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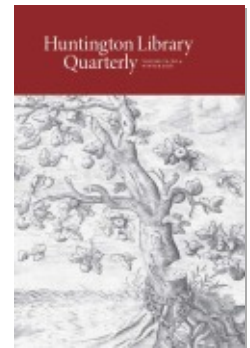
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“Newes from Scotland” in England, 1559–1602

Amy Blakeway

ABSTRACT While news from abroad has attracted increasing attention from scholars studying the print market in England, little attention has been paid thus far to the presence of Scottish texts in England—with the notable exception of James VI’s marketing campaign. This essay shows that the availability of Scottish news mirrored the acceptability of events in Scotland to the Elizabethan regime. At times, therefore, it was Scotland’s very proximity that caused coverage of its news to be limited in the London press—in the same manner as domestic news. A study of the Scottish presence in the English print market also has ramifications for our understanding of the Edinburgh trade, and this essay identifies a number of items with a likely Scottish provenance that appeared in England, but for which there is no Scottish edition extant. **KEYWORDS:** sixteenth-century news networks; English editions of Scottish news; coverage of Scottish civil war; Holinshed’s *Chronicles*; James VI

☞ **SINCE THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM**, inquiry into texts and information, and the networks by which they circulated throughout early modern England, has increased sharply, and on a vast scale. The British civil wars are often identified as the moment when “the press became responsive to current affairs” to a significant degree.¹ Yet decades earlier, Elizabeth’s subjects had displayed an ever-increasing appetite for publications that discussed topical events both within and beyond their own kingdom, although domestic news was treated with greater caution than reports of events from further afield.² Since commentary on Elizabeth’s marriage caused one pamphleteer to lose his hand, any apprehension about domestic reportage felt by members of the

1. Joad Raymond, “The Development of the Book Trade in Britain,” in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Raymond (Oxford, 2011), 62.

2. Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 100.

Stationers' Company is entirely comprehensible.³ The nervousness surrounding domestic political news has in turn been offered as an explanation for the substantial interest in French news, particularly during the 1580s and 1590s, and, conversely, for the anomalous lack of commentary on the wars in Ireland.⁴ Scholars who recognize the significance of foreign news to the English print market typically link it to the international character of the book trade itself. Distribution networks within England were not closed, discrete entities, but were interlinked with those that crossed both land and sea borders. Although historical or literary scholarly discussion of the Scottish print trade has not formed as prominent a facet of debate as its larger English equivalent, it is clear that lively interlocutions conducted through texts formed an important aspect of Scotland's distinctive political scene.⁵ Nevertheless, there were relatively few printed Scottish books, and those that did reach England were accordingly a smaller proportion of the English print market than, say, their Dutch or French counterparts. This may help to explain why to date little attention has been paid to this particular group of "immigrant" texts. The present essay explores this lacuna, examining news about Scotland published in England between Elizabeth's accession and her death, or, in a Scottish context, between the Reformation Rebellion and the Union of the Crowns. The first part of this essay considers English editions of extant Scots texts, followed by discussion of a small group of English items that appear to have originated in now-lost Edinburgh editions. The second part of the essay contextualizes these alongside the Scots news items for which there is no evidence of English circulation, in order to reveal the sensitivity of news publications to broader currents of Anglo-Scottish diplomatic relations.

An examination of Scottish news over these years holds particular interest: obviously, from an English perspective, Scottish news was foreign news, but any discussion of Mary, Queen of Scots, or James VI was also of urgent domestic significance. The extent to which Scottish affairs were foreign and yet of domestic concern is illustrated by the official English agitation occasioned by the pamphlet commonly known as *Leicester's Commonwealth*, in part owing to its concern with Mary, Queen of Scots.⁶ The piece was also banned in Scotland.⁷

A number of points emerge from a consideration of texts published in Scotland that were selected by English publishers for a London edition. First, this group of publications bears several marked resemblances to those imported from the Continent—most notably, in their overwhelming concern to inform literate Londoners of the triumphs or tribulations of their coreligionists abroad. Moreover, fluctuations in the

3. Natalie Mears, "Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship John Stubbs's 'The discoverie of a gaping gulf, 1579,'" *Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 629–50.

4. Joad Raymond, "News," in *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Raymond, 379; David Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets, 1513–1637* (Tempe, Ariz., 2011), xv–xvi.

5. For the Scottish book trade, see Alistair Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720: Print, Commerce, and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, U.K., 2000).

6. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 20–21.

7. F. S. Ferguson, "Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (–1640)," *The Library*, 4th ser., 8 (1927): 145–98 at 154.

quantity of Scots news broadly mirror the pattern in reports of European events. Prior to 1570, there was no coverage of Scottish news in English editions, and the number of texts produced over the following decade increased only minimally. From 1580 onward, the quantity rose at an augmented pace. Although this rate of increase was in line with a general expansion in news publications, in Scotland’s case, changing political relations with England provided an additional, and distinctive, causal factor.

The Scottish news items discussed in this essay represent the bare minimum of those in circulation in London. The survival rate of ephemeral texts is low, and since printers did not always bother with the expense of a license, the *Stationers’ Register* does not offer a comprehensive survey.⁸ Although focused on the republication of printed items of news, this essay inevitably engages in passing with other paths through which news circulated. Perhaps most obviously, Scottish printed books were directly imported to England and duly appear in the earliest extant catalogue of an English bookseller.⁹ As the Stationers’ records of seized Scottish books show, these could prove controversial.¹⁰ Since no international framework governed piracy, unless a foreign government issued a complaint regarding a particular publication to which the English crown responded, such controversy is likely to have had domestic origins, whether for the book’s content or, more prosaically, for posing a perceived threat to the business of the Stationers themselves. Manuscripts of all kinds also crossed the Anglo–Scottish border.¹¹ Moreover, even the most cursory glance at the correspondence of English officials lurking in Berwick or Carlisle reveals the significance of orally transmitted rumors; it was through this medium that, for instance, news of the Earl of Morton’s execution crossed the border in June 1581.¹² Indeed, although the focus of this essay is on print—specifically, reprint—several instances when other methods of circulation proved significant nevertheless emerge from the shadows. It must also be acknowledged that segregating “news” as a discrete category of printed material is a subjective and potentially problematic task, since it excludes other possible sources for relatively recent affairs, such as chronicles or histories. Although ballads and, later, news pamphlets gradually replaced these genres as sources of up-to-date information over

8. C. R. Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1991), 32, 38, 789.

9. Ferguson, “Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers,” 192–93.

10. *Ibid.*, 154–56.

