macbeth has more in common with the anti-masque--in that it finds ways of articulating opposition to the unionist policy promoted by the King and which we find extolled, for instance, in Rubens's painting--than it does with the masque proper in which royal policy is upheld and, as in Rubens's image, endorsed. In light of this context, we might reasonably claim that Macbeth is better placed in relation to 'the imperial theme',⁷² that tradition of representing the monarch in order to make available conceptions of nation, than, as is so often the case, read simply as uncritical panegyric on the Stewart succession. From even so brief a reappraisal as is offered here, it is possible to recognise Macbeth as being, to paraphrase the title page of John Speed's atlas of 1611, theatre of the empire of Great Britain.



We have established some of the ways in which, in Macbeth, 'Shakespeare's eyes are fixed

⁷¹A. P. Rossiter, Angel with Horns (London: Longman, 1961), cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', p. 71.

⁷²Yates, p. 51.

on the Union of the Crowns⁷³ and the advent of nation. Before discussing the means by which sexual politics are utilised to address these concerns, it is necessary firstly to examine further the nature of the territorial issues preoccupying Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the period of Macbeth's production. Only having grasped more fully the scope and affect of English imperialism and ongoing fears of Scottish Catholicism on perceptions of Scotland's relations with England in a British state will we be in a position adequately to address the interrelatedness in Macbeth of territorial considerations and sexual politics.

We have seen that concurrent with moves towards effecting greater internal cohesion in the newly formed nation there occurred simultaneously a drive towards territorial expansion, with Britain no sooner implemented by means of regal union than it sought to press back its boundaries beyond its own landmass and assimilate farther shores. The impetus for this urge towards imperial status arose not from 'the nation' as a total structure encompassing all of its constituent parts, but from that more local point of origin--the kingdom of England--which, in his Remains Concerning Britain, William Camden personifies in the figure of the 'Englishman.' Concluding a chapter on the inhabitants of the British Isles, Camden envisages the 'Englishman' aspiring to 'overcome' his 'adversaries by land and by sea.'⁷⁴ The dual thrust here of England's aspirations corresponds with attempts occurring at the time of this text's inception (the Remains being published in 1605, and thus in the same year, or the year previous to Macbeth's assumed date of composition) to gain control over other kingdoms internal to Britain and,

⁷³Winstanley, p. 49.

⁷⁴William Camden, Remains Concerning Britain, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto, Buffalo: The University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 21.

simultaneously, over the New World.

Although, like Macbeth, Camden's Remains was disseminated during the first parliamentary debate about union, Camden first began writing the text in the 1580s.⁷⁵ The period between 1580 and 1605 witnessed the uniting of the crowns, the dismantling of the Anglo-Scots border and concomitant advent of a nation which, subject to government from England, was less 'a full cultural amalgam...than...a synonym for England.'⁷⁶ Indeed, the Britain instituted in 1603 can be understood in terms of the coming to fruition of England's earlier policy of 'coercion and colonization'⁷⁷ by means of which the Tudors sought to subjugate Wales, Ireland and Scotland. According to Steven Ellis, the circumstances of the Jacobean union were in crucial respects no different from those surrounding Anglo-Irish relations in the 1540s, at which time the device of a dependant kingdom was utilised to convert 'Gaelic lordships [into] English shires.' Appearing to mark 'a departure from Tudor policies of centralization', this device worked to further a programme of cultural/political assimilation, providing 'an attractive but misleading model for English politicians wrestling with the problems of a multiple monarchy after 1603.'⁷⁸ Certainly, the plan for perfect union constituted a policy ostensibly promoting equalities,

⁷⁵As Dunn points out, by 'Camden's own word we know that preparation for at least one chapter of the Remains began as early as 1583.' See Dunn, p. xvi.

⁷⁶Robert Crawford, Devolving English Literature (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 115.

⁷⁷Steven G. Ellis, 'Tudor state formation and the shaping of the British Isles' in Conquest and Union, Fashioning a British State 1485-1725, eds. Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London and New York: Longman, 1995), p. 57.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 56-57.

as the unionist rhetoric of the mutual engaging of ‘Hearts and Affections’⁷⁹ indicates, but which in effect sought to implement asymmetries and subordinate Scotland to England’s interests after the manner of Ireland in 1541.

Although the perfect union was to prove an abortive project, from ‘London’s perspective...1603 appeared to mark the successful conclusion of a long-term goal of Tudor policy: to break down [the] autonomy’ of Wales, Ireland and Scotland and ‘extend...English civility throughout’⁸⁰ a nation centred on, and under the direction of, England. Indeed, with Scotland’s crown transferred to London and the balance of power between Scotland and England altered in the latter’s favour, the consolidating of England’s internal colonial aspirations appeared henceforth to be all but complete. Accordingly, concern over a Popish Spain assaulting England through Ireland and a Catholic France attacking via Scotland began to give way to anxiety surrounding Spanish and French activity in the New World.⁸¹

With England striving increasingly after 1603 to quell Spanish and French trade in America, and to acquire for itself a monopoly on the produce, peoples and plantations of the New World, from hereon out English interventions into Britain’s Celtic countries

⁷⁹Francis Bacon, Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, cited in Claire McEachern, The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 140.

⁸⁰Ellis, ‘Tudor state formation’, in Ellis and Barber, p. 61.

⁸¹Discussing Richard Hakluyt’s Discourse on Western Planting of 1584, W. D. Hussey notes that outstripping other nations with regards to the colonial enterprise was, in Hakluyt’s eyes, a primary concern, with Hakluyt claiming ‘That speedy planting in diverse fit places is most necessary upon these last Western discoveries for fear of the danger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intention.’ Hakluyt was writing in the 1580s but, while English explorers did begin in the 1590s to break the Spanish monopoly on America, it was not until ‘the beginning of the seventeenth century [that] the first wave of English colonization started.’ See Hussey, The British Empire and Commonwealth, 1500-1961 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 6, 11.

would become part of this wider struggle. Given the dual impetus of England's push to exert control over the nation's Celtic kingdoms and over the foreign continent of America, it is unsurprising to find that contemporary English texts dealing variously with Britain's realms and their peoples often also attend to the New World and its inhabitants. For the 'celebrations of Britannia Rediviva, the union of the whole island under one monarch',⁸² Dekker's third arch in Fleet Street featured a representation of America, while Theodore de Bry's Folio edition of Thomas Harriot's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia closes with a discussion of Ancient Britons.

As far as Shakespeare is concerned, it is The Tempest which is most often seen to register a concurrent interest in the New and the Old World. Caliban, for example, characterised by means of 'ancient preconceptions and new information about the inhabitants of the Americas',⁸³ is often seen as a type of the American Indian. Equally, associated through the conspiratorial plot to overthrow Prospero with the masterless men Stephano and Trinculo, Caliban can be conceived of as figuring at once 'the racial Other' and rendering 'in...mythic...terms' the European male at 'the base...of the superstructure.'⁸⁴ Consequently, Shakespeare in The Tempest appears to have been participating in what had, by 1611, become a vogue for drawing comparisons between the

⁸²M. C. Bradbook, The Living Monument, Shakespeare and the Theatre of His Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 134.

⁸³Leslie. A. Fiedler, 'Caliban as the American Indian', cited in Shakespeare: The Tempest, ed. D. J. Palmer (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1968), p. 168. See also Orgel, 'Shakespeare and the Cannibals' in Cannibals, ed. Garber, pp. 40-66, and Francis Barker and Peter Hulme, 'The Tempest and Oppression' in Palmer, pp. 200-211.

⁸⁴Annabel Patterson, Shakespeare and the Popular Voice (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 156-157. Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the discourse of Colonialism' in Political Shakespeare, New Essays in Cultural Materialism, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 52-53.

inhabitants of the New World and those of the Old.⁸⁵ Importantly, however, the genealogy of the tendency to draw ethnographical comparisons can be traced back prior to the period of Shakespeare's writing The Tempest, encompassing also the years in which he wrote Macbeth.⁸⁶ Indeed, information about America had been trickling back to England from the 1490s, following the publication in 1492 of Christopher Columbus's Letter, from which moment onward America was to have a distinct impact on the imaginations of many Europeans.⁸⁷

The power of America and 'the "ethnicks" of the Americas [to] jolt the Europeans into taking fresh stock of themselves'⁸⁸ has often been noted, but has not always been

⁸⁵Stuart Piggot argues that 'Camden seems to have been the first to make a direct comparison between...American[s] and...Britons, and after Raleigh's Virginia expedition of 1585, and the subsequent publication of John White's drawings in De Bry's America of 1590, many people were able to make use of the parallel.' Piggot, Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination, Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 74.

⁸⁶From the example of Edmund Harman's tomb, onto the strapwork of which Brazilian Indians were carved in 1596, we can see that ethnographical comparisons were being made at the turn of the century—closer to the period of Macbeth's production rather than simply towards the end of Shakespeare's career when The Tempest was written—and that for a 'text' (be it a tombstone or a playtext) to make such comparisons no direct literary source about America, such as underpins The Tempest, need be behind the forging of that connection. Indeed, if these Indians were carved onto Harman's tomb in order visually to associate the deceased in some capacity with Brazil, then they are to all intents and purposes anomalous, in so far as no evidence is forthcoming that might connect Harman with the collecting of texts about, or with possible exploratory missions to, America.

⁸⁷Bernadette Bucher points out that the 'first account about America published in England' did not appear until at least 'fifteen years after Columbus's voyage' and that 'the Great Voyages appears as the first European panorama of America.' The Great Voyages comprised the published work of the de Brys, and was disseminated across the period 1590-1634. See Bucher, Icon and Conquest, A Structuralist Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages, translated by Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 4.

⁸⁸J. R. Hale, 'Sixteenth-Century Explanations of War and Violence', cited in Steven Mullaney, 'Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of

adequately explained. Mere reception of information, for instance, cannot in itself account for the advent of such self-reflexivity. Given that self-reflexivity of this kind is unlikely to have occurred in a vacuum, that the period witnessing the emergence of the tendency to look back at the West through an American lens coincides with the advent of Great Britain assumes a significance worthy of further investigation.

The time-span encompassing the fashion for ethnographical comparison was approximately 1570 to 1613,⁸⁹ a period which takes in the culminating of the Elizabethan Succession Debate in the nomination of the Stewarts to the English throne, regal union, the Jacobean union debates and the attendant implementation of Great Britain. Hence, those years which saw the rise of the vogue for comparing Americans and Britons occurred simultaneously with the cohering of Scotland with England

within a British nation. At the same time that documents, illustrations, enticements to make capital investments in merchant ventures to establish or trade with the newly formed colonies were raising the profile of America, a concurrent dissemination of pamphlets, poems, pageants, plays and graphic representations on the subject of *union and the production of Britain* was also under way.

What we

might call the 'ethnographical moment' thus witnessed not one, but two new found lands

Cultures in the Late Renaissance', *Representations*, 3 (1983), 49.

⁸⁹Amongst the earliest ethnographical comparisons to be made were drawings of Eskimoes and Ancient Britons produced by Lucas de Heere in the late 1570s. De Heere's images were followed by De Bry's pictures of Ancient Britons which, in the 1590s, were included alongside the latter's copies of John White's images of Algonkian Indians in Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report*. By the time Shakespeare, in 1611, came to forge connections between Caliban and Stephano and Trinculo, the tendency toward comparing Americans with Britons had become a discernable trend.

swimming simultaneously into view, with America and Great Britain impinging in conjunction on the consciousness of many English writers.

Accordingly, it is unsurprising to find contemporaries bringing images of America into texts about Britain and *vice versa*. But America and Britain do not always simply coexist in turn of the century texts. Rather, the discovery of, and every more frequent encounters with America, precipitated for some writers a reappraising of the relations between self and other which extended beyond the American to encompass the British context. As Steven Mullaney has argued, the civilized/primitive nexus underpinning the tracing of links between Western civilisation and alien cultures enabled English writers to access a means of conceiving of their own internal 'others'. By according to elements within Britain itself the primitivism of the American (as in the case of the Englishman who claimed '[w]e have Indians at home...Indians in Cornwall, Indians in Wales, Indians in Ireland') a cultured metropolitan English elite were able to legitimate assimilating and eradicating those they considered uncongenial because thought to be backward, barbarous and uncivilised.⁹⁰

By the time of England's advancement into America, Ireland had superseded Cornwall and Wales as the indigenous territory subject to domestication by England. This historical circumstance has resulted in critics most often identifying Ireland as the country likely to be associated by contemporaries with America.⁹¹ Certainly, the plantation of Ulster was implemented simultaneously in 1607 with the establishing of the first British

⁹⁰Anon, cited in Mullaney, p. 50.

⁹¹See, for example, Brown in Dollimore and Sinfield, p. 55, and Barbara Fuchs 'Conquering Islands: Contextualizing *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 48 (1997), 51.

colony in Jamestown. Importantly, however, it was also in 1607 that the English parliament, pressing concurrently for a union of hearts and minds and for perfect union, sought to reinstate suzerainty as the basis of Anglo-Scots relations. Approximately one, or at most two, years after Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth*, English colonial aggression was directed at once towards Ulster, America and, in the parliamentary debate on perfect union, Scotland. In light of this context, we would do well not only to focus on contemporaries' tendency rhetorically to conflate Ireland and America, but also to ask whether in material written around the turn of the century which explores the relations between Britain's kingdoms, Scotland is ever aligned with the New World. If so, it is important to consider what the effects of that alignment might be. Particularly illuminating in this regard is Gillies's claim that Giambattista Vico's conception of the Hellenic notion of the 'oikumene' is suggestive for the ways in which Shakespeare and his contemporaries conceived of notions of space and place.⁹²

Vico argues that the 'imaginative form of the oikumene' (a Greek word 'which combines the sense of 'world' and 'house') is 'formed at the...primal stage...at which a casual grouping of individuals marks itself off from 'the infamous promiscuity of people and things in the bestial state' and so constitutes itself as a society proper.'⁹³ Of course, Britain's emergence as a nation and, simultaneously, as a power with imperial designs on the New World does not constitute so primitive a moment of social formation as Vico alludes to here. Yet the negotiating of the structure of the nation and of its status as

⁹²Giambattista Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico: Revised Translation of the Third Edition*, eds. T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), cited in John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 7.