11. Priscilla Bawcutt, “Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton, U.K., 1998), 59–76; Amy Blakeway, “A Scottish Anti-Catholic Satire Crossing the Border: ‘Ane bull of our haly fader the paip, quhairby it is leesum to everie man to haif tua wyffis’ and the Redeswyre Raid of 1575,” *English Historical Review* 129 (2014): 1346–70. For the continued significance of manuscript circulation in England, see, among others, H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996); and Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).

12. Hunsdon to Walsingham, June 5, 1581, British Library (hereafter BL), Harley 6999, fol. 191r. For rumor in an English context, see Adam Fox, “Rumour, News, and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England,” *Historical Journal* 40 (1997): 597–620. For Morton, see Amy Blakeway, “James VI and James Douglas, Earl of Morton,” in *James VI and Noble Power in Scotland*, ed. M. Kerr-Peterson and S. Reid (forthcoming 2017).

the course of the sixteenth century, chronicles or histories nevertheless could provide information about the recent as well as the distant past.¹³ The *Historie of Scotland* included in Holinshed's *Chronicles* is perhaps the best example of an English chronicle covering recent events in Scotland.¹⁴ Indeed, since chronicles—including Holinshed—diaries, and histories often drew on or even incorporated ballads or pamphlets in their entirety, the relationship between these types of works was extremely close.¹⁵ For the purposes of this essay, “news publications” have been defined as primarily, but not necessarily exclusively, those that provided an account of events that had taken place within the previous year.¹⁶ Thus, chronicles or histories, which were chiefly concerned with past events, are not included, while the majority of items discussed below take the form of ballads or pamphlets.

Before examining these border-crossing texts, it is important to consider the language in which Scottish books were encountered by English readers. By the early sixteenth century, English readers had acquired a taste for Scots poetry, an appetite equally visible in James VI's reign.¹⁷ Nevertheless, English readers of printed editions of Scots works rarely read the text as penned by the author, since it was usual practice to anglicize Scots texts for a southern audience. Throughout this period, monoglot English readers had a range of translated texts available for their perusal, and while some of these advertised their international credentials, translation often obscured a text's foreign origins.¹⁸ Since it was widely acknowledged that Scots was much like northern English, an avowed concern for comprehension can offer only a partial explanation for “translating” Scots.¹⁹ In translating, or, more tellingly, as some Englishmen put it, “correcting” Scots works, English authors were doubtless attempting to express lin-

13. D. R. Woolf, “Genre into Artefact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988): 321–54 at 333.

14. For the material on which Holinshed based his account, see Henry Summerson, “Sources: 1577” and “Sources: 1587,” both in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's “Chronicles,”* ed. Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford, 2013), 61–76 at 75, and 77–92 at 91, respectively; and Amy Blakeway, “A New Source for Holinshed's 1577 ‘Hystorie of Scotland,’” *Notes and Queries* 62 (2015): 53–56.

15. For example, see Raphael Holinshed, *The Description and Historie of Scotland*, in *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London, 1587), 446–48.

16. The criteria of “making available to the public” and “topicality” are two of those applied to define the emergent newspapers of the later period; see Raymond, “News,” 380.

17. Bawcutt, “Crossing the Border,” 59–60; and Deirdre Serjeantson, “English Bards and Scotch Poetics: Scotland's Literary Influence and Sixteenth-Century English Religious Verse,” in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, ed. Crawford Gribben and David George Mullan (Farnham, U.K., 2009), 161–89.

18. Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xvi–xvii. For an overview of translations in the English print market in this period, see S. K. Barker, “‘Newes Lately come’: European News Books in Translation,” in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print, and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden, 2013), 227–44.

19. Andrew Boorde, *The First Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge. The which doth teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of all maner of cou[n]treys* (London, 1562), sig. Dii.

guistic superiority, but in so doing simultaneously revealed their insecurities about the suitability of their own vernacular as a literary language.²⁰ Nevertheless, taking the trouble to translate, and then publish, an item reveals a belief in its merits and confidence that these will be recognized by others who will purchase the item.

The English editions of works of two Scots authors, Sir David Lindsay and Robert Henryson, contain revealing paratextual material produced by their English editors. Lindsay was undoubtedly the most popular Scots author in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century. During the period under consideration here, Lindsay's *Dialogue betuix Experience and a Courteour*, otherwise known as the *Monarchie*, ran to four English editions, the first emerging in 1563 from the same press that had earlier published his “Tragedie of the Cardinal.”²¹ Intriguingly, two editions of the *Dialogue*, “bothe in engless and skottesh,” were licensed in 1566, although no copy of the Scots edition survives.²² Whether this was printed or not, and its purpose, if it was, remain uncertain: was it intended for an expatriate community, for export to Scotland, or for a market among English readers? The three extant editions each contained four other poems by Lindsay: the “Tragedie of the Cardinal,” “The Dream,” the “Deploration of the Death of Queen Madeline,” and the “Testament of the Popinjay”; those of 1575 and 1581 contained a further work, “The Complaynte and Publique Confession of the Kings Olde Hou[n]d Called Bagsche.”²³ Although these publications were posthumous, Lindsay had also enjoyed success south of the border during his lifetime: the earliest extant edition of Lindsay's “Tragedie of the Cardinal” was issued by William Seres's London press in 1548. This probably drew on a now-lost Scots original, although it is highly unlikely that Lindsay had endorsed this English edition.²⁴ Seres's later publication of Lindsay's *Dialogue* suggests that the “Tragedie of the Cardinal” had already enjoyed commercial success.