⁹³Gillies, p. 5.

world player did precipitate a redefining of the peoples and places understood as constituting British society proper, and a correspondent reformulation of subjects and spaces to be 'marked off' as alien, foreign, or 'bestial'. To be sure, certain internal locales were regularly mapped out in contemporary texts as 'other', not properly part of the imagined 'oikumene' of the nation, and thus requiring forcibly assimilating into the British state.

Given the popular view that Ireland was the foremost of such locales, it is salutary to note that in the very year in which England established plantations in Ulster and Virginia, questions around who might claim a place within, and who should be excluded from, the imagined community of Britain, revolved not around the Irish but the Scots. In a law suit of 1607 that has come to be known as 'Calvin's Case', the question of whether the Scots might properly be understood as part of England's imagined community was answered by legally determining that a Scot born after 1603, and thus under the allegiance of a King of England as much as of Scotland, might claim property and citizenship in England. The case, as well as fulfilling a practical function, is suggestive of a perceived challenge in light of unification to English supremacy, for behind the legal wrangling lies the question of who has the right, and who is best able, to determine entry to and exclusion from the 'oikumene'. In this instance, the 'oikumene' is to all intents and purposes the kingdom of England, the case revolving around Scots' rights south of the border. Yet, with the nation's structures of power increasingly centred on London, the notion of Scots' rights in England automatically encompassed the unspoken question of whether the Scots had a right to stake a place in the newly formed nation.

The ambiguous verdict of 'Calvin's Case'--that Scots born after regal union did

have a right to English citizenship, yet those born before 1603 might still be deemed enemies⁹⁴--is suggestive of the difficulties many Englishmen had in accepting Scotland as part of their imagined political community. Ireland, conversely, posed no such challenge. As a predominantly Gaelic, Catholic culture, Ireland tended simply to be considered as 'other' and not as a potential participant in the realising and managing of Britain. Rather, like Wales, Ireland was viewed as 'our incorporate' neighbour, a territory incorporated into, and constituting an extension of, England's dominions.⁹⁵ Scotland, on the other hand, separated by no sea, no differing religious affiliation, and also providing England with its ruling dynasty, was not 'other' in any of these crucial regards. Yet at the same time, Scotland harboured within itself--in the Highlands in which so much of *Macbeth*'s action takes place--just such a Gaelic culture as was to be found in Ireland, a fact not lost on contemporaries whose notions of union were affected by the kinds of similarities they discerned between the Highlands and Ireland.

Spelman, deliberating in his *Of the Union* the possibility of the Scots achieving 'conformitye with us' in a united nation, notes that 'though in parte [the Scots] often resemble us, yet the greatest parte concurreth with the naturall Irishe, embracing their

⁹⁴As Galloway points out, the '*Ante-Nati* were not covered by the same distinction' as the *Post-Nati* who 'could be traitors, but not enemies.' Indeed, the taint of the alien may legally have been removed from the *Ante-Nati* when a verdict of naturalisation was delivered in 'Calvin's Case', but that ambiguities around the status of the Scots remained is suggested by the Venetian Ambassador noting only 'the naturalisation by act of some Scots gentlemen - accompanied by bills to have naturalised persons excluded from parliament.' See Galloway, *The Union*, pp. 150, 155.

⁹⁵Camden, *Remains*, p. 20. For contemporary English attitudes towards Ireland, see *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660*, eds. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

customes...and [are thus] the unfitter...to be united.'⁹⁶ Why the Scottish Gaeltachd are 'unfit' for union is further developed by Pont, who argues in Of the union of Britayne that like the 'wild and savadg Irish of the English dominion' the inhabitants of 'the Scottish islands [are] for the most part...enemies also to tillage, and weare out their dayes in hunting...after the manner of beasts.'⁹⁷ However, from Pont's point of view the 'barbarous fierceness' of the bestial Scots and Irish Gaels, although it makes of both a 'forrain adversary', does not render these 'others' unfit to be united with England in a British nation. Rather, Highlanders might, like Ireland's Gaelic population, be 'tamed',⁹⁸ and the means of taming will be unification. That one of the effects of Anglo-Scottish union will be to confer upon 'the people of a kingedome which is more remote' the 'greater civilitie' of those 'people[s] of a setled estate and condicion' is argued also by Doddridge. As in Pont's and Spelman's tracts, England in Doddridge's A breif Consideracion of the Unyon stands in direct contrast to Scotland's Highland region. Here, the 'remoteness' of Highland society is understood in temporal as well as geographical terms, the epithet encapsulating that broader conception that we find also in Pont and Spelman of the Highlands as home to a people as primitive and 'uncivil' in comparison to England as Ireland's Gaels.

In these union tracts, the 'civility of manners'⁹⁹ lacking amongst the Scottish and

⁹⁶Sir Henry Spelman, Of the Union, cited in The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, pp. 180-181.

⁹⁷Robert Pont, Of the Union of Britayne, cited in The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. 22.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 18.

⁹⁹John Doddridge, A Breif Consideracion of the Unyon, cited in The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. 144.

Irish Gaeltachd is found among the English who, at least by Pont and Doddridge, are envisaged as able to use the union as a tool through which to civilize the Highlands. That Pont speaks of 'taming' in the same breath as civilising indicates union is viewed as an opportunity for England to implement colonial rule in Scotland, but only in northern Scotland. Indeed, if contemporaries frequently label Scotland's Highland region as 'uncivil', then the Lowlands tend to be deemed akin to England in 'civility'--and Scotland, accordingly, divided between the territory of the barbarian who must be 'tamed' and a terrain which, on the contrary, is seen to harbour kindred spirits. Camden in his Description of Scotland, for instance, points out that 'Scotland is now divided into Highlandmen and Lawland-men: These being more civil, use the English Language and Apparel; the other, which are rude and unruly, speak Irish, and go apparelled Irish-like.' Consequently, he concludes that 'Lothien...for Courtefie also and Civility of Manners, [is] commended above all other Countries of Scotland.'¹⁰⁰

What differentiates Highlanders from Lowlanders here is the lack of 'civility' amongst the former, without which 'unruliness' prevails. Significantly, the nature of the Highlanders' unruliness has to do not only with judgements about what constitutes a backward stage of social development, but also with perceived religious difference. As Christopher Hill has pointed out, 'civility' is identified during this period with Protestant Christianity.¹⁰¹ Hence, the regularity with which Irish and Scottish Gaeltachd are deemed

¹⁰⁰Camden, A Second Edition of Camden's Description of Scotland, ed. Sir James Dalrymple (Edinburgh: Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, 1595), pp. 2, 28. Dalrymple reproduces the long 's' found in contemporary spelling.

¹⁰¹Christopher Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (London: Penguin Books, 1993), p. 277.

'uncivil' suggests both a felt experience of cultural difference between the Highlands and Ireland and the Lowlands and England and of differing religious affiliations, on which basis the Gaeltachd are differentiated from an imagined community encompassing England and Lowland Scotland. In this respect, Scotland features in the texts discussed above as having only one foot in the 'oikumene' or imagined community of a Protestant nation, for it is perceived as only partly civil and thus not fully Protestant. The Janus-faced Scotland of The Misfortunes of Arthur, in which Scotland is divided between Protestantism as figured in Gawain and the Catholicism personified by Mordred, was a view of Scotland which, in a modified form, still retained its currency at the turn of the century. In the language of the 'civil' and 'uncivil' Scot, with its connotations of a Scotland partly Protestant yet harbouring in its remotest reaches a residual otherness suggestive of an affiliation to Papistry, we find a permutation of that figuration of Scotland promoted in 1588 by Bacon and his colleagues.

We saw in the previous chapter that in The Misfortunes of Arthur Protestant Scotland features as England's ally, and a Catholic, Celtic Scotland as the enemy who must be conquered. Similarly, the 'civil' Lowland Scot of Camden's Description is 'courteous' towards England, whereas the 'uncivil' Highlander of Pont's Of the union shares the 'savadg wildness of the irish' who are prone 'to lift up a lance in hostill manner.'¹⁰² Of course, where the hostility of a Celtic, Catholic Scotland is dealt with in the earlier play through the imposition of force, in Pont's and Doddridge's tracts the 'uncivil' Scot is to be 'tamed' through the implementation of unification. There is, however, ultimately little difference between the earlier and the later approach to solving

¹⁰²Pont, Of the Union, cited in The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. 18.

the problem of an imagined otherness redolent with connotations of Catholicism lingering on in Scotland. Pont, for instance, speaking of ‘taming’ through unification in the same breath as comparing the Highlander with the Catholic Irishman, dissolves distinctions between these two peoples and places and, implicitly, between England’s project in Scotland and its policy in Ireland. Indeed, the Jacobean union in Pont’s, as in Doddridge’s tract, comes perilously close to being understood as akin, in its civilising effect, to the implementing in Ulster of an English pale.

The instituting of the English pale in Ireland was enabled ‘partly through a...discursive production of...the Irish’ whereby, as with the ‘Amerindian, the Irish [were] constituted as bestial or only marginally human’ thus demonstrating ‘their inferiority to civility’¹⁰³ and legitimating reformist intervention on England’s part. From our discussion of certain of the English Jacobean union tracts, we can see that just such a discursive production surrounded also the Scottish Highlanders. In light of this context, we should not be surprised to find ethnographical comparison providing one of the means by which the Highlanders, as well as the Irish, were figured as savages requiring the benefits of English civilisation. Certainly, with the Indian increasingly becoming ‘a synonym for barbarism, for paganism, and so by extension for Catholicism in the ‘dark corners’ of Great Britain’,¹⁰⁴ the Northern Scots as well as the Irish Gaels were liable to be associated with the natives of the New World.

Macbeth of course ‘transport[s us] into the Highlands of Scotland’¹⁰⁵ where Macbeth is finally vanquished in the vicinity of Birnam Wood ‘at the very edge of the

¹⁰³Brown, in Dollimore and Sinfield, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴Hill, p. 138.

¹⁰⁵Harries, p. 126.

Highlands, just beyond Perth and the palace at Scone.¹⁰⁶ Given the centrality in Macbeth of a Highland location, the play can usefully be related to texts which connect Scotland's Gaels variously with the Catholic Irish and New World natives. Situating Macbeth in relation to such material allows us to ascertain the extent to which the play's treatment of Scotland's relations with England concurs with texts in which the Scots are identified with the Irish or the Indians as savage, and thus made to share the position, so often accorded these people by contemporary Englishmen, of being uncivil and open to cultivation in the form of conquest and colonisation. Furthermore, identifying other writers' reliance on America as a means of figuring Scotland as similarly requiring civilising by the English sheds light on some of the meanings made available through the representation of women in Macbeth.

The Scots are implicitly identified with New World natives in Theodore de Bry's 1590 Folio edition of Thomas Harriot's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia. In addition to the engravings of American Indians which De Bry copied from original drawings executed by John White, this edition of Harriot's report includes De Bry's versions of White's images of the inhabitants of Ancient Britain. The 'curious set of "Picts" which follow the Indians in the illustrated Report'¹⁰⁷ becomes less curious as an appendage to a factual account of 'the naturall inhabitants' of Virginia once we recognise that the purpose of the pictures is to 'show that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie have bin in times past as savvage as those of Virginia.' The logic afforded for concluding a treatment of recently discovered Algonkian Indians with images of Ancient

¹⁰⁶Kinney, 'Scottish History', p. 32.

¹⁰⁷Thomas Harriot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, ed. Paul Hulton (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972), p. xii.

Britains is thus that of comparison. What is interesting for our purposes is that the intimations the text affords that these Britons are of Celtic, and some of specifically Scottish extraction, allows the savagery of the American primitive to be transposed to a Scottish context, and Scotland accorded a similar position to America in its relations with England.

Of the five Britons featured here, three are described as ‘the Pictes, habitans of one part of great Bretagne, which is nowe nammed England’ and two as ‘of nation neighbour unto the Pictes.’¹⁰⁸ The tattooed Picts are thus said to hail from England. However, these figures, along with their tribal neighbours, are afforded attributes which would have been recognisable to contemporaries as distinctly Celtic. Sporting fulsome heads of hair, heavy ‘mustaches’ and brandishing spears, these Britons display characteristics in keeping, for instance, with the ‘Wilde Irish’ as portrayed by Lucas de Heere in c. 1573-75. De Heere depicts the Catholic Irish as ‘painted men...with shaggy hair and moustaches’,¹⁰⁹ one of whom holds up a spear, as, indeed, do Pont’s ‘barbarous’ Irish Gaels who ‘lift up a lance in hostill manner.’¹¹⁰ In so far as all five Britons carry a short sword ‘known as a ‘Scots fauchion’ or ‘Scottish hanger’ and their ‘globular bronze spear-butts are a peculiarly Scottish type’,¹¹¹ the savagery of the Algonkians is here accorded also to the ancestors of the Scots. Certainly, the Picts were identified during this period as a Scottish peoples with Irish affiliations. Elder, in a letter of 1542, spoke of ‘The yrische lords of Scotland,

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, frontispiece and pp. 75, 76, 82.

¹⁰⁹Piggot, p. 75.

¹¹⁰Pont, *Of the Union*, cited in *The Jacobean Union*, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. 18.

¹¹¹Piggot, p. 82.

commonly called...by historiographers Pictis' and Marvell, anticipating the Scots' reaction to Cromwell's return from Ireland, envisaged 'The Pict...Shrink[ing] underneath the plaid.'¹¹² Moreover, Camden, in Britannia, refers to tattooed 'antient and barbarous Brittaines, that afterwards went by the name of Picti' as residents of 'Scotland' whose 'very Metropolis' was 'Edinburgh.'¹¹³

Pointing out in his Remains Concerning Britain that the Picts 'still painted themselves when the Southerne parts were brought to civilitie',¹¹⁴ Camden, like Pont, Doddridge and Spelman, differentiates the Scots from inhabitants of Britain's 'Southerne parts' on the basis that the former lack civility. Troublingly, unlike the Jacobean union pamphleteers, Camden in his Britannia discerns a lack of civility amongst all Scots, Lowland and Highland alike. Moreover, in the latter text he also compares the ancestors of the Scots with 'the Wild Irish' who, in what is viewed as a primitive and wrongheaded manner, 'at this day in Ireland' provoke those of their countrymen who have accepted their status as 'subject to the English.'¹¹⁵ Here, the savagery shown to be shared by the ancestors of the Scots and contemporary Catholic Irishmen is aligned with resistance to the English political domination valorised elsewhere in Britannia, the effect of which is

¹¹²Elder, a letter from the Bannatyne Miscellany, cited in Edward. H. Sugden, A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), p. 456. Andrew Marvell, 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland', Marvell, The Complete Poems, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (London: Penguin, 1972), p. 57.

¹¹³Camden, Britannia, p. cxi.

¹¹⁴Camden, Remains, p. 14.

¹¹⁵Camden, Britannia, p. cxi.

to intimate the need for containment of Scots and Irish alike.¹¹⁶ In De Bry's Folio edition of Harriot's report, a perceived savagery amongst the forbearers of the Scots also proves enabling of an internal colonial relation, with England positioned as superior to, and thus rightfully placed to govern, Britain's Celtic kingdoms. By locating savagery in Ireland and Scotland, the report's appended images of Ancient Britons indicates, as does Camden's Britannia, that civility is found in the 'Southern parts', amongst the English, whose extraction, being other than savage, entitles them to civilize their Celtic neighbours.

The task of civilizing the Indians often features in contemporary discourse on the New World as part of the broader project of cultivating their land for the profit of European settlers and investors.¹¹⁷ America's availability for plantation is sometimes indicated through the gendering of the landscape, with the New World figured as a

¹¹⁶Turning from a discussion of the Pictish Scots to a treatment of the Scots peoples, Camden is at pains to prevent 'ill-natur'd men' from 'misconstru[ing]' his observation that the Scots were uncivilized, making clear from the outset that the Scots to whom he refers are solely 'Highland-men'. While Camden seems here to be reserving a position of equality for the Lowland Scots, his subsequent contention that the Scottish Lowlanders 'are not really Scots' but are in fact 'English', both because of a shared language and shared 'blood and extraction', is of a piece with the Brutan argument in which the brotherhood of the founding fathers of England and Scotland legitimated claims to suzerainty. See Camden, Britannia, p. cxiv. The chapter on 'The Inhabitants of Britaine' in the Remains, published nineteen years after Britannia, clarifies the imperial import of Camden's earlier claim for a shared cultural identity between English and Scots. Here, Camden contends that the 'Englishmen...made themselves by a most compleate conquest, absolute Lords [of Scotland] as farre as Orkeney.' His proof that this 'cannot be doubted of' is that the 'English tongue reacheth...unto the farthest parts of Scotland.' See Camden, Remains, p. 16.

¹¹⁷The 'elder Richard Hakluyt's reasons for colonizing Virginia had included', as Hill points out, 'the glory of God' by planting true religion, and an increase in England's revenues and power.' See Hill, p. 136. Similarly, Harriot, in addition to being keen to establish a plantation in Virginia, was, as Paul Hulton argues, '[a]bove all...interested in...the favourable impact of Protestant Christianity on the savage mind.' See Hulton, in Harriot, A Briefe and True Report, p. xiii. For a general tendency to confer savagery upon the Indians as a strategy for legitimating the commandeering of their land, see Fuchs, pp. 52-53.

woman who offers herself to the European male.¹¹⁸ Of the five Ancient Britons with which De Bry concludes his Folio edition of Harriot's report, three are women, two of whom are Picts. Suggestively, these Pictish women, particularly the 'yonge dowgter of the Pictes', are described as painting their bodies in a fashion that differs from the males, choosing in addition to fantastical beast motifs 'sondrye kinds of flours...of the fairest that they cowlde feynde.'¹¹⁹ In the case of the Pictish daughter especially, the flowers of the landscape in which she stands are replicated on her figure, her tattoos mapping the terrain onto her naked body. Significantly, these Pictish women are exposed to the gaze of a reader constructed as a prospective settler, the expressed purpose of the report being to encourage colonial activity in the New World.¹²⁰ However, in this Appendix the fecund female body equated with the land and open to the potential settler's gaze belongs not to the native American, but to the Pict. With the Picts' ethnicity traceable to a Scottish context, Scotland is arguably subject here to a mode of representation whose function is to incite a desire to domesticate foreign terrain.

That a form of representation which most often arises in texts concerned with the

¹¹⁸Louis Adrian Montrose, for instance, interprets Theodore Galle's engraving 'America'—a depiction of Vespucci discovering the New World, which is represented as a naked woman—as an instance 'of the gendering of the New World as feminine, and the sexualizing of its exploration, conquest, and settlement.' See Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery' in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), p. 178. The names given to America and American territories can, according to Peter Mason, be read as an extension of the same trope. He argues that 'the female name 'America', like Florida, Guiana and, pregnant with significance, Virginia, might be seen to invite the thrust of European masculinity.' See Mason, *Deconstructing America, Representations of the Other* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 26.

¹¹⁹Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report*, p. 80.

¹²⁰As Hulton points out, the report's 'main aim was to attract settlers and investors in a venture which seemed to promise rich rewards.' See Hulton, in Harriot, p. viii.

New World is here found in a discussion of the ancestors of the Irish and the Scots is unsurprising, given that colonialist ideology tended in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to be “quoted” from one contact zone to another.’ The Tempest, for example, has been found rhetorically to align different ethnicities and geographical locales in a manner which serves ‘to domesticate the new—the American experience—[by] equat[ing] it with the already-advanced plantation of Ireland.’¹²¹ If The Tempest does indeed make such a rhetorical move, then its deployment of colonialist discourse differs from that of the Appendix to De Bry’s Folio edition of Harriot’s report. In the latter, it is the old world of the Irish and Scottish Celts which, by comparison with that of the Algonkians, is rendered uncivil and open to cultivation in the form of English colonial intervention. Conversely, if The Tempest views the New World through an Irish lens, the effect of that move is to transfer to America and its inhabitants the status of a place and people subject to plantation.

Shakespeare’s participation in the trend for looking back at the Old World in light of the New has not been explored as fully as it might be, perhaps owing to an assumption arising from readings of The Tempest that Shakespeare simply viewed internal colonial relations as a paradigm for England’s more pressing project of managing and domesticating America.¹²² However, by the turn of the century, as immediate a question

¹²¹Fuchs, pp. 45, 51.

¹²²Apart from The Tempest, it is the second history cycle which has tended to be considered in light of the New World context, most famously by Greenblatt, but also by Mullaney. See Greenblatt, ‘Invisible bullets: Renaissance authority and its subversion, Henry IV and Henry V’ in Dollimore and Sinfield, pp. 18-48 and Mullaney, ‘Strange Things’, pp. 40-67. Greenblatt’s contention that colonialist discourse in Harriot’s report provides a context through which to understand monarchical power in the Henriad, and more broadly the validity of reading these plays in light of England’s expansion into America, has been contested by B. J. Sokol in his ‘The Problem of Assessing Thomas

in England as how to secure a monopoly on the New World was that of how best to conduct relations between England and Scotland in the newly formed nation. In this respect, it is significant that The Tempest was written at the point at which the Jacobean union debates, which had proved so topical in the period 1603-1608, had reached a deadlock.

By 1610 it had become apparent that many of the questions raised during the debates could not be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of both kingdoms and had better, as the Venetian Ambassador put it, be left 'to ripen by time.'¹²³ Shakespeare may indeed, in the following year, have turned his attention to the conflicted relation of England to Ireland in an attempt to find a way of conceiving of European experience in America. But this should not prevent us from recognising that prior to writing The Tempest, in the period 1603-1608 when there was 'nothing more in the mouthes of men...then discoursing the Union of England and Scotland',¹²⁴ he also pressed the New World into service as a way of negotiating England's relationship to Scotland in an emergent nation.



Like De Bry's Appendix to Harriot's report, Macbeth too 'quotes' between the American and Celtic context.¹²⁵ What is important for our purposes, however, is to recognise that

Harriot's A briefe and true report of his Discoveries in North America', Annals of Science, 51 (1994), 16 and passim.

¹²³The Venetian Ambassador, cited in Galloway, The Union, p. 150.

¹²⁴The Jacobean Union, eds. Galloway and Levack, p. xxviii.

¹²⁵The notion of 'quoting' between territorial contexts is drawn from Fuchs. She coins the term 'colonial quotation' to mean 'the...rhetorical manoeuvre of assimilating the

Shakespeare in this play, like De Bry in the Appendix, mobilises representations of women as a means of establishing a congruence between these two territorial contexts. In fact, Macbeth relies more extensively than does the Appendix on images of women to facilitate its simultaneous engagement with the New and the Old World. Indeed, the way in which the American Amazon functions in the Appendix to intimate the need to take control of Ireland and Scotland anticipates Macbeth's more elaborate handling of the type in its treatment of its Highland location.

With their spears, swords and ability to be 'noe worser for the warres then the men',¹²⁶ the Appendix's Pictish women display attributes in keeping with the Amazons as featured in Sir Walter Raleigh's The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their rivers, adjoyning. Performed in the yeare 1595 by Sir W. Raleigh Knight, Columbus's earliest record of his voyage to the New World, and Cortez's "Fourth Letter" to the emperor. Following Pliny's account of a matriarchal tribe of martial women, hostile to men and inhabiting a remote location (identified by Columbus as the island of Matinino), Raleigh, Columbus and Cortez all claimed for the Amazon a historical rather than legendary status.¹²⁷ In European accounts of the New World, however, the Amazon

unknown by equating it with the already-known', a 'kind of intertextuality [which] advances a colonialist ideology.' See Fuchs, p. 47.

¹²⁶Harriot, A Briefe and True Report, p. 78.

¹²⁷For a discussion of the Amazon in the work of these writers, see Mason, pp. 105-106, Sir Walter Raleigh, The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their rivers, adjoyning. Performed in the yeare 1595 by Sir W. Raleigh Knight, ed. Neil. L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 96-98, and

tends to be important less as a verifiable reality than as 'a model for understanding and dealing with alien cultures by portraying these cultures as the inversion of European civilisation.'¹²⁸ Overturning the patriarchal norms of Judeo-Christian culture, the Amazon, taking up arms and acting aggressively towards men, signified an aberration at the level of gender relations. The solution that tended to be posed to the problem of the martial, masculine woman involved the European male assuming control over the Amazon and the American terrain with which she was identified.¹²⁹ Hence, in discourse on the New World, subjugating the Amazon provided a means of imagining not only the containing of oppositional femininity, but more particularly the colonising of America.

In the Appendix to De Bry's edition of Harriot's report, the Celtic dimension afforded the Britains who are compared with the Algonkians means that, once the women amongst them are accorded Amazonian attributes, Ireland and Scotland as well as the New World are associated with the type of the Amazon. Consequently, a discourse of control activated in discussions of America by invoking the Amazon is made to relate here to the Celtic territories of the Old World, allowing for the production of an imperial perception of England's relations with Ireland and Scotland in the emergent formation of

Alison Tauffer, 'The Only Good Amazon is a Converted Amazon: The Woman Warrior and Christianity in the *Amadis Cycle*' in *Playing with Gender, a Renaissance Pursuit*, eds. Jean. R. Brink, Maryanne. C. Horowitz, Allison. P. Coudert (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 37.

¹²⁸Tauffer, p. 36.

¹²⁹The South American Amazons in Book Four of *The Faerie Queene*, for instance, serve, as Simon Shepherd points out, as 'an incitement to Raleigh to prove himself a hero...by conquering the Amazons, by colonising South America.' See Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women, Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981), p.28. The general function of the Amazon in furthering colonial discourse is discussed by Mason in his *Deconstructing America*, pp. 110-111.

Great Britain.

Macbeth follows De Bry's Appendix in calling the Amazon into play, but the territorial context with which she is identified is in this instance specifically the Scottish Highlands. As Inga-Stina Ewbank has pointed out, Macbeth has recourse to an 'Amazonian concept of womanhood'¹³⁰ only in its delineation of Lady Macbeth and the witches. Lady Macduff who, as wife of the Thane of Fife, is located in Scotland's Lowlands, is free from the taint of Amazonian insubordination which, as will be demonstrated in due course, surrounds Lady Macbeth and the weird sisters. Like Lady Macbeth, who is situated variously in Forres, Inverness and Dunsinane, the witches inhabit the Highland region--being first encountered on the march from Fife to Forres, and thereafter on a heath near, and a house in, Forres. Placing its Amazons solely in the Highlands, Macbeth arguably produces similar meanings to those made available by Pont, Doddridge, Spelman and Camden when they compare the region with Gaelic Ireland as the abode of savages who must be 'tamed' by the civilizing powers of the English united with the Lowland Scots.

Transposing to the Highlands a figure who indicates the need for the forces of the West to take control of the unruly American and her territory, Macbeth in addition reconceptualises the nature of the powers capable of containing the insurrection which, in the course of the play, its Amazonian women help to unleash. Instead of the powers of Europe, the forces who will control the rebellious 'other' in Macbeth are the English acting in conjunction with most of the play's Scottish characters. With the combined Anglo-Scottish army championed by the Thane of Fife, whose title affiliates him with the

¹³⁰Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'The Fiend-Like Queen: A Note on Macbeth and Seneca's Medea', Shakespeare Survey, 19 (1966), 92.

Lowlands and who conquers the 'butcher' (V.ix.35) Macbeth, freeing the Highlands from his savagery, the play might indeed be said to echo Pont's, Doddridge's, Spelman's and Camden's conception of the English and Lowland Scots standing together in a union whose function is partly to 'tame' the barbarous Highlander.

The notion of effecting a taming of Scotland is, as we saw in the previous chapter, central also to Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur. Interestingly, the way in which confrontation occurs in Macbeth between the Anglo-Scottish forces and a King who is associated with the unruly Amazons, and not directly, as in discourse on the New World, between the European invader and the virago herself, parallels a pattern previously seen in these earlier plays. In both Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur a Scottish nobleman is equated with the Furies and thereby identified with oppositional femininity. The effect of that identification is, as we saw in Chapter Two, to figure the threat posed by a Catholic Scotland to the project of producing a godly Britain. In both instances, Protestant polemic is closely bound up with an imperial understanding of England's relations with Scotland in a prospective nation. Scotland's identification as a Catholic locale allows in both plays for English military intervention, a straightforward polarising of England and Scotland mitigated in The Misfortunes of Arthur by the simultaneous figuring of Scotland as both Mordred and Gawain. Gawain, in contrast to Mordred who is connected with the Furies, sides with the King of England--who is presented as the champion of a godly Britain. Accordingly, Catholic Scotland (Mordred) stands opposed to Protestant England (Arthur), but also, in the person of Gawain, to a Scotland whose allegiance to England bespeaks the shared bonds of Protestantism.