In the three extant English editions of the *Dialogue*, the piece was shorn of its original prologue, a topical discussion of Scotland's circumstances in the early 1550s that made a direct address to the then governor, James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellherault, and his half-brother, John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews. The editorial decision to omit it nicely demonstrates the broader point that highly topical works, such

20. Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford, 2004), 14–15, 17, 37.

21. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554–1640*, ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London, 1875–94), 1:101b (abbreviated henceforward as *Stationers' Register*); David Lindsay, *The Tragical Death of Dauid Beaton Bishoppe of Sainct Andrewes in Scotland* (London, 1548).

22. *Stationers' Register*, 1:137.

23. David Lindsay, *A Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier*: ESTC S1583 (London, 1566); ESTC S108554 (London, 1575); ESTC S108560 (London, 1581).

24. Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst, Mass., 1994), 125; and Janet Hadley Williams, “The Earliest Surviving Text of Lyndsay's *Tragedie of the Cardinall*: An English Edition of a Scottish Poem,” in *Literature, Letters, and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (East Linton, U.K., 2002), 22–34.

as news, could expect a shorter shelf life than other printed material.²⁵ On viewing the title page, English readers were instead introduced to the author as “a man of great learning and science” and received reassurance that his work, first compiled in the “Schottische tounge,” was now “newlie corrected and made perfite Englische.”²⁶ Lindsay’s prologue was replaced with a newly penned “Epistle” to the reader that opened with a reference to Plato, the “Prince of Philosophers,” who had lived and written for the benefit of other people, and had provided worthy counsel to both “straungers studious in vertue, as of his owne nation.” The “Epistle” then stated as a general rule that those authors who provided “as it were a glasse” a record of their own time deserved “first to be registered in the book of fame.”²⁷ Moving from the general to the specific, the epistle then furnished readers with a slightly embellished account of Lindsay’s biographical details, claiming that he “had his childhod furnished with good letters, as that he was playfellowe with the Prince,” before spending his youth and subsequent life in service at court.²⁸ When Lindsay entered the service of the future James V as his usher in 1512, he was about twenty-six, and although he had been a playmate of the young James, he was not, as the prologue implies, a fellow noble child brought up in his household, but a servant, albeit a highly trusted one.²⁹ By playing fast and loose with biographical accuracy, this paratextual apparatus was able to argue that Lindsay’s learning and qualities of character and birth enabled him, like Plato, to overcome—even if only partially—the misfortune of not being English.

In contrast to Lindsay’s poetry, the works of his predecessor, Robert Henryson (d. ca. 1490), did not enjoy a sizeable or longstanding audience south of the border. Nevertheless, in 1577, Henryson’s translation of Aesop’s *Fables* from Greek to Scots was itself translated from Scots to English and published in London. The translator, one Richard Smith, claimed he had obtained a copy of Henryson’s Aesop about two years earlier—frustratingly, he neglected to mention how he acquired the book. There are two extant Scots editions that Smith could have acquired by 1575, one published by Robert Lekpreuik in 1570, the other by Thomas Bassandyne in 1571.³⁰ Bassandyne’s

25. Andy Kesson and Emma Smith, “Introduction: Towards a Definition of Print Popularity,” in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Kesson and Smith (Farnham, U.K., 2013), 1–18 at 10.

26. Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1566), i; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1575), i; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1581), i.

27. Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1566), ii; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1575), ii; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1581), ii.

28. Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1566), ii; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1575), ii; Lindsay, *Dialogue* (London, 1581), ii.

29. Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland*, 14–20.

30. Robert Henryson, *The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian, compylit in eloquent, and ornate Scottis meter, be Maister Robert Henrisone, scholemaister of Dunfermeling* (Edinburgh, 1570); Robert Henryson, *The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygia[n], compylit in eloque[n]t, & ornate Scottis meter, be Robert Henriso[n]e, scolmaister of Du[n]fermli[n]g. Newlie corectit, and vendicat, fra mony Errouris, quhilkis war ouer sene in the last prenting, quhair baith lynes, and haill Versis war left owt* (Edinburgh, 1571).

title page boasted that his edition was superior, since it was “newlie corectit . . . fra many Errouris quhilkis war ouer sene in the last prenting.”³¹ Lekpreuik’s edition did, as his rival publisher claimed, miss out whole verses.³² Bassandyne’s publication was also a more ornate affair than Lekpreuik’s, featuring two different typefaces and two woodcuts, one depicting a hunchbacked Aesop surrounded by images from his fables, apparently designed to echo earlier Continental woodcuts of the subject, and the other illustrating the first tale, the “Cock and the Jasp [Gem].”³³ Smith’s translation included the verses missed by Lekpreuik but included by Bassandyne, suggesting that the latter was his source text.

Smith remains an obscure character. This seems to be his only extant literary effort, but he was evidently a man of good taste, since he was aware of the merit of Henryson’s text, pronouncing it “verie eloquent and full of gret inuention.” Having attempted to translate the *Fables* into English, however, Smith had a crisis of confidence, fearing that he had “very rudely . . . obscured the Authour.”³⁴ Accordingly, he waited two years to see if anyone else would issue an edition.³⁵ This should probably be taken with a pinch of self-deprecating salt, but Smith’s explanation for the dearth of other efforts is interesting. He wondered “whether most [English] men haue that natioun [Scotland] in derision,” or, if they simply felt “scorne” for Aesop.³⁶ The foregoing quotations are from Smith’s dedication to Richard Stonely, one of the tellers of Elizabeth’s exchequer. This dedication was immediately followed by a dialogue in verse with none other than Aesop himself. Walking in St. Paul’s Churchyard, presumably seeking new reading matter, Smith encountered Aesop “Apparelled both brave and fine / After the Scottish guise,” who requested that he translate Henryson’s Scots edition into English verse. While Aesop concurred with Smith’s admiration of Henryson’s work, he mused that the English “do not care for Scottishe bookes / they list not looke that way.”³⁷ We shall now examine this accusation of parochialism in more detail.

31. Henryson, *The Morall Fabillis of Esope* (Edinburgh, 1571), sig. Ai.

32. Compare, for instance, the “moral” attached to the fable of the “Uplands Mouse and the Burgess Mouse,” where Lekpreuik misses a verse; *Fabillis* (Edinburgh, 1570), sig. Biiij; *Fabillis* (Edinburgh, 1571), 19.

33. Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, 2 vols. (Tempe, Ariz., 1998), 1:2–3.

34. Richard Smith, trans., *The Fabulous Tales of Esope the Phrygian, compiled moste eloquently in Scottishe metre by Master Robert Henrison, & now lately Englished. Euery tale moralized most aptly to this present time, worthy to be read* (London, 1577), ij.

35. London presses issued editions of Aesop in both English and Latin, including in 1570, *The Fables of Esope in Englishe with all His Lyfe and Fortune, howe he was subtyll, wyse, [and] borne in Grece not farre from Troy the greate, in a towne named Amones, he was of al other menne most diffourmed and euill shapen. For he haf a great head, [and] large visage, longe lawes, sharpe eye[s], a short necke, croke-backed, greatebelly, great legges, large feete. And yet that which was worse, he was dombe and could not speak. But notwithstandinge this he had a singuler witte, and was greatly ingenious and subtyll in cauillations, and pleasaunt in woordes, after he came to his speache. vwhereunto is added the Fables of Auyan. And also the Fables of Poge the Florentyne very pleasaunt to reade* (London, 1570).

36. Smith, trans., *Fabulous Tales of Esope*, ij.

37. *Ibid.*, iij.



The Aldis catalogue of early Scottish books currently records 313 extant or known titles published in Scotland between 1559 and 1602.³⁸ It is important to emphasize that this number includes titles only, and only those published in Scotland; it therefore excludes multiple editions of the same work and works by Scots authors published abroad. Of these 313 titles, 52 items, 17 percent, are related in some way to an English publication, either extant or identifiable through the *Stationers' Register*, published in or before 1602. Twenty-eight titles, 9 percent of the known total, were predated by an English edition of the same work, although in some cases a Continental edition rather than the English one may have been the source of the Scottish text.³⁹ Twelve of these were issued by Robert Waldegrave following his arrival in Edinburgh in 1590 in an attempt

38. This count was completed in September 2014. A number of these titles, including, notably, the Psalms, the Catechism, and Lindsay's *Warkis*, ran to several editions. In contrast to the ESTC, Aldis records books known or believed to have existed but of which no extant copy can be identified. See <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-books-1505-1640>.

39. This note gives only the Scottish first editions: Jean Calvin, *Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments &c Used in the English Church at Geneva, approved & received by the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1564); Thomas Norton, *Discourse Touching the Pretended Match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1569); George Buchanan, *A Detectioun of the Doings of Marie Quene of Scottis* (St. Andrews, 1572); John Rolland, *Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus* (Edinburgh, 1575); Henry Stephanus [Estienne], *Ane Meruellous Discours vpon the Lyfe, Deides, and Behauiours of Katherine de Medicis, Quene Mother: wherein are displayed the meanes which scho hath practised to attayne vnto the vsurping of the Kingdome of France, and to the bringing of the state of the same vnto vtter ruyne* (Edinburgh, 1576), issued under false imprints (Paris and "Crakow"); George Buchanan, *Baptistes, Suae Calumnia* (Edinburgh, 1578); Cato, *Disticha moralia* (Edinburgh, 1580); Erasmus, *Dicta Sapientvm e Graecis Erasmo Interprete* (Edinburgh, 1580); Thomas Beacon, *Sicke Man's Salve* (Edinburgh, 1584); Wolfgang Musculus, *The Temporiser* (Edinburgh, 1584); *New Godly Garden . . . Bradford against the Feare of Death* (no longer extant; Aldis no. 193); Henry Smith, *Certain Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1591); W. Perkins, *Case of Conscience to Know if a Child of God or No* (Edinburgh, 1592); W. Perkins, *A Golden Chaine* (Edinburgh, 1592); W. Perkins, *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (Edinburgh, 1593); W. Perkins, *Direction for the Government of the Tounge* (Edinburgh, 1593); Henry Smith, *A Preparative to Marriage* (Edinburgh, 1595); Aristotle, *Problemes* (Edinburgh, 1595); *Decreet of Parliament against John Chastel* (Edinburgh, 1595); Richard Greenham, *A Fruitful & Godlie Sermon* (Edinburgh, 1595); John Stanbridge, *Vocabularae Studio* (Edinburgh, 1596); H. W., *True Coppie of the Admonitions Sent by the Subdued Provinces to the States of Holland* (Edinburgh, 1598); Luis de Granada, *The Conuersion of a Sinner* (Edinburgh, 1599); Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (Edinburgh, 1599); T. Tusser, *Fiue Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie* (Edinburgh, 1599); Luis de Granada, *Grando's Spiritual and Heauanly Exercises* (Edinburgh, 1600); John Norden, *A Pensie Mans Practise Verie Profitable for All Persons* (Edinburgh, 1600); and R. Southwell, *St Peter's Complaint* (Edinburgh, 1600). Henryson's *Testament of Cresaide* was published as a part of a 1532 edition of Chaucer long before its stand-alone edition from Edinburgh (1593); it is not included in these figures. Three items included here have earliest extant English editions of the same year, as these writers were London based. I have assumed the London edition came first. These are Perkins, *Case of Conscience* and *Government of the Tounge*, and Greenham, *Fruitful and Godlie Sermon* (this was published under a different name in England: ESTC S117895). Henry Smith's collected sermons were published separately in London before the Edinburgh edition. Calvin's *Catechism* and Musculus's *Temporiser* are likely to have a Continental source.