In Macbeth too a Scottish nobleman is connected with Fury-like females, Macbeth being identified with the equivocating 'fiend' (V.v.43) and the 'fiend-like Queen'

(V.ix.35). Here also, the nobleman associated with the fiends is opposed by English forces, and those forces, after the manner of The Misfortunes of Arthur, work in conjunction with a Scottish Prince. Such correspondences raise questions around whether Macbeth might in some respects, like Porrex and Mordred, figure a Catholic Scotland, and whether in this play, as in The Misfortunes of Arthur, the amity between Scottish Prince and English King intimates the shared bonds of Protestantism. Both lines of enquiry will be pursued in due course. For our present purposes, what is important to recognise is that if Macbeth has much in common with these earlier plays and with texts written contemporaneously with it by Pont, Doddridge, Spelman and Camden, it may also share their distrust of Scotland--if not in its entirety, then at least in its Northernmost reaches. Importantly, in all this other material distrust arises not simply because Scotland is foreign and hence necessarily 'other', but also because it is associated with Catholicism.

Of course, if Scotland is, as we saw in the previous chapter, depicted as entirely contaminated by Catholicism in Gorboduc, and only partially tainted in The Misfortunes of Arthur, then the threat of the Roman faith is even more remote in the later texts of Pont, Doddridge, Spelman and in Camden's discussions of Britain. These turn of the century writers, describing the Highlands as lacking 'civility' and thereby deploying a concept intimately associated with Protestant Christianity, only ever intimate the presence of Catholicism by suggesting the absence in Northern Scotland of the Protestant faith. But no matter how remote nor, indeed, by the 1600s, how groundless the perceived threat, the very shadow of the Catholic peril still calls forth the imperialist discourse apparent in the 1560s in Gorboduc and in The Misfortunes of Arthur of 1588. If Pont has recourse to the language of 'taming', Doddridge, Spelman and Camden all compare the Highlands to Ireland where the current solution to the problem of a Celtic/Catholic culture was quite

simply to conquer and domesticate.

Were Macbeth to share these other texts' anxieties about the problems the Highlands might pose to the full incorporation of Scotland into a Protestant nation, the Amazon would prove a useful device through which to address such concerns. The trope's reliance on unruly femininity to suggest insurrection, 'otherness' and the need for its containment might in itself prove appealing, according as it does with the dependence of much anti-Catholic propaganda upon oppositional femininity as a means of equating Catholicism with notions of insubordination and alterity. More particularly, its method of inflecting with imperial overtones the figuration of woman often found in Protestant polemic would render it valuable to a writer seeking to indicate that the threat posed to the amicable alignment of the kingdoms in a British nation by the Highlands' Catholicism is best solved by conquering the region. For Macbeth's Amazon figure to do this kind of cultural work it must, of course, resonate with the type as found in discourse on the New World, where the Amazon regularly functions to present one territory as requiring subjugating by another. However, the Amazonian attributes of Lady Macbeth and the witches may derive quite simply from received observations concerning distinctive aspects of Celtic culture.

Holinshed, in his 'Description of Scotland', includes a passage in which the women of Scotland in days gone by possess Amazonian qualities. Fearless, martial and bloodthirsty, they join their menfolk in battle and bathe their swords in the blood of their victims. This, along with one other similar passage, is sometimes thought to be behind Shakespeare's conception of Lady Macbeth.¹³¹ Certainly, she too is a participant in a

¹³¹Ewbank reproduces the relevant passage from Holinshed and claims that it may have provided Shakespeare with source material. See Ewbank, p. 91.

battle, in this case for the acquisition of the crown, and also carries a weapon associated with a victim's blood when she commandeers the grooms' daggers and departs to smear the retainers with the blood of the King. Yet while, as we shall shortly see, this martial aspect of Scottish womanhood does accord with the type of the American Amazon, Holinshed is more likely to have had in mind descriptions of early Scots warrior women, such as we find in John Leslie's Thair Maneris Quha Inhabites the Borderis of Scotland Foranent Inland, than accounts of the monstrous women of the New World.

Leslie, observing the 'cruelty' of the Scottish women who 'war wonte to slay thair men with thair awne handes quhen frome the feild thay war cum hame ouircum be thair ennimies, as to be ouircum war a takne of cowardnes, quhilke in men thay thocht could be na deid mair mischieuous', provides the kind of information from which Holinshed derived his picture of the war-like Scottish woman and which may, in turn, have influenced Shakespeare's depiction of Lady Macbeth. Significantly, however, Leslie's purpose in describing the martial woman is to debunk the notion of Scots' ferocity in order to disassociate Scotland from aspects of its past that might be construed as barbarous. Pointing out that 'the alde crueltie of fewe sulde nocht be ascriuet to the hail Scottis natione',¹³² he seeks to avoid Scotland being misrepresented, and particularly represented in a manner which might legitimate English claims to being more civilised, better placed to govern, and of necessity forced to exercise control over the savage Scots. Arguing against any tendency to infer from a tradition of female cruelty that all Scots are cruel, Leslie goes on to explode the myth of Scottish cannibalism. In so doing, Leslie

¹³²John Leslie 'Thair Maneris Quha Inhabites the Borderis of Scotland Foranent Inland' cited in Scotland Before 1700, from Contemporary Documents, ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893), p. 168.

simultaneously tackles two fictions about Scotland which Thomas Craig, seeking to resist English attempts to implement control over Scotland, also felt the need to defend his countrymen against.¹³³ Looking back at the Amazonian qualities of Scotland's women and, more generally, at his country's past, Leslie thus attempts to contextualise or refute characteristics that might be called upon to produce Scotland as subaltern. Any equating of the Scots woman with the American Amazon would highlight such characteristics, with the effect of indicating the need for the subjugating of a savage Scotland. Precisely, in short, what Leslie seeks to avoid.

In his account of the Scottish Amazon, Leslie, therefore, would appear to have in mind the traditions of an older Scotland rather than the myth of the monstrous woman of the New World. As there is nothing to suggest that this is not also the case with Holinshed, we might as such be tempted to assume that neither De Bry nor Shakespeare made use of this myth about the American in their depictions of the aggressive Scots woman. Certainly, De Bry's fighting Celtic women, copied from White, himself likely to have been influenced by another artist, Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, resemble the martial Scottish women described in the 'Description of Scotland' and also featured here in an illustration of the Amazonian Woda and her daughters embarking for battle. Suggestively, however, De Bry, White and Le Moyne de Morgues were all active participants in the colonial enterprise in the New World and De Bry's images of Amazonian Celts conclude a report on America. Moreover, the purpose of incorporating these pictures of martial women into an account of Virginia is to show the Irish and Scots

¹³³See Thomas Craig, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus* (1605), ed. C. S. Terry (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1909). For Craig's resistance to the notion of Scots cannibalism and vassal status, see Galloway, *The Union*, p. 52.

as being of as 'savage' an extraction as the Algonkians--a comparison which could only be strengthened by drawing on the type of the American Amazon, identified as she was with a discourse of savagery.

Shakespeare, to be sure, was neither directly connected with European activity in America nor, like De Bry, does he draw any explicit comparison between the New and the Old World. Nevertheless, in light of England's dual bid at the time of *Macbeth*'s inception to gain the upper hand over America and Scotland and, given the play's concern with Anglo-Scots relations, it seems reasonable to assume that the text will participate in some respect with England's imperial project. Grafting the attributes of the American Amazon onto the type of the martial Celtic woman would prove a useful way of eliding Scotland with America, thereby transposing the imperial discourse pertaining to England's activities in the New World to a Scottish context. Connecting the play's Amazon figures only with the Scottish Highlands would have the effect of intimating the need to forge the same kind of relation between the Highlands and the Lowlands and England as was currently being implemented between America and Europe. At the same time, associating these Amazons with the Highlands would confer an 'otherness' upon the locale that would speak to English fears concerning the peril of Catholicism in the region. Such an association, serving to indicate the necessity of a colonial solution to the perceived problem of Catholicism in Northern Scotland, would concur with England's current moves to contain Britain's Celtic kingdoms in a nation centred on England and simultaneously to draw America into that form of imperial relation which would, in due course, prove the basis of the British Empire.¹³⁴

¹³⁴As Levack points out, while '[p]arallels between Scotland and Britain's overseas possessions might strike us as inappropriate today [i]n the early seventeenth century...it

For all these reasons, Shakespeare in Macbeth is as likely as De Bry in the Appendix to his edition of Harriot's report to have been drawing on the myth of the American Amazon rather than working solely from the tradition of the martial Scots woman as recorded in Harrison, Leslie and Holinshed. Particularly illuminating in this regard is the observation that were Shakespeare, as is often suggested, to have read Holinshed's 'Description of Scotland' in the course of composing Macbeth, he would have found that the 'barbarity of those early Scots women did not exercise itself at the expense of procreation.' Indeed, the emphasis in Holinshed's, as in William Harrison's description of early Scots women, is on the 'relation between tenderness and war-like courage'¹³⁵ and not on a ferocity which precludes the compassion of nurturance. Yet Lady Macbeth is aggressive at the expense of the gentle feelings associated with nurturing with which, in the Celtic tradition, female aggression co-exists. Being 'ready to give up her womanhood to murder...to kill her smiling babe in order to live up to a destructive oath', Shakespeare's Queen is conceptualised less after the manner of the Celtic warrior woman, than after the fashion of the monstrous woman of the New World whose violence precludes nurturance, and particularly the nurturing of the male child. When Lady Macbeth fantasises the disruption of her capacity to suckle by inviting an 'attack on her literal milk, its transformation into gall'¹³⁶ and imagines dashing out her boy child's brains, her attitude, although out of keeping with the tradition of the military yet maternal Celtic

appeared that the union with Scotland was the first step in the establishment of the new English empire that Elizabethan writers had anticipated.' See Levack, The Formation, p. 223.

¹³⁵Ewbank, p. 91. Harrison's description of Amazonian Scottish women is reproduced in Kinney, 'Scottish History', p. 29.

¹³⁶Adelman, p. 98.

woman, corresponds precisely with the myth of the American Amazons who '[n]ot only...refuse[d] to suckle their sons but...often slew them at birth.'¹³⁷

Within the lineaments of the Amazon trope, woman's abrogation of her nurturing role ensures that female sexuality becomes decoupled from what, in patriarchy, is its privileged function--'to bring forth..children' (I.vii.73) and especially male children. Such a disassociation, destabilising woman's position as perpetuator of the male line, is understood as dangerous and consequently Amazonian sexuality is portrayed as depraved, Amazons' 'sexual fulfilment...depend[ing] on their capacity for brutality.'¹³⁸ Whether or not Lady Macbeth strives 'to escape sexuality'¹³⁹ by jettisoning her maternal role, it is suggestive that having done so she realises her desires by instigating acts of violence. She 'demands murder from Macbeth as a confirmation of his manhood, almost as an act of love.'¹⁴⁰ Certainly, the offstage slaughter of Duncan has been viewed as steeped in imagery which, taken as a whole, constitutes 'an erotic metaphor for murder, a kind of intermittent

¹³⁷Celeste Turner Wright, 'The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature', *Studies in Philology*, 27 (1940), 453. Gabriele Bernhard Jackson cautions against over emphasising 'the association sometimes made between Amazons and the destruction of male children' for 'in an equal number of accounts they produce male children for neighbouring tribes and are thought of as desirable breeding stock.' See Jackson, 'Topical Ideology: Witches, Amazons, and Shakespeare's Joan of Arc' in *Women in the Renaissance: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, eds. Kirby Farrell, Elizabeth H. Hageman and Arthur F. Kinney (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), p. 104. However, infanticide of the male child is central to the type, as demonstrated by Wright, pp. 452-453, Shepherd, p. 15, and Tauffer, p. 36.

¹³⁸Shepherd, p. 15.

¹³⁹McGrail, in Merrix and Ranson, p. 148.

¹⁴⁰Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 71, cited in Dennis Biggins, 'Sexuality, Witchcraft, and Violence in *Macbeth*', *Shakespeare Studies*, 8 (1975), 255.

flashing onto the regicidal screen of a subliminal image of the sexual act.¹⁴¹ That a 'perverse passion is the source of Lady Macbeth's influence over her husband in the murders of Duncan and Banquo'¹⁴² and the killing of the King is open to being read as akin to the act of copulation (consummation taking the destructive form of blood letting rather than the spilling of semen in the productive act of procreation),¹⁴³ all suggests that what is 'fiend-like' about Lady Macbeth is partly that she finds sexual satisfaction in precipitating, and vicariously participating, in violence.

Shakespeare's 'fiend-like Queen' thus shares with the American Amazon an affiliation with infanticide which in turn ensures a destructive form of desire dependent upon blood letting. The three witches, with their inclusion in their charm-inducing broth of the finger of a 'birth-strangled babe' (IV.i.30) and 'claims to participation in' a variety of 'sexual malpractices'¹⁴⁴ all of which constitute a form of assault, similarly partake of these Amazonian characteristics. Of course, child sacrifice and violent sexuality were staples of contemporary witch belief as much as of the myth of the American Amazon. That Lady Macbeth shares such behavioural tendencies with the weird sisters serves thematically to link the 'fiend-like Queen' with the play's three fiends and to identify all four characters with the malevolent unruliness of the witch.¹⁴⁵ However, that in his

¹⁴¹Calderwood, p. 45.

¹⁴²Biggins, p. 265.

¹⁴³See Calderwood, p. 45.

¹⁴⁴Biggins, p. 265.

¹⁴⁵For connections established in the play between Lady Macbeth and the witches, see Gary Wills, *Witches and Jesuits Shakespeare's Macbeth* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 87, Peter Stallybrass, 'Macbeth and Witchcraft' in *Focus on Macbeth*, ed. John Russell Brown (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 198, and Adelman, p. 97.

delineation of the Queen and the three sisters Shakespeare draws on commonplace ideas about witches does not rule out the possibility that, at points in the play, attitudes commonly associated with the witch are made also to resonate with traits accorded the Amazon in accounts of the New World.