to escape the Martin Marprelate scandal.⁴⁰ One item, a translation of a French report on the attempted assassination of Henri IV, appeared in both English and Scottish editions in 1595. The Scots edition includes English words such as “Church” in favor of “Kirk,” so it therefore seems likely that the English edition provided the source text for an Edinburgh print run.⁴¹ Twenty-four Scottish publications were reprinted in England in or before 1602; this amounted to 7.6 percent of the whole Edinburgh output; one further book was licensed but not printed. (These items are detailed in table A, which appears at the end of this essay.) Ninety-five of the extant Scottish publications, 30 percent, were news. This figure includes proclamations or announcements issued by both Crown and Kirk, ballads or tracts commenting on domestic affairs, and a small number of items commenting on foreign news. Indeed, it is worth noting that in contrast to the preponderance of foreign news in the English print market, many more domestic news items than foreign ones survive in Scotland. Of these news publications, ten were subsequently published in England, representing a sizeable portion of the total number of Scottish items published in London. Scottish reprints in England were small in number compared to, for instance, “nearly 140” French or “just under 60” Dutch news publications translated during Elizabeth’s reign.⁴² Scots news publications lagged behind even those from Italy and Spain (12 and 20, respectively); these comparisons of course reflect the small size of the Scottish book trade.⁴³

The topics covered in English editions of Scots works as a whole provide a helpful framework for considering news items as a genre, although categorizing publications is, of course, a subjective enterprise. Fourteen, or 58 percent, of these English editions of Scots publications were religious works. The *Confession of Faith* was published in England within a year of its appearance in Scotland, and Thomas Craig’s *Short Sum of the Whole Catechism*, first licensed in 1581 to Thomas Mann, ran to five further English editions before the turn of the century.⁴⁴ James VI’s *Fruitfull Meditation on Revelation*, although dealing with otherworldly concerns, doubtless exercised more than a purely spiritual appeal. This preponderance of godly works reflects broader trends, since religious titles “dominated the retail book trade” of Elizabethan England.⁴⁵ Seven items, just over a quarter of the total, dealt with historical or political themes, and the remaining handful comprised a mixture of literary works and academic or legal treatises.

40. For Waldegrave, see Katherine S. Van Erde, “Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link Between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 34 (1981): 40–78.

41. *Decreet of Parliament against John Chastel*, 6.

42. S. K. Barker, “International News Pamphlets,” in *Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Kesson and Smith, 145–55 at 148.

43. *Ibid.*, 149.

44. *Stationers’ Register*, 1:72; 2:184b. The earliest extant edition is from 1583; this is unlikely to be the edition for which the 1581 license was sought. ESTC numbers are S111197, S113563, S91553, S118211, and S108176.

45. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, “What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade,” in *Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Kesson and Smith, 19–54 at 30.

A full examination of the routes by which these items made their way to the environs of St. Paul's Churchyard would be a desirable, and sizeable, enterprise, but the prospects of recovering the southward journeys of Scottish news items do not appear encouraging. William Seres and Thomas Purfoot issued multiple editions of Lindsay's poetry, and Felix Kingston consistently served as the Presbyterian minister Robert Rollock's London printer, but otherwise few English printers (the person who physically created the items) or booksellers (usually, the person who funded the venture) carried a strongly Scottish "list."⁴⁶ Although Thomas Vautrollier, the London-based Huguenot exile who enjoyed connections with the Scottish trade and James VI himself, was intermittently resident in Edinburgh during the early 1580s, this did not affect the flow of print to the same degree that Waldegrave's arrival would from 1590 onward.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, during Vautrollier's absences from England, his apprentice, Richard Field, issued a London edition of Patrick Adamson's defense of James VI's religious policies from the Vautrollier press, a text discussed in more detail below. In 1587 Vautrollier prepared the first known edition of Knox's *History of the Reformation* and a new edition of the Kirk's Psalms of David, popularly known as the Book of Common Order.⁴⁸ Presumably, both texts were at least partly intended for export. Otherwise, there is no evidence that Vautrollier maintained a strong relationship with either James VI or the Kirk. Following Vautrollier's death, Field issued James VI's *Lepanto*, which Vautrollier himself had first published as part of the *Essays of a Prentise* during his visit to Scotland, and in 1593 John Norton would turn to Field to print the *Discoverie of the Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists*, also discussed in more detail below.⁴⁹ The latter publication points toward Norton's broader connections with the Scottish trade, including a license to import English books to Edinburgh, and Norton evidently also exported Scottish books south. Since Norton lost a legal case in February 1593 to a group of Edinburgh bookmen, including Andro Hart, the Edinburgh bookseller with whom he had formerly enjoyed a partnership, it is tempting to speculate that this London edition was intended to preclude the necessity of buying stock from men with whom his business relations had recently soured.⁵⁰

46. For the distinction between printers and "undertakers," see Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 65–66.

47. R. Dickson and J. P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing: From the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1890), 382–83; John Corbett, "The Prentise and the Printer: James VI and Thomas Vautrollier," in *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI: A Festschrift for Roderick J. Lyall*, ed. Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K., 2010), 80–93 at 86–92; Van Erde, "Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent."

48. John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* (London, 1587); *The CL. Psalmes of David in Meter. For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland* (London, 1587). The first Scots edition appeared in 1564, but part of this volume was based on earlier publications of the English church in Geneva.

49. *Stationers' Register*, 2:247; James VI, *Essayes of a Prentise in the Diuine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584); George Ker, *Discoverie of the Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists, against God, His Church, Their Natiue Countrie, the Kings Maiesties Person and Estate* (London, 1593).

50. ODNB, s.v. "Norton, John (1556/7–1612)," by Ian Gadd, last modified January 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20347.

The earliest Scots news items published in this period were two ballads commenting on the assassination of James Stewart, Earl of Moray, in 1570, part of a larger Scottish corpus of material responding to Moray's demise.⁵¹ Although only two of the Scottish ballads were published in London, the Englishman John Phillips's *A Friendly Larum*, penned in February 1570, contains a number of tantalizing hints that this author might have seen more of the corpus of Moray ballads.⁵² Phillips's main concern in the *Friendly Larum* was the Northern Rebellion, but he also turned to Catholic treachery in a broader context. Among other cautionary tales, he offered readers the Scottish example of “Lorde Jeamie lately slaine.” The relatively casual nature of the reference—down to the use of the familiar “Jamie”—suggests that Phillips anticipated familiarity with the incident. Moreover, the imagery employed in Phillips's text suggests that he in turn had encountered Scottish ballads on this subject. The themes of Moray's royal blood, his conscientious administration of justice, Scotland's despair, and the method of assassination—a handgun—were all prominent in the Scottish response to his death. All of these elements, for instance, are present in the Edinburgh and London editions of the *Regentis Tragedie*. However, two phrases may suggest that Phillips had seen two other pieces responding to Moray's assassination, neither of which was printed in London. The first is his description of Moray's assassin as a “Tiger,” a comparison also made in Robert Sempill's *The Admonitioun to the Lordis*.⁵³ Second, the lament “Woe worth that Catifies hand” echoes the repeated cry of Sempill's *Complaint of Scotland*.⁵⁴ It is, of course, possible that Phillips had simply selected the images at random, drawing from a shared cultural background. Nevertheless, copies of both the *Admonitoun* and the *Complaint* had reached William Cecil, and it is possible that Phillips's echoes point to a circulation beyond the secretary's office. Regardless, in the context of the lack of Scots news before and after 1570, these publications serve to highlight the significance of the English rebellion and Scottish assassination of the winter of 1569–70 in rebalancing relations between the governments of James VI and Elizabeth I.⁵⁵

The next news item to be published was a Scottish proclamation issued on April 9, 1580, and licensed on November 19 that year for publication by Elizabeth's royal printer, Christopher Barker.⁵⁶ It opened by outlining the alleged objectives “of

51. Robert Sempill, *The Regentis Tragedie* (Edinburgh, 1570); Robert Sempill, *The Deploratioun of the Cruel Murther of James, Erle of Murray* (Edinburgh, 1570); *Stationers' Register*, 1:190; Amy Blakeway, “The Response to the Regent Moray's Assassination,” *Scottish Historical Review* 88 (2009): 9–33 at 31–32.

52. John Phillips, *A Frenly Larum, or Faythfull Warnynge to the True Harted Subiectes of England* (London, 1570), sig. [Bvj]; Edward Wilson-Lee, “The Bull and the Moon: Broadside Ballads and the Public Sphere at the Time of the Northern Rising (1569–70),” *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 225–42 at 240.

53. Robert Sempill, *The Admonitioun to the Lordis* (Edinburgh, 1570), line 57.

54. Robert Sempill, *The Complaint of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1570), lines 36–37.

55. Amy Blakeway, “Kinship and Diplomacy in Sixteenth-Century Scotland: The Earl of Northumberland's Scottish Captivity in Its Domestic and International Context, 1569–72,” *Historical Research* 87 (2014): 229–50.

56. James VI, *The Kingis Maiesteis Proclamatioun togidder with certane Actis of Parliament maid anent the aduersaris of Christis Euangell* (Edinburgh, April 9, 1580); *Stationers' Register*, 2:174b.

the bludie counsall of Trent,” including the creation of divisions among Christian princes and—the main concern of the proclamation—the offer of education at seminaries on the Continent to lure young Scots away from the true faith. It concluded by giving the text of a number of anti-Catholic acts that were to be proclaimed at the market crosses of towns throughout Scotland. As the only extant Scottish proclamation printed in England, and by the queen’s printer no less, this production was highly unusual, if not exceptional. An intriguing visit made by members of the Stationers’ Company to Lambeth “about the Scottishe proclamacon” in 1595/6 might hint at subsequent circulation of Scots proclamations—or at least of items claiming to be Scots proclamations—although further details about the excursion, including the proclamation in question and why it was of concern to the Stationers, are unclear.⁵⁷

Patrick Adamson’s *A Declaratioun of the King Maiesties Intentioun and Meaning toward the Lait Actis of Parliament*, published in 1585, set forth a vision of James as a godly Protestant prince similar to that enunciated in the 1580 proclamation. The acts alluded to in the title were the pieces of legislation designed to curb the power of the Kirk, passed in May 1584 and subsequently known as the Black Acts. This pamphlet was framed as a response to “some euill affectit men, that gois about, so fare as lyeth in thame, to inuent lies and calumnies, to stanzie & impair the Kings Maiesties fame and honour, and raisis brutis, as gif his Maiesie had declynit to Papistrie.” Adamson accordingly raised his pen in order “that his Maiesties faithfull subiects be not abusit with sic sclanderous reports, and his Hienes gude and affectionat friends in vther countries may understand the veritie of his vpricht intentioun.”⁵⁸ Such avowed concern for the good opinion of James’s friends abroad suggests that this work should be considered alongside the 1584 edition of *Essays of a Prentise* as an early foray into the international image-making arena for James. There is also evidence that the *Declaration* aroused substantial interest in England: one London edition falsified Vautrollier’s imprint, and a second edition was also issued, translating the text into English and framing the whole with a letter allegedly sent from “a gentleman in Scotland to a frend of his in England,” explaining that due to time pressure he was simply enclosing a tract that contained the news rather than paraphrasing it in a letter.⁵⁹ A third London issue emerged in 1588, again falsifying publication details.⁶⁰

The interest in Scots news attested to by these three issues of the *Declaration* was piqued again by the “Spanish blanks” affair of 1593, the discovery of a collection of

57. *Stationers’ Register*, 1:274.