Witches, for example, were known to forestall and inflict harm upon unsuspecting travellers. Amazons too were thought to 'capture and kill unwary travellers.'¹⁴⁶ There is, however, a subtle distinction between the two types in this regard, the Amazon's characteristic method of deceiving the wayfarer being to feign a show of hospitality in order to facilitate circumstances in which atrocities might more easily be committed. Hence, when the three sisters waylay Banquo and Macbeth on the heath in order to 'palter' with them in the 'double sense' (V.ix.20) that will ultimately precipitate their destruction, they behave in a manner characteristic of the early-modern witch (and true also to historical accounts of the beguiling of these two thanes by three supernatural beings). Similarly, when Lady Macbeth in her capacity as 'hostess' (I.vi.10) describes the 'entrance of Duncan/Under my battlements' as 'fatal' (I.v.39-40) because, once over the threshold, she intends to 'perform' (I.vii.70) the act of murder, she too is rendered witch-like in her predation upon an unsuspecting traveller. Yet the relish with which Lady Macbeth imagines Duncan as 'unguarded' (I.vii.71) and thus easily assailed because of his status as guest highlights the breach of hospitality that this murder, as Macbeth points out in the seventh scene of Act One, will entail. Adhering to the detail of Lady Macbeth participating in the murder of Duncan (a detail of the story probably introduced by, and inherited from, Buchanan) and to the association with witch-like activity common to all

¹⁴⁶Taufer, p. 38.

retellings of the tale, Shakespeare here adds his own emphasis on Lady Macbeth's eagerness to violate the laws of hospitality in order to realise her bloody desires. That the breach of those laws is neither emphasised in the historical accounts of the murder, nor is it especially associated with witchcraft, but is a transgression privileged in the Amazon myth, suggests that that myth is at work in Macbeth.

Yet perhaps the most persuasive indication of Shakespeare's recourse to the type of the monstrous woman of the New World is found in the play's unsettling of conventional gender roles. As is often pointed out, the weird sisters, who 'should be women' yet whose beards 'forbid' Banquo to 'interpret/That [they] are so' (I.iii.45-47), have 'no normative sexual identity.'¹⁴⁷ 'Fantastical[ly]' (I.iii.53) other, yet recognisably female (each raises 'her' finger to 'her' (I.iii.44) lips), they exceed the boundedness of their sex. Likewise, ambiguity pertains to Lady Macbeth's sexual identity. Imagining her milk substituted for gall and herself 'unsex[ed]' (I.v.41), Lady Macbeth, striving 'to dissociate herself from natural cycles', cannot be comfortably ascribed to the category of woman any more than can the witches. On the one hand refuting the facts of biology, she seeks, on the other, 'to lose those traits strongly associated with woman elsewhere in Shakespeare-pity and remorse.'¹⁴⁸ 'Uncultivat[ing] her cultivated "feminine" self',¹⁴⁹ Lady Macbeth hopes to become like a man, aspiring to a strong body disassociated from the soft substance of milk, and an attitude uncompromised by the compassion connected with the nurturance signified by milk, and displayed elsewhere by the conventionally vulnerable

¹⁴⁷Robert Kimbrough, Shakespeare and the Art of Humankindness: the essay towards androgyny (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1990), p. 127.

¹⁴⁸McGrail, p. 152.

¹⁴⁹Kimbrough, p. 131.

and caring female, Lady Macduff.

While it is often noted that 'gender undecidability' is central to Macbeth, what is not often observed about such ambiguity is, in Garber's words, 'its contiguity to border crossings and boundary transgressions.'¹⁵⁰ Garber's observation is insightful, yet neither she nor Macbeth's other critics sufficiently relate disturbances within gender and gender roles to the play's preoccupation with traversing the borders and boundaries between territories. In Macbeth, however, the former is inextricably connected with the latter in a manner which bespeaks reliance on the Amazon trope, and hence the activating of the colonial associations accruing to that myth. Indeed, in European accounts of the New World, the Amazons typically 'inhabit both the male/female and the Culture/foreign boundaries in Cultural definition.' They are often placed 'at the extreme edge of the known world and home of the barbarian'¹⁵¹ where they mark the point of entry into 'unknown territory',¹⁵² their monstrous, because ambivalently gendered, presence¹⁵³ signalling the necessity of bringing alien terrain into conformity with the norms of the core against which the American periphery is defined.

Similarly, Shakespeare's witches, possessed also of ambiguous bodies and equally resistant to conventional gender roles, appear initially at the threshold to a distinct and remote location, that of the Scottish Highlands. In fact, the play sketches out for its

¹⁵⁰Garber, Shakespeare's Ghost, p. 110.

¹⁵¹Jean Addison Roberts, The Shakespearean Wild, Geography, Genus and Gender (Lincoln and London: The University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 101.

¹⁵²Taufer, p. 139.

¹⁵³The notion of the Amazon's body as ambiguous derives from their reputed practice of shearing off one breast in order better to manage a bow and hardening their physique that they may perform the functions more usually fulfilled by men in European culture.

audience the geographical locale in which the witches first materialise, pointers being provided to indicate that Macbeth's and Banquo's initial encounter with the sisters occurs as they pass out of the Lowland area of Fife into the Highland region. In the scene prior to the thanes' initial contact with the witches, a messenger informs Duncan that the battlefield from which Macbeth and Banquo are departing when they meet the witches is situated in Fife (I.ii.48-49). Moments before the two thanes are hailed by the sisters, Banquo is plausibly made, in response to Macbeth's comment on the foulness of the weather, to enquire how far they have yet to go before they arrive in Forres. Precisely as Banquo imaginatively projects himself and his companion across the Highland line, out of Fife and into the Highlands where Forres is situated, he is mentally stopped in his tracks, and the pair physically brought to a halt, by the witches who 'should be women' yet who exceed the boundedness of sex. The witches are thus situated both on the threshold between the female and the male and at a boundary demarcating the Lowlands from the play's remoter, Highland terrain. While this in itself is suggestive of the operations of the Amazon trope, that the witches are not only liminally positioned with regards to gender boundaries and territorial borders, but are also explicitly connected with the land in which they are encountered, further indicates reliance on the type.

European writers tended to associate Amazons with foreign geography while also 'relocat[ing them] just beyond the receding geographical boundary of terra incognita, in the enduring European mental space reserved for aliens.'¹⁵⁴ Hence, Amazons are often identified with the least familiar, most far flung reaches of America, such as the Guiana

¹⁵⁴Montrose, 'The Work of Gender' in New World Encounters, ed. Greenblatt, p. 201.

Highlands.¹⁵⁵ Suggestively, in Macbeth's opening scene Banquo, striving to imagine the weird sisters, envisages them as 'bubbles' of the 'earth' (I.iii.79), beings who erupt out of the 'blasted heath' (I.iii.77), that no man's land betwixt and between Lowlands and Highlands which marks the point of entry into Scotland's farthest and, for an English audience, least familiar terrain. Contextualising Macbeth in terms of contemporary English perceptions of Scotland, Kinney observes that we can 'sense what Shakespeare knew to be the popular conceptions of that strange and untried land to the north by reading, as he must have, the chapbooks and travel accounts that, beginning with Nicander Nucius in 1545, flooded the bookstalls [and with] striking unanimity...portray Scotland as a country that is remote, barbarous, and savage, especially in the highlands.'¹⁵⁶ Arguably, one of the ways in which that 'sense' of the remoteness and savagery of the play's Highland locale is made available is through the text's relocation of the monstrous Amazon from the American hinterland to the Scottish Highlands, with the ambiguous witches used to mark out the Highlands as alien.

Where Banquo associates the witches with the play's Highland geography in the opening Act, Macbeth at the close of the play likens his wife to the land when, under seige in his castle at Dunsinane, he stands 'at the very edge of the Highlands, just beyond Perth and the palace at Scone.'¹⁵⁷ Here, at the gateway to the Highland region, Macbeth requests that the doctor '[c]leanse' his wife's bosom of the 'perilous stuff' / Which weighs

¹⁵⁵An Irish adventurer, for instance, was reputed to have visited the Queen of the Amazons in her stronghold in the Guiana highlands. See Raleigh, The Discoverie, ed. Whitehead, p. 7.

¹⁵⁶Kinney, 'Imagination and Ideology in Shakespeare: The Case of Macbeth' in Merrix and Ranson, p. 71.

¹⁵⁷Kinney, 'Scottish History', p. 32.

upon the heart' (V.iii.44). Having initially enquired after a cure for his wife's diseased mind, Macbeth moves rapidly on to ask the doctor if he can 'cast/The water of my land, find her disease,/And purge it to a sound and pristine health.../Pull't off, I say.-/What rhubarb, cyme or what purgative drug,/Would scour these English hence?' (V.iii.50-56). In a tight circuit of metaphorical reasoning, Macbeth here aligns Lady Macbeth's condition with the state of his 'land', and the space from which he speaks, the entrance to the Highlands, is accordingly feminised, with the ructions occasioned in that terrain likened to the Queen's psychic disturbance.

As is often noted, the mental turmoil Lady Macbeth experiences in the closing Act is closely bound up with a resurgence of the femininity she has, during the course of the drama, struggled to suppress--a return of a normative gender identity that might seem to move us away from the masculinised femininity of the Amazon trope.¹⁵⁸ Crucially, however, 'by far the most popular strategy for neutralizing the manly woman' was 'to feminize her',¹⁵⁹ just such a collapse being one means employed to contain the Amazon and all that she signified, including her foreign territory. Certainly, Macbeth's rhetorical association between his wife's transformation and the assault on his Highland stronghold is apt, given that, simultaneous with the 'fiend-like Queen' being restored to an appropriately feminine subjectivity, the terrain with which Macbeth identifies her ('my land', the Highland region commencing in the locale of Dunsinane) falls to Malcolm, his

¹⁵⁸Stallybrass points out that Lady Macbeth's gradual transformation from masculine woman to the 'solicitous wife' of the sleep scene 'operates as a specific closure of discourse within the binary opposition of virago (witch)/wife.' See Stallybrass, p. 199. The feminising of Lady Macbeth is also noted by Hopkins in her The Shakespearean Marriage, pp. 148-149.

¹⁵⁹Jackson, p. 111.

Lowland Scottish champion Macduff, and their English supporters.

Thus, even as Amazonian ambiguity is eradicated by having Lady Macbeth's femininity reaffirmed and her 'otherness' dissolved into that which is familiar, in so far as, although mad, she is now recognisably feminine, the Highland landscape with which the Queen has been explicitly identified also undergoes a process of containment. As such, we can discern in Macbeth a trajectory similar to that apparent in the Amazon trope, in which the threatening masculine female is identified with, and made to figure, the peril posed by foreign space only, ultimately, to be feminised and her territory simultaneously reigned in by the forces she has opposed. Indeed, if initially the three 'fiends' are aligned with the threshold to the Highlands in a rhetorical move that transfers to that region the otherness and malevolence accruing to the sisters themselves, then when Lady Macbeth is subsequently rendered feminine, the Highlands with which she too has been associated are domesticated--the savagery of the 'fiend-like' woman her 'butcher' husband being countered by an army of English fighters and Scots championed by a Lowland thane.

The play's manner of identifying Macbeth with women who have been affiliated with the Highlands, finally situating Macbeth at the entrance to that locale, and having him ultimately vanquished by the Thane of Fife, might be said to pit Highland Scot against Lowlander while associating the latter with the English. In this respect, cultural divisions which are found also in texts by Pont, Doddridge, Spelman and Camden, all of whom consider the combined force of the English and Lowland Scots best placed to govern the inhabitants of the Highlands, are acted out in Macbeth. This substituting of a struggle between the Highlander Macbeth and the allied forces of Malcolm's Anglo-Scots army for the encounter found in New World discourse between European powers and the American Amazon marks a departure from the standard operation of the Amazon trope.

Conflict is no longer, as in accounts of the New World, directly between the masculine woman and an invading force, but rather between the invaders and a male character. While Macbeth may, in the last instance, be identified by Malcolm with the 'fiend-like Queen', she remains a secondary consideration for the Anglo-Scottish army, whose attack is focused on Macbeth himself. Indeed, by the time the opposition have mustered their forces, the three 'fiends' and the 'fiend-like Queen' have vanished from the world of the play.

Nonetheless, before dispensing with the type of the masculine woman, Shakespeare is careful to forge connections between these viragos and Macbeth. The associations between the witches and Lady Macbeth have often been identified, as have those between Lady Macbeth and her husband--Freud especially conceiving of the couple as one unit.¹⁶⁰ Janet Adelman, however, finds in the play a more sustained identification of oppositional femininity with Macbeth than is usually argued for, with Macbeth ultimately inheriting the mantle of the play's 'malevolent mothers.'¹⁶¹ As Adelman points out, Macbeth--the man connected with, and dependent upon, malevolent women who act in a maternal capacity as governors and guides--is opposed by men respectively unknown to, and not born of, women (Malcolm is a virgin and Macduff the product of a Caesarean birth). Consequently, she argues, the eventual eradicating of Macbeth allows for the realisation of a community not only comprised entirely of men, but championed by men unassociated with women. For Adelman, the play therefore enacts a fantasy involving, in

¹⁶⁰See Sigmund Freud, 'The Character of Lady Macbeth' in Macbeth: Contemporary Critical Essays, ed. Alan Sinfield (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992), p. 44.

¹⁶¹Adelman, p. 94.

general terms, man's liberation from woman, and more particularly his liberation from the mother figure, whose influence is understood as malign.¹⁶²

In so far as such a fantasy might prove meaningful in any patriarchal culture at any historical juncture, Adelman's reading finds in Macbeth's treatment of gender relations a message which, if not timeless in its application, certainly transcends the play's own historical moment.¹⁶³ But Macbeth's handling of the relations between the sexes is in crucial respects specific to the period in which it was written, during which the two kingdoms were converging in a union that would enable the realisation of Britain. The relation to that broader territorial context of the play's association between malignant femininity and its central character can be established by drawing comparisons between Macbeth, Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur.

Suggestively, where in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur the Furies are aligned with Mary Stewart for the purpose of evoking associations with the Queen's Catholicism, Macbeth too has been seen to identify its 'fiend-like' females with the Queen of Scots. Lilian Winstanley has noted resonances between Lady Macbeth's participation in the murder of Duncan and Mary Stewart's putative involvement in the slaying of Darnley, and Jonathan Goldberg and Henry Paul both focus on the witches' conjuring up of a veiled monarch who may represent the Scottish Queen.¹⁶⁴ For these critics, pointers

¹⁶²Ibid., pp. 90-117.

¹⁶³Karen Newman similarly criticises Adelman for taking an ahistorical approach to Macbeth in her Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 62.

¹⁶⁴For parallels between Lady Macbeth's participation in the murder of Duncan and Mary Stewart's reputed complicity in the killing of Darnley, see Winstanley, pp. 61-80. For the allusion to the Queen of Scots in the show of eight Kings, see Jonathan Goldberg, 'Speculations: Macbeth and Source' in Post-structuralist Readings of English Poetry, eds. Richard Machin and Christopher Norris (Cambridge: Cambridge University

towards the Queen of Scots are suggestive of the play's interest in King James. But just as allusions to King James, in the form of the royal insignia and Stewart progeny, are mobilised in Macbeth to signify union and the advent of nation, so the shadowy presence of the King's mother may also relate to the play's territorial concerns.

Of course, where the shadow of Mary Stewart looms large over Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur, it can only be faintly discerned in Macbeth. Yet the Queen of Scots, however peripheral in Shakespeare's play, may nevertheless fulfil a similar function here to that which we identified in Chapter Two in these Inns of Court dramas. Indeed, the extent to which in Macbeth Shakespeare replicates aspects of Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur suggests he had them in mind when composing the play. Macbeth, for instance, not only follows these dramas in associating a Scottish man with viragos who are linked with the Stewart Queen, but also situates that man in opposition to the English. That Macbeth twice in the fifth Act refers to his opponents as 'English' resonates with the contemporary view of Macbeth as 'representative of a rival tradition of Celtic independence from the Anglicising influences on Scotland of the allies and supporters of Edward the Confessor and successive English kings.'¹⁶⁵ Macbeth's army, after the manner of Mordred's, consists of Celts--mercenary 'Kernes' (V.vii.17) taking the place of the allied leaders of Ireland, Pictland and Cornwall. Moreover, as in the earlier play, these Celts are pitted against an Anglo-Scots power, with Macbeth, in a departure from Gorboduc akin to that which we find in The Misfortunes of Arthur, complicating any straightforward division between Scotland and England. Michael Hawkins, for whom

Press, 1987), p. 53, and Paul, p. 179.

¹⁶⁵Michael Hawkins, 'History, politics and Macbeth' in Brown, p. 178.

Macbeth makes reference to a history of divisions between the ‘despised ‘kerns and gallowglasses’ of the Celtic reaction’ and ‘the Anglo-Scottish political establishment’,¹⁶⁶ might be speaking equally of The Misfortunes of Arthur. Here, however, Celtic/Anglo-Scots divide is closely connected with religious difference.

We saw in Chapter Two the extent to which associations were made popular in the literature of the Elizabethan Succession Debate between an unruly Queen of Scots and her country’s perceived Catholicism. We also identified that, through activating such associations, The Misfortunes of Arthur was able to make a series of identifications between the oppositional Furies, Mary Stewart and Mordred. In so doing, the play transfers the Queen’s religious affiliation onto Mordred himself, who in turn comes to represent a Catholicised Scotland. Mordred is then placed in opposition to an Anglo-Scots force whose alliance is suggestive of the shared bond of Protestantism. Consequently, the bid to conquer Mordred by the English King Arthur allied with the Scottish Prince Gawain images a solution to the peril a Catholic Scotland was thought to pose to the production of a godly Britain. Macbeth, when read in light of The Misfortunes of Arthur, can be seen to replicate this pattern. The English warrior Siward, for instance, is allied with the Scottish Prince Malcolm and together they quash Macbeth who, like Mordred, has been closely associated with unruly women (the ‘fiends’ and ‘fiend-like Queen’), themselves identified with Mary Stewart. Such resemblances raise the possibility that the Celtic/Anglo-Scots division of the later drama resonates with that of the earlier play, with territorial division in Macbeth also bespeaking a Catholic/Protestant divide.

If this is the case, then it is significant that what is not achieved in either

¹⁶⁶Hawkins, ‘History, politics and Macbeth’ in Brown, p. 182.

Gorboduc or The Misfortunes of Arthur is realised in Macbeth. In the two Inns of Court dramas, the successful conquest by England and the Anglo-Protestant establishment of a Scotland imagined variously as entirely Catholic, and Catholic only in its Celtic reaches, does not come about. Rather, the struggles between Albany, the English dukes, Mordred, Arthur and Gawain, entrap them all in a civil war that breaks up Britain. The poignant concluding lament that unity has been lost and Britain banished to the realm of the ideal is, in both plays, directed at their royal patron. The message to Queen Elizabeth in 1562, as in 1588, is to act before it is too late. Implicitly, these playwrights suggest that only by taking control of a Scotland seen as oppositional because understood as wholly or partially Catholic can the Queen prevent the disruption occasioned in their imagined nations becoming a real dissolution of the godly Britain that many Protestants, these writers included, were currently struggling to realise. It is thus crucial to these dramas' didactic purpose that the Scottish peril remains uncontained in order that national unity be presented as a casualty of the failure to conquer a Scotland conceived of variously as Catholic and Celtic.

Macbeth, conversely, envisages the successful realisation of just such a conquest when the Siward-Malcolm alliance vanquishes Macbeth. As such, Shakespeare's play shows itself able to countenance a vision of a time free from the Celtic/Catholic peril which, in The Misfortunes of Arthur, as in Gorboduc before it, is imagined confounding moves towards establishing a Protestant nation. Given that Macbeth corresponds in so many respects with these earlier dramas, such a significant departure in terms of the outcome of the events portrayed merits further investigation. Most obviously, by 1605-6 the threat of a Catholic Scotland proving a stumbling block to the realisation of a Protestant nation had substantially diminished. At the same time, the play's royal patron

showed every sign of establishing control over the Gaeltachd in the Highlands and islands, within which locale the residues of that peril were often thought to be localised.¹⁶⁷ King James also displayed an active commitment to Protestantism and the founding of Great Britain. In fact, with regards to Anglo-Scots relations, the Stewart King followed precisely the kind of robust Protestant and unionist policy that Norton, Sackville, Bacon and his co-authors had wished Queen Elizabeth to pursue. It was, as we have seen, the Queen's perceived failure adequately to institute such a policy which caused these dramatists to conclude their plays with a lament for the loss of an imagined nation. That Shakespeare draws his drama to a close by gesturing towards union, with the image of the English and Scottish allies celebrating their victory over Macbeth, might conversely be interpreted as the playwright complimenting his royal patron on adhering to a policy currently enabling the concrete realisation of a Protestant Britain.

That Macbeth might, after all, have been written with a view to complimenting its patron is a notion to which we will shortly return. It is important firstly, however, to consider the ramifications of the suggestion that Macbeth realises the ideal condition argued for in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur of a nation free from the Catholic 'other'. After all, those earlier plays subscribe to the notion that such freedom is

¹⁶⁷The first Stewart regime presided over the implementation of the Statutes of Iona in 1609. These statutes, in Allan Macinnes's words, constituted the 'Scottish complement to the plantation of Ulster', their purpose being to implement in the Highlands and islands 'a reformation of religion, manners and customs.' See Macinnes, 'Gaelic culture in the seventeenth century: polarization and assimilation' in Ellis and Barber, pp. 165-166. In the third chapter of Book Three of the Daemonologie, King James singles out 'our North Iles of Orkney and Schet-land' as peculiarly susceptible to witchcraft. That the islands' 'barbaritie' is here understood in terms of such a susceptibility is suggestive, for witchcraft was often utilised in Protestant texts to signify Catholicism (as, for instance, in Dekker's The Whore of Babylon). See King James, Daemonologie in Forme of a Dialogue 1597, Newes from Scotland 1591, ed. G. B. Harrison (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1924), p. 69.

necessarily bought at the price of realising a Britain synonymous with, and governed from, England. If Macbeth does envisage the freedom from a Scotland considered variously Catholic and Celtic which is desired, yet denied, in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur, it might also enact the fulfilment of the drive towards English supremacy which fuels those dramas' conceptions of nation. Intimations to that effect are found in a series of correspondences in The Misfortunes of Arthur and Macbeth respectively between the Scottish Princes Gawain and Malcolm.

We have seen that in The Misfortunes of Arthur Gawain figures an Anglicised, Protestant Scotland and is as such allowed to participate along with the English King Arthur in the task of realising a godly Britain. However, owing to the long held belief that Gawain paid homage to Arthur, the terms of that participation are redolent with connotations of Scotland being ascribed a position subordinate to England in a Protestant Britain. It is suggestive then that, where Gawain's relation to King Arthur tended to be identified with the act of homage, so too did Malcolm's with King Edward. Both Walter Bower and Holinshed, whom Shakespeare is thought to have made use of when composing Macbeth,¹⁶⁸ note the view that Malcolm's alliance with the English marked the resumption of English suzerainty in Scotland. Bower, in his expansion of John of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scotorum, takes issue with a claim circulating south of the border that 'Edward...of England gave the kingdom of Scotland to Malcolm...to be held of him...as from a vassal'—ensuring 'the inhabitants of...Scotland' had from this time forth

¹⁶⁸See Kenneth. D. Farrow, 'The Historiographical Evolution of the Macbeth Narrative', Scottish Literary Journal, 21 (1994), 5-23.

to offer 'fealty and homage to the Kings of England.'¹⁶⁹ Likewise Holinshed, in his Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, couples his description of Siward helping Malcolm reclaim the Scottish throne with an account of Siward as agent of English imperialism, recording that 'a little before [Siward] went into Scotland...he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land.'¹⁷⁰

If Shakespeare is likely to have read these histories in the course of composing Macbeth, educated members of his audience may, Alan Sinfield argues, have interpreted Macbeth in light of their familiarity with texts relevant to the issues explored in the play. Foremost amongst such material is, he contends, Buchanan's The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.¹⁷¹ While Buchanan makes none of the direct references to Malcolm's position as homager found in Bower and, indirectly, in Holinshed, he does present Malcolm as somewhat subservient to the South. Buchanan's Malcolm allows the English with their taste for '[l]uxury'¹⁷² (what in Holinshed is characterised as 'gormandizing' and a 'taste [for] delicats'¹⁷³) to infiltrate Scotland, occasioning a backlash against his own regime for furthering English interests north of the border. The contention that Buchanan is relevant for an understanding of Macbeth is borne out by a number of

¹⁶⁹Walter Bower, Scotichronicon, eds. D. E. R. Watt, N. F. Shead and W. B. Stevenson, Volume 6, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), Chapter 41, lines 26-30 and Chapter 63, lines 4-5.

¹⁷⁰W. G. Boswell-Stone, Shakespeare's Holinshed, The Chronicle and The Historical Plays (London: Chatto and Windus, 1896), p. 44.

¹⁷¹Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history', p. 73.

¹⁷²George Buchanan, The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, ed. James Aikman, Volume I, (Glasgow, Edinburgh and London: Blackie and Son, 1855), p. 351.

¹⁷³Holinshed, Chronicles of Scotland, cited in Paul, p. 158.

parallels between Shakespeare's play and Buchanan's history. When referring to the English as the 'epicures' (V.iii.8), Macbeth's description of them resonates with Buchanan's, as well as with Holinshed's. Moreover, when Macbeth expresses his desire to 'scour these English hence', the play taps into that context outlined in The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time between Scots who held out for independence from England in the wake of Malcolm's restoration, and those who supported Malcolm's Anglicising policies. Indeed, with one of Malcolm's final gestures being to introduce into Scotland the English political institution of earldoms, the stage is set for a repetition of the ructions recounted especially by Buchanan between anti-English and pro-English sympathisers.

Buchanan records that animosity against the English who, under Malcolm, had 'received possessions in Scotland',¹⁷⁴ generated support for Donalbain. Described by Holinshed as having been 'brought up in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without...English'¹⁷⁵ influence, Donalbain proved the ideal candidate to restore to Scotland the cultural and political autonomy widely perceived as having been eroded by Malcolm Canmore. While Donalbain is a peripheral figure in Shakespeare's play, his separatist political position is nonetheless briefly alluded to in the second scene of the fifth Act. When 'the revolting Scottish thanes march to join the English, we...hear Caithness ask whether Donalbain is coming with his brother Malcolm, and hear Lennox assure him that Donalbain is not with the English forces.' Disassociated from the historical context outlined in the play's source histories, this interchange has 'no dramatic value.'

¹⁷⁴Buchanan, The History of Scotland, ed. Aikman, p. 354.

¹⁷⁵Holinshed, Chronicles of Scotland, cited in Paul, p. 158.

Read in light of that context, it serves as a reminder to 'the audience of the differing attitudes of the two brothers towards the English.'¹⁷⁶

Thus, in this interchange, as elsewhere in the text, Macbeth glances across to tensions in Anglo-Scots relations recorded in its source histories. Those tensions were fuelled especially by Malcolm's apparent willingness to pay homage to England. That an association with the act of homage accrues to Malcolm not only in Holinshed and Bower's translation of Fordun, but also in Macbeth itself, is further suggested by Macbeth's tendency to subsume Malcolm into the ranks of the English. Although Macbeth does state that he 'will not yield,/To kiss the ground before young Malcolm's feet' (V.ix.27-8), he nonetheless tends to view Malcolm's army as a solely English force. He imagines those deserting his own cause as fleeing to 'mingle with the English' (V.iii.7-8), an assumption confirmed when his servant reaffirms that the army marching on Dunsinane are 'The English force' (V.iii.17). Macbeth then goes on to contemplate finding a means to 'scour these English hence.' Like Gawain in The Misfortunes of Arthur, the Scottish Prince associated with vassal status, Malcolm seems in Macbeth's mind, as in that of Macbeth's retainer, to be more an agent of the English than an opponent in his own right.

It remains a matter of speculation whether Macbeth allows an audience familiar with Holinshed, Buchanan and Bower to forge connections between their accounts of tensions in Anglo-Scots relations, and of Malcolm's homager status, and the play's own rendition of the same events. There are, however, intimations to that effect--the ramifications of which are significant for our understanding of the play. When seen through the lens of the homage tradition, and assuming that being championed by the

¹⁷⁶Paul, p. 158.

Thane of Fife suggests a Lowland complexion to Malcolm's army, the Lowlands under Malcolm's leadership are reduced in Macbeth to the position of a periphery of England. Equally, Macbeth's Highland domain, falling finally under the management of the Anglo-Scots force, is subject to the Anglicising programme implemented by a Scottish King associated with vassal status when Malcolm introduces into that region 'the first' Earls 'that ever Scotland/...nam'd' (V.ix.29-30).