58. Patrick Adamson, *A Declaratioun of the Kings Maiesties Intentioun and Meaning toward the Lait Actis of Parliament* (Edinburgh, 1585), sig. Aii.

59. Patrick Adamson, *Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties Intentioun and Meaning toward the Lait Actis of Parliament* (Edinburgh [London], 1585), ESTC S116901; Christopher Studley, *Treason Pretended against the King of Scots, by Certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, Whose Names Hereafter Followe. With a declaration of the Kinges Maiesties intention to his last acts of Parliament: which openeth fully in effect of all the saide conspiracy* (London, 1585), sig. Aij.

60. Patrick Adamson, *A Declaratioun of the Kings Maiesties Intentioun and Meaning toward the Lait Actis of Parliament* (Edinburgh [London], 1585 [1588]). There are two variants, ESTC S116901 and S116869.

letters by prominent northern Catholic nobles directed to the king of Spain, including the two blank papers bearing the signature of George Gordon, sixth Earl and future Marquess of Huntly.⁶¹ The discovery had led to criticism of James: at best, he was merely lax toward Catholics within Scotland; at worst, he had tacitly approved the plotters' activities.⁶² In the aftermath of the plot, an English edition of the letters was issued, explaining that James had in fact been saved from this conspiracy only by “Gods great and mercifull prouidence.”⁶³ Printed marginal commentary served to emphasize that this Catholic plot threatened not only Scotland but England, too. Since the text was entirely unaltered from its Scots original, James was described as “our king” to English readers, which doubtless would have delighted him.⁶⁴ Happier news emerged in 1594 with account of Prince Henry's baptism, recording the details of the celebrations and the presence of ambassadors sent by five foreign potentates.⁶⁵ Sadly for readers of the English edition, the London printer who reproduced the one extant tract lacked the necessary stock of woodcuts to emulate the two large representations of the quartered Scottish and Danish royal arms, but the message that the Stewarts were secure, internationally respected, and fecund nevertheless rang loud and clear.⁶⁶

The theme of treachery was featured again in the last publication to be discussed here. As with earlier plots, reports of the Gowrie conspiracy of 1600 provided an opportunity to show that James was the beneficiary of divine protection, although these traitors were not Catholic, as in 1593, but the hotter sort of Protestant.⁶⁷ This piece of news took approximately five weeks to reach the attention of London printers.⁶⁸ A second publication recounting the conspiracy survives in two editions, both claiming to have been produced by Waldegrave.⁶⁹ In fact, this is implausible: while the type in one edition matches that used by Waldegrave, that used in the other

61. These were published as George Ker, *A Discoverie of the Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists, against God, his kirk, their natiue cuntrie, the Kingis Maiesties persone and estate* (Edinburgh, 1593).

62. Astrid Stilma, “King James VI and I as a Religious Writer,” *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, ed. Gribben and Mullan, 127–41 at 138.

63. Ker, *Discoverie of the . . . Conspiracie of Scottisch Papists* (London, 1593), sig. Aij.

64. *Ibid.*, sigs. Cii, Dii.

65. William Fowler, *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Babtisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Frederik Henry; by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. Solemnized the 30. day of August. 1594* (London, 1594), 2–3; *Stationers' Register*, 2:314.

66. William Fowler, *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Frederik Henry; by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. Solemnized the 30. day of August. 1594* (Edinburgh, 1594).

67. *Gowreis Conspiracie a Discourse of the Vnnaturall and Vyle Conspiracie Attempted against the Kings Majesties Person at Sanct-Iohnstoun vpon Twysday the 5 of August 1600* (Edinburgh, 1600).

68. *The Earle of Gowries Conspiracie against the Kings Maiestie of Scotland. At Saint Iohn-stoun vpon Tuesday the fift of August. 1600* (London, 1600); *Stationers' Register*, 3:65.

69. William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, *A Short Discourse of the Good Ends of the Higher Prouidence, in the late attemptt against his Maiesties person* (Edinburgh, 1600); *A Short Discourse of the Good Ends of the Higher Providence, in the Late Attempt against His Maiesties Person* (Edinburgh [London?], 1600).

does not match Waldegrave's extant works.⁷⁰ It was therefore probably produced by another London printer. Forging a Waldegrave, rather than publishing a new edition, might point to a printer who was attempting to avoid advertising an association with the publisher of Martin Marprelate, or a desire to avoid paying a license fee, or perhaps simply an opportunistic attempt to cash in on a lucrative appetite for the original work.

Scotland had no equivalent of the Stationers' Company, so there is no Scottish source comparable to the *Stationers' Register*, with details of items no longer extant.⁷¹ However, scrutinizing the English register does reveal a number of publications likely to have had a Scottish provenance. (These are detailed in table B, which appears at the end of this essay.) While a now-lost Scottish printed pamphlet or ballad is not always certain provenance for these items, the title or its description in the register strongly suggests that these materials originated in Scotland. In the context of low survival rates for Scottish printed books, these possible identifications have potential use for our understandings of the Scottish book trade, particularly since a number appear to have been ephemera. Beyond a translation of a Spanish devotional work and a number of songs or ballads about which little information is given, five items reporting on news are recorded for which no Scottish counterpart is extant. Four of these discussed James VI's marriage: only one of these items survives, a short prose pamphlet; the three lost items comprised one pamphlet and two ballads.⁷² It is worth noting that the royal wedding was not only the most fully covered Scottish event in London but also the most quickly reported: Anna made her official entry to Edinburgh on May 19, and the first English publication was licensed on May 23.⁷³ While we have seen that a prose account of Prince Henry's baptism is extant, and was evidently widely circulated in its original Scots edition as well as enjoying a London reprint, the *Stationers' Register* also provides evidence of a ballad on this occasion of pan-Britannic import.⁷⁴ Given the excitement surrounding James and Anna's wedding, the two-month delay before license was sought in England to publish on Henry's baptism is surprising.⁷⁵

Of course, not every item published in England was registered with the Stationers.⁷⁶ Further investigation of unregistered extant English tracts would probably

70. The genuine Waldegrave ESTC number is S112755. The capital "w" matches that in the following two works: "The Generall Band" in *The Confession of Faith, Subscribed by the Kingis Maiestie and His Household* (Edinburgh, 1590), sig. B1; John Penry, *An Humble Motion vvith Submission vnto the Right Honorable LL. of Hir Maiesties Priuie Counsell* (Edinburgh, 1590), unpaginated, [1]. The decorative woodcut can be located in John Burel, *To the Richt high, Lodvvik Duke of Lenox* (Edinburgh, 1596), sig. [A3]. The potential imposter's ESTC number is S1036 (listed second in note 69).