That the English King Edward does not head the army that enters Scotland in the play's final Act may not, therefore, suggest sensitivity to Scottish sensibilities or a desire to avoid associations with conquest. Rather, Macbeth may simply have found a more subtle means, by striking up a dialogue with Buchanan, Holinshed and Bower, of delivering to members of the audience familiar with those texts the same message as is found in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur, as well as in The Scottish History of James the Fourth and Lochrine; namely, the need to contain Scotland if it is to be allied with England in a united nation. Certainly, for Galloway it is 'not only significant that Shakespeare greeted the union with a play on Scotland - but equally notable that the tragedy was Macbeth, full of...English suzerainty over Scotland.'¹⁷⁷ When viewed in this way, Macbeth appears animated by the English imperialism found in Gorboduc, The Misfortunes of Arthur, and in the King's own pronouncements on union and the advent of nation. As we have seen, the play's royal patron also promoted the notion of a union predicated on suzerainty, in which England's relation to Scotland in a British nation would be that of 'conqueror' to 'conquered.'¹⁷⁸ Once Macbeth is found to echo that sentiment,

¹⁷⁷Galloway, The Union, p. 164.

¹⁷⁸King James, from a speech given to Parliament in 1607, cited in Levack, The Formation, p. 27.

it no longer appears the radical text which Terry Eagleton and others have seen it to be.¹⁷⁹ Rather, it shows itself ultimately complimentary to its patron in confirming his imperialist view of the kind of footing on which England's relations with Scotland ought to be conducted within the structure of Great Britain.

Yet of all Shakespeare's plays, it is most famously in Macbeth that things are not always as they seem. Indeed, to settle for such a reading is to ignore the contention that Macbeth is one of Shakespeare's 'critical histories of the contemporaneous moment.'¹⁸⁰ Certainly, it is possible to argue that a critique is levelled in the course of the play against the view, prevalent in England and supported also by the play's patron, that a stable Britain might be realised only by ensuring England's supremacy in any such formation. Possible indications towards such a critique can be discerned in the play's handling of images of children.

We have seen that, within the metaphorical matrix of union discourse, the child might figure union and the advent of nation or, if divided and assaulted, resistance to, and a consequent dissolution of, Britain. That the witches, Lady Macbeth and Macbeth are all associated with the slaughtering of children might thus be seen quite simply to bear out the claim that 'the true subject of Macbeth [is] the furious attempt of the powers of evil

¹⁷⁹Eagleton claims the play portrays the witches as 'the heroines of the piece' because their riddling language unsettles all 'social, sexual and linguistic forms' operative in the society of the playworld. See Eagleton, William Shakespeare (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 2. Hawkins discerns ambiguities in the play's representation of the ideal King, and Sinfield finds in the play 'anxieties about the violence exercised under the aegis of Absolutist ideology.' See Hawkins, in Brown, p. 180, and Sinfield 'Macbeth: history', p. 64.

¹⁸⁰Mullaney, The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1988), cited in Kinney, 'Shakespeare's Macbeth', p. 71.

to prevent the foundation...of the British Empire.¹⁸¹ Metaphorically figuring these characters as a threat to the stability of the nation state would justify vanquishing them and, through their associations with the Highlands, the containment of that region by the play's Anglo-Scots army. With the Lowlands already Anglicised through Malcolm's pro-English policy, the domesticating of the Highlands would then mark the final reduction of Scotland to satellite status, and the play's 'imperial theme' accordingly relate to its conception of a nation appropriately circumscribed under English control.

Yet such a reading is complicated by the shared associations of the witches, Lady Macbeth, Macbeth and the Anglo-Scots force with an imperviousness to the destruction of children. While Siward in the concluding Act shows what is to Malcolm's mind a distasteful insensitivity to the news of the death of his own son, Malcolm also expresses callousness in the face of a child's death. In the third scene of the fourth Act, Malcolm fails to respond humanely to the report of the slaughtering of Macduff's boy. Here we witness Siward and Malcolm subscribing to the brutal attitude towards children displayed elsewhere by the play's 'fiend like' women and their consort, Macbeth. Accordingly, those whose task is ostensibly to cleanse the commonwealth of the brutality of the 'butcher', the 'fiend' and the 'murth'ring ministers' (I v.48) themselves betray an insensitivity to humanity similar to that for which their opponents stand condemned. The effect of the callousness of the Anglo-Scots allies, as represented by Siward and Malcolm, 'is slightly to dislodge the audience's moral foothold in the "God's on our side" conflict to come - not totally or even substantially to dislodge it, but enough to make an unqualified

¹⁸¹Winstanley, p. 52.

identification with the invading forces less automatic.¹⁸² Indeed, any easy conviction that, because those whom the invading army seek to rout are villainous, that army must itself be heroic, is liable to be complicated by the kinds of correspondences established in the play between the invaders and their opponents. In this respect, the audience is placed in that equivocal relationship to certainty so characteristic of this text. However, the function of establishing correlations between the Anglo-Scots army and the opposition is not solely to unsettle certainty. Where Macbeth's confidence in the security of his political position (and even, at II.i.32-49, in his own powers of perception) is eroded as events unfold, the audiences' assurance that 'fair' cannot be 'foul' (I.i.11) may indeed be similarly undermined by having the allies subscribe to attitudes more readily associated with their enemies.¹⁸³ Yet, in calling into play the image of the child so often utilised within the union debates, the play also allows the kinds of convergences established between the Anglo-Scots force and their opponents to be read in light of union discourse.

With the child image familiar to contemporaries as a way of articulating the rise of nation, damage inflicted on a child might, as we have seen, signify a separatist political persuasion and concomitant threat to the stability of Britain. Thus the infanticidal tendencies of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and the witches are liable to have had a particular kind of political resonance for a contemporary audience. But so too is the heartless attitude towards children shown by the play's representatives of Anglo-Scots alliance.

¹⁸²Calderwood, p. 105.

¹⁸³Hawkins notes that 'many critics, while recognising the theme of equivocation, have been unwilling to extend it to the political and moral spheres and have been content with establishing polarities between absolutes.' But, as he rightly argues, this is not the position adopted in *Macbeth*. 'As a fifteenth-century moralist had it, 'A soul is both foul and fair'', and it is just such a vision which this play affords. See Hawkins, in Brown, p. 180.

Evidently, as exponents of alliance, Siward's and Malcolm's callousness does not resonate with separatism. It might, however, signify a kind of attitude disruptive to the formation of nation. In this regard, connections can usefully be made between Macbeth and The Winter's Tale. As demonstrated in Chapter One, The Winter's Tale deploys the metaphor of union as a marriage. By figuring England as husband, Scotland as wife, the play articulates, in Leontes's possessive imprisonment of Hermione, England's desire to control Scotland in a union predicated on the discourse of English suzerainty. That Mamillius, as is suggested at III.ii.142-145, dies as a result of his father's treatment of his mother is also open to being read metaphorically, intimating that the nation is the casualty of England's attempts to effect a conquest of Scotland. When Macbeth is read in light of The Winter's Tale, we find those characters who, in their attitudes to children, display the psychological violence shown by Leontes rather than the actual brutality of Macbeth, his wife and the witches, are associated likewise with suzerainty.

Siward and Malcolm, as we have seen, are identified in several of Macbeth's source histories with the implementing and giving of homage. That they share with Leontes an insensitivity towards children which, in the later play, arises out of a desire for possession correspondent with the discourse of suzerainty, and that they too are connected with that discourse, suggests similar meanings are being made available here. While Leontes's jealousy causes his son's death, with the implication that the nation cannot survive attempts to enforce homage, no such death is occasioned by Macbeth's representatives of Anglo-Scots alliance. Their similar callousness towards children may, however, suggest that if freedom from a Catholic, Celtic Scotland (a freedom which they are responsible for effecting) is realised at the cost of failing to recognise parity as a basis for union, then the seeds of a dissolution of nation will already have been sown. The

fragility of the political order restored in the play's closing scene has sometimes been noted, with several critics identifying signs that the cycle of insurrection is set to continue despite the concluding claim that 'the time is free' (V.ix.21) from instability.¹⁸⁴ Like the play's political settlement, the configurations of union and nation are also presented as potentially unstable. Exposing, by way of the metaphorical language of union discourse, attitudes likely to jeopardise those formations, Macbeth registers the realities of prevailing discussions about unification. Indeed, the current state of the union debate explains why the metaphorical rendering of a dissolution of nation as the result of English imperialism occurs only in The Winter's Tale.

The Winter's Tale was written at the point at which the union debates had reached a deadlock, and the dream of the perfect union that would provide a stable basis for a durable Britain had evaporated. Macbeth, however, was produced at a moment when perfect union still seemed a possibility, yet when English claims to precedence were already beginning to stultify attempts to implement further forms of union than that of the crowns alone. Closing with an image of the advent of nation and anticipating also, in its recourse to the type of the American Amazon, the rise of the British Empire, Macbeth subscribes to that optimistic expectation of expansion and consolidation widely felt in the period 1605-6. Simultaneously showing itself uncomfortable with an 'imperial theme' that relates as much to its preoccupation with empire as with sovereignty and Stewart

¹⁸⁴Kinney notes Malcolm's concluding repetition of his father's initial distribution of titles in honour of his thanes' fealty. With such a reward having, in Macbeth's case, been followed immediately by treachery, we may thus be inclined to anticipate further insurrection. Moreover, the repetition of the image of the traitor's head on a pole, as Calderwood points out, further suggests that a cycle in which loyalty is rapidly replaced by rebellion may be about to recommence. See Kinney, 'Scottish History', p. 51 and Calderwood, p. 35.

monarchy, the play also acknowledges problems pertaining to England's desire for supremacy within the nation and, ultimately, a British Empire. As England's quest for precedence became ever more apparent, so suzerainty would become a more prominent issue in the treatment of Anglo-Scots relations found in Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale.

That Macbeth occupies 'a complex position in its ideological field' has been attributed partly to the ways in which it allows its 'diverse original audiences [to] activat[e] diverse implications in the text.'¹⁸⁵ In so far as the play's deployment of allusions to King James, union metaphors and representations of women are liable to have enabled contemporaries to access different perspectives on the debate about Britain, its relationship to that field is, indeed, rich and complex. The debate concerning the production of Britain was not, of course, exclusive to the period of the Jacobean union debates, at the height of which Macbeth was written and first performed. The play's references to King James's coronation and progeny, and its use of union metaphors, do make it especially topical to those debates. But its reliance on women's relations with men as a way of exploring the interaction between territories connects it also to the body of material engaged in that broader debate about nation which had been underway from at least the 1540s. That the interconnectedness in Macbeth of sexual with territorial politics needs now to be recognised and further explored is borne out by the evidence amassed in this chapter for the importance of that relationship for an adequate understanding of this text. Described once as 'the play with the greatest topical content in the Shakespearian canon',¹⁸⁶ Macbeth's topicality may most often be narrowly understood in terms of its

¹⁸⁵Sinfield, 'Macbeth: history', p. 73.

¹⁸⁶Clark, p. 7.

engagement with its royal patron. What we have seen in this chapter, however, is that, of the aspects of Macbeth that make it most thoroughly of its time, as important as its representation of the Stewart sovereign is its participation in that longstanding tradition of negotiating Anglo-Scots relations by mobilising representations of women.

Conclusion

The thesis has shown that throughout the period under consideration, for the reasons outlined in my introductory chapter, women's relations with men proved especially suited to generating meanings around territorial relationships. That it has been possible to identify how extensively writers made use of images of women to negotiate Scotland's relationship with England in the configurations of union and nation is due to an initial recognition that sexual politics consistently intersect with broader areas of concern. One of the most basic insights afforded by this discussion then, is that a methodology which acknowledges 'gender is implicated in the entire social domain [and] cannot be studied in isolation'¹ is better placed to illuminate Renaissance texts than an approach which treats gender relations as discreet from other kinds of interactions. That texts dealing with Anglo-Scots relations do so regularly mobilise women as signs suggests further work might usefully be undertaken on the ways in which this method of signification impacts at once on conceptions of the relationship between the sexes and between Scotland and England.

In order to understand the ramifications of a given representation it is, as has been demonstrated, useful to ask 'what 'women' are posed against.'² Thus in, for instance, the case of Gueneuora in The Misfortunes of Arthur, to enquire what woman's role as wife and mistress takes meaning in relation to, is to uncover the way in which the text

¹Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries, (New York and London: Harvester, 1984), p. xxxiv.

²Denise Riley, 'Am I that name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1988), p. 7.

figuratively articulates a vision of Britain's relationship to the kingdoms of England and Scotland by means of its representation of woman in her relations with men. To view the play's treatment of Gueneuora's interactions with Arthur and Mordred as discrete from its broader handling of territorial matters, would be to divest the love triangle of political meaning and, seeing Gueneuora as set apart from the politics of the play, risk erroneously concluding that she is 'irrelevant'³ to the proceedings. Yet here, as in the other material considered, woman, providing the medium through which the text engages with interactions between the kingdoms, proves central to its wider considerations. Rather than being irrelevant then, she is indispensable, albeit only in her capacity as currency. Pressed into service to further meanings pertaining to Anglo-Scots relations, woman often proves of little interest in her own right. Indeed, all too often the price woman pays for her centrality in the text's production of meaning is that she herself is made marginal. It seems fair to conclude then that, with regards to the texts discussed, their emphasis tends to go elsewhere than towards women themselves.

Yet this is not always the case. Russell, relying in *Ane treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun* on women's lot in patriarchy to speak of Scotland's position in a union of precedence, implicitly protests against Scotland being stripped of self-determinism on the grounds that this is as unacceptable as women being denied autonomy in patriarchy. Russell may have been motivated solely by a desire to resist any irrevocable alteration occurring in the balance of power between Scotland and England, but his recourse to woman to address that issue inadvertently brings into view the place currently ascribed

³Angela Ingram, *In the Posture of a Whore: Changing Attitudes to 'Bad' Women in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, Volume 2, (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), p. 243.

women in the social formation, and works to present her position as unsatisfactory. A similar movement is discernable in Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, in which a reliance on woman to question England's right to precedence in the union and attendant nation also releases knowledge around the relations of the sexes that is potentially critical of patriarchy.

In these instances, the deployment of woman as sign may, to some extent, serve to challenge current understandings of women's place in the order of things. Concerns which have to do specifically with women do not always, therefore, evaporate when woman is made to provide meanings around Anglo-Scots relations. Various of the assumptions about women generated by material which deploys sexual politics to speak of the kingdoms' dealings with one another have been addressed in the course of this discussion. Further work could, however, productively be undertaken in this connection, as well as more generally on the effect that producing woman as sign had on current ideas about women.

As far as the significance of this form of signification for Scotland's relationship with England is concerned, the thesis has thrown into relief two consistent areas of preoccupation. When an exploration is made into the ways ideas about the realms were promoted by means of images of women, it becomes apparent firstly that a perceived Catholicism continued to accrue to Scotland long after it had undergone a process of reformation, and secondly that throughout the period in question many writers persisted in asserting that England must be afforded precedence in any prospective nation.

It is tempting to conclude from such findings that the causal factor precipitating ongoing calls for Scotland to be constrained by England was precisely a widespread, enduring apprehension over Catholicism retaining some foothold in Scotland. Yet such

an explanation cannot easily account for the way in which, even when Scotland is understood as Protestant in its affiliation, it is not necessarily granted parity with England in a text's imagined nation. The bifurcated vision of The Misfortunes of Arthur, surfacing again in Macbeth, is one in which a Scotland projected as Catholic in its Gaelic reaches must be subjugated by force, while, in its Protestant Lowland aspect, it may participate in founding a British state--but only on the basis of a willing deferral to England as the dominant party in that polity. That The Scottish History of James IV likewise betrays intolerance of a Catholic Scotland while accommodating a Protestant one which acknowledges England as the governing force in the United Kingdom, further demonstrates that Protestantism provides no guarantee of Scotland being given equality with England in a text's depiction of Britain.

This suggests that it is not simply a perceived Catholicism which is responsible for precipitating the 'imperial theme'⁴ which has proved to be so prominent in material produced in the period under consideration. The combination of a history of having been Catholic after England experienced its reformation, and of suspicions regarding the possible residue of a Papistry still to be eradicated from Scotland's remoter reaches, might, of course, be sufficient to induce among contemporaries a tendency to produce Scotland either as fief of an England projected as synonymous with Britain, or as an outright opponent of the nation. Both responses were, after all, typical of Protestants' behaviour when confronted with a suspected Catholic threat. Surveillance exercised through containment is explicable as a reaction to Scotland's Catholic past, while, as Linda Colley has shown, anxiety regarding Popery being as yet a living legacy for either

⁴William Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Kenneth Muir (London and New York: Routledge, 1951), I.iii.129.

an individual or a country characteristically induced an imagined exclusion of the person or place in question from the configuration of nation. That ‘Catholics were “outlandish”...was’, as she points out, ‘meant literally’, for they were considered ‘beyond the boundaries, always on the outside even if they were British-born: they did not and could not belong’⁵ to a Britain conceptualised in Protestant terms.

Carol Wiener’s contention that fundamental to Protestants’ vision of the nation was an ‘insuperable anxiety’ about a Catholic threat to English security is also important in this connection. She claims that ‘between 1569, the year of the Northern Rebellion, and the years immediately after [the] Gunpowder Plot’ many contemporaries feared ‘England [was] on the verge of being...destroyed’⁶ by Catholic forces. With a dominant strand of Protestant imagining involving England being seen as champion of a godly Britain, a threat to England would be liable to be construed as a challenge to the nation. This in turn would produce precisely that kind of representation of Anglo-Scots relations whereby England is conflated with Britain, and Scotland presented as an opponent of that formation. Suggestively, the last of the texts in which I found a link being forged between a Scotland seen as perilous partly because Papist is Cymbeline, which, written around 1608-1610, was produced shortly after the Gunpowder Plot and thus at the tail end of the period that Wiener finds dominated by anxiety over Catholicism. It is, however, worth noting in this respect that although in my treatment of The Winter’s Tale I found no relationship being made between Catholicism and the prejudice about Scotland intimated through the

⁵Linda Colley, ‘Britishness and Otherness’, Journal of British Studies, 31 (1992), 320.

⁶Carol Wiener, ‘The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism’, Past and Present, 51 (1971), 29, 56.

handling of the marriage metaphor, Catholic iconography has been discerned around the statue of Hermione.⁷ Given that in my reading the wife figures Scotland, associations may therefore be being made between Scotland and Catholicism, with suppositions about a Catholic affiliation proving a further aspect of the 'ill-ta'en suspicion'⁸ about that kingdom which, in the person of the husband, England must learn to relinquish.

Whether or not this is the case in The Winter's Tale, that it is a fear of Catholicism which occasions the call for precedence apparent in texts produced between approximately 1560 and 1612, would accord with many of my findings. My investigation does confirm that assertions of suzerainty were often the effect of a writer's Protestant allegiance. The way in which some Scottish as well as English writers argued the case for precedence often has to do with their mutual identification of England as the champion of the Protestant project for producing a godly nation. For some Scots, if the consequence of England being thought to have a special relation to Britain was that Scotland must be considered a fief of that realm, this was acceptable as long as it furthered the cause of realising the 'safe sanctuary'⁹ of a Protestant nation. Images of Mary Stewart, the Furies, the Gorgon and the American Amazon were all used to negotiate a perceived Catholicism, and tend to surface in texts which feature that typically Protestant trajectory of portraying

⁷For a discussion of the Catholic iconography of The Winter's Tale and its relationship to the statue scene, see Louis Adrian Montrose, 'The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on a Shakespearean Anthropology', Helios, 7 (1980), 62.

⁸William Shakespeare, The Winter's Tale, ed. J. H. P. Pafford (London and New York: Methuen, 1963), I.ii.460.

⁹Anthony Gilby 'An Admonition to England and Scotland', cited in Arthur. H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1979), p. 12.

Scotland as a foreign opponent of nation, and England as Britain's champion who, accordingly, must conquer Scotland and, ideally, exclude it from that configuration. Furthermore, the discomfort of those union tracts which anticipate England 'drowning'¹⁰ unless perfect union is implemented is typical of that Protestant vision of an embattled Britain in which England is synonymous with a nation thought to be on the brink of being 'swallowed up'¹¹ by a Papal power.

Yet this line of argument cannot be pressed too far without provoking the question of whether a fear of Catholicism could in fact have been so potent as to ensure the frequency with which so many writers envisaged Scotland's as a subordinate position in a prospective nation. Protestantism is, undoubtedly, a crucial factor here. However, the trenchant assertion of precedence across the period under consideration might also be viewed as the product of a longstanding imperial aspiration on England's part to govern its immediate neighbours in what would, in due course, become the United Kingdom.¹² That aspiration is more likely to have been further fuelled by the time lag between Scotland's reformation and England's, and Scotland's more recent association, as a consequence, with Catholicism, than produced by these circumstances.

¹⁰Henry Savile, Historicall collections, left to be considered of for the better perfecting of this intended union between England and Scotland set down by way of a discourse, in Bruce Galloway and Brian. P. Levack, eds. The Jacobean Union, Six Tracts of 1604 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1985), p. 200.

¹¹I. L., The Birth, Purpose... Romish holie League, cited in Wiener, p. 55.

¹²England's imperial designs on Scotland predate its reformation, suggesting the latter did rather fuel colonial aspirations than produce them. For a discussion of internal colonialism in Anglo-Scots relations prior to the period under consideration, see Michael Prestwich, 'Colonial Scotland: The English in Scotland under Edward I' in Scotland and England, 1286-1815, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1987), pp. 6-17, and Michael Hechter, Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 47-69.

Whatever weight is given to Protestantism in the attempt to fathom the logic behind the imperialism of so many of the imagined nations addressed in this discussion, one thing is abundantly clear--Scotland's place in these formations is typically an uncomfortable and conflicted one. When the Britain of contemporary panegyric is situated in the context of the nations conjured up in so many of the texts considered, the 'mightie State'¹³ dissolves into an unstable structure whose shaky foundations are traceable to ongoing tensions over the balance of power to be implemented between the kingdoms in a united nation. The way in which Macbeth, Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale register, while also displaying a degree of self-reflexivity about the dangers for the durability of Britain that are inherent in this state of affairs, demonstrates a responsiveness to the specificities of history typical of the majority of the material under consideration. Encapsulating the current condition of the union debate while trying also to negotiate difficulties arising from it, these dramas are characteristic of the body of texts which have provided the focus of this enquiry. None of the material I have considered functions straightforwardly as a mirror to history but seeks rather, through its representations of women especially, to shape what proved to be one of the most topical of contemporary debates.

That the activities of forging of a union and founding a nation should have proved as topical as they did is probably due to these being as yet, in the words of one contemporary, 'matter[s] whereof there is no precedent.'¹⁴ That there had never been any

¹³Samuel Daniel, A Panegyrike with a Defence of Ryme (London: Edward Blount, 1603), (Menston: The Scolar Press Ltd., 1969).

¹⁴Anon, Hampshire Record Office, cited in Brian. P. Levack, 'Toward a More Perfect Union: England, Scotland and the Constitution' in After the Reformation, Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter, ed. Barbara. C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University

prior alliance, nor any actual, rather than mythical, Britain, would make any move towards realising these arrangements a turning point, the ramifications of which, with regards to the future basis of the kingdoms' standing in a united nation, could only be imagined. It is entirely understandable then that the texts analysed in this discussion should seek so regularly to imagine the nation, for, in such uncharted territory, each proposed vision of that polity might seem a realisable possibility. Questions around whether one realm might efface the other, both achieve equality in a nascent United Kingdom, and the multiple permutations of these lines of enquiry, are arguably consistently the preserve of the texts in question precisely because Britain remained throughout this period more a place of the mind than it would ever subsequently be. With the nation as yet barely realised legislatively, there was, indeed, all to play for in terms of the projected Britains that might yet be brought into being.

In terms of texts other than those which I have explored, correspondences in the articulations of nation found in The Faerie Queene and Macbeth might also merit consideration. Spenser's poem has increasingly been seen to be informed by prevailing perceptions at once of Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Amerindian relations.¹⁵ Its imagined nation might thus be usefully compared with Macbeth's, which I have also found to be influenced by understandings of these territorial interactions. That the representation of nation in these two texts should make sense in relation to a range of territorial interchanges is

Press, 1980), p. 62.

¹⁵See, for example, Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 179-192 and Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the discourse of Colonialism' in Political Shakespeare, New Essays in Cultural Materialism, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 62.

unsurprising when one considers that Britain is, of course, the sum total of broader relationships than those relating solely to any of its constituent parts.¹⁶

Perhaps the most productive way in which my enquiry could be extended would be to situate the texts I have looked at in relation to material that treats of the relationships between realms additional to England and Scotland that went to make up the nation. However, while such a project might well illuminate how contemporaries viewed the relations between each of the kingdoms of which Britain is comprised, as well as the edifice of nation itself, it has nevertheless been important in this thesis to concentrate solely on representations of Anglo-Scots relations. The disparity which I identified in my introductory chapter between how much attention has been paid to conceptions of Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Amerindian, and how little to Anglo-Scots relations, has made it necessary to show that England's relationship with Scotland proved as pressing to contemporaries as its dealings with Ireland and America.

It is perhaps because literary critics have tended not to conceive of England's as a colonial interaction with Scotland that they have failed adequately to attend to representations of this relationship. Should this be the case, it would, in some respects, be understandable. After all, Scotland's standing *vis-à-vis* England was distinct from Ireland's or America's. As John Morrill points out, England displayed an imperial attitude

¹⁶For a discussion of the importance of attempting to think relationally when addressing British history, and of the perspectives and priorities which inform that endeavour, see J. G. A. Pocock, 'Two kingdoms and three histories? Political thought in British contexts' in Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603, ed. Roger. A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 293-312, Steven. G. Ellis, "'Not Mere English": The British Perspective, 1400-1650', History Today, 38 (1988), 41-48, and Steven. G. Ellis 'The concept of British history' in Conquest and Union, Fashioning a British State 1485-1725, eds. Steven. G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London and New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 1-7.

towards Scotland yet, for a complex of reasons, the result of this was not colonial intervention of the kind witnessed in Ulster and Jamestown, but rather a history of 'benign neglect.'¹⁷ Such a history is less likely to capture critics' attention than more obvious programmes of plantation and settlement. Certainly, when it comes to delineations of Anglo-Scots relations there is, in marked contrast to Anglo-Irish and Anglo-American relations, no field of enquiry as such, but disparate, if illuminating studies, that most often arise out of discussions of other subjects.¹⁸ The findings of this thesis--that Anglo-Scottish interactions were often also viewed through an imperial lens--indicate that these too need now to be situated, along with those other territorial relationships, in the broader context of England's bid for centrality in what would, in due course, become the British Empire. At the same time though, the distinctiveness of Scotland's relationship with England needs also to be acknowledged.

The contention that as far as Renaissance texts are concerned, where 'concepts of difference, division...and opposition are problematic...the notion of woman [is] intimately involved with this area of speculation',¹⁹ is borne out by the way in which, seeking to promote and, occasionally, contest England's imperialism in its dealings with

¹⁷John Morrill, 'The fashioning of Britain', in Conquest and Union, eds. Ellis and Barber, p. 20. Scotland was, of course, temporarily subject to settlement under Cromwell.

¹⁸Marie Axton's treatment of the representation of Anglo-Scots relations in Gorboduc and The Scottish History of James IV is a case in point, arising as it does out of a broader discussion of the theory of the monarch's two bodies. See Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977). The attention paid by historians to developments in Anglo-Scots relations in the period under consideration throws into relief the lack of any comparable enquiry among literary critics into the handling of that relationship in contemporary texts.

¹⁹Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 4.

Scotland, writers so regularly had recourse to representations of women. Paying attention to the part played by women in enforcing and, sometimes, questioning English imperialism, has made it possible to bring the colonial aspect of Anglo-Scots relations into view, while at the same time recognising this to be a subject of discussion and negotiation rather than simply the basis of that relation. This fact notwithstanding, what emerges most prominently from this study, however, is the degree to which woman and Scotland tend alike to be imagined as 'others'. Both must be contained within, and excluded from, the structures of family and nation, despite their participation being, paradoxically, the factor which made possible the realisation of these configurations.

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