71. For Scottish copyright, see Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 163–65; and Alastair J. Mann, "Scottish Copyright before the Statute of 1710," *Juridical Review* (2000): 11–25.

72. *Stationers' Register*, 2:257b–258.

73. *Ibid.*, 2:257b; Maureen Meikle, "Anna of Denmark's Coronation and Entry into Edinburgh, 1590: Cultural, Religious and Diplomatic Perspectives," in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden, 2008), 277–94 at 287–92.

74. *Stationers' Register*, 2:313b–314.

75. *Ibid.*, 2:313b.

76. Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads*, 32, 38, 789.

reveal more Scottish ghosts. Take, for example, the famous pamphlet *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Dr Fian, a Notable Sorcerer*, which cannot be matched to a title in the *Stationers' Register*.⁷⁷ More intriguingly, however, the title page of *Newes from Scotland* declared its authenticity by reassuring readers that it was “Published according to the Scottish Coppie.” Indeed, given the alacrity with which James responded in print when faced with other crises, the existence of a Scottish report of the North Berwick Witch Trials is highly plausible. Licensed or not, *Newes from Scotland* had much to recommend it to an English publisher, since it combined two recurring themes among foreign items that infiltrated the English print market—namely, royal news and sensational events.⁷⁸

Beyond the circulation of Scots works, English authors also took up their pens to comment on Scottish affairs, whether in passing, as Phillips's *Friendly Larum* did, or in greater depth. The most readily identified group of such publications emerged as part of the furor surrounding Mary, Queen of Scots. Since these have to date received substantial attention, and since their discussion of her alleged activities was largely too outdated to be categorized as news, they will not be explored in detail here.⁷⁹ The *Stationers' Register* reveals ten items whose titles directly suggest Scottish content. Elizabeth issued six proclamations conveying news from Scotland: two in 1559–60 commenting on the Anglo–Scottish peace, and two in 1569–70 refuting rumors of her intention to kidnap James and explaining her reasons for sending an army to Scotland. One appeared in 1586 as part of a larger clutch of pieces commenting on Mary's execution, and the last, in 1596, declared peace on the borders.⁸⁰ The latter alluded to a “like proclamation” made by James VI.⁸¹ In addition, two now-lost books described

77. [James Carmichael], *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian, a Notable Sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in Ianuary last. 1591. Which doctor was regester to the diuell that sundry times preached at North Barrick Kirke, to a number of notorious witches. With the true examination of the saide doctor and witches, as they vttered them in the presence of the Scottish king. Discouering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne his Maiestie in the sea comming from Denmarke, with such other wonderfull matters as the like hath not been heard of at any time* (London, 1592).

78. Barker, “European News Books in English Translation,” 233, 235.

79. Peter Lake, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2016), 19–40.

80. *The Quenes Majestie Considering Howe Necessary It Is and Pleasynge to Almyghtye God, to Haue Concorde and Peace with Al Princes* (London, 1559); *Proclamacion Declaryng the Quenes Majesties Purpose, to Kepe Peace with Fraunce and Scotlande, and to provyde for the suretie of hir kyngdomes* (London, 1560); *By the Queene. A Proclamation Declaryng the Vntrueth of Certaine Malitious Reportes Deused and Publisshed in the Realme of Scotlande* (London, 1569); *A Declaration of the Iust, Honourable, and Necessary Causes, that Moue the Queenes Maiestie to Leuie and Sende an Armie to the Borders of Scotland, with an assurance of her intention, to continue the peace with the crowne, and quiet subiectes of the sayde Realme of Scotlande* (London, 1570); *A True Copie of the Proclamation Lately Published by the Queenes Maiestie, vnder the great seale of England, for the declaring of the sentence, lately giuen against the Queene of Scottes, in fourme as followeth* (London, 1586); *A Proclamation Commanding All Persons vpon the Borders of England, to Keepe Peace towards Scotland, vpon the like proclamation by the King of Scots towards England* (London, 1596).

81. This was probably James VI, *Proclamation for a General Muster and Peace on the Borders* (Edinburgh, January 2, 1596), ESTC S4889.

Sussex's expedition to the Scottish Isles against the Irish of 1562, and a feud between the Elliots in Lidesdale and Englishmen of the "Phoenix"—perhaps a ship—in 1580.⁸² Two ballads presented themselves as news from Scotland but in fact were accounts of fictional events. One recounted a divine manifestation of judgment on one "Jasper Coningham," a Scot "lewd of life," who dwelled in Aberdeen, and whose eyes fell out as a divinely imposed punishment for attempting to incite his sister to incest.⁸³ Other than the reference to Aberdeen, there is nothing particularly Scottish about this manifestation of divine will.

By contrast, the second piece, by William Elderton, contains more local color and hints at a wider awareness of events in Scotland. *Treason Conspired against the Young King of Scots* is a fictional account of an unnamed bishop trying to kill the infant king of Scots with a poisoned posset, and the foiling of the plot by Andrew Brown, an Englishman in James's service.⁸⁴ After the Englishman had accomplished the heroic deed of saving the young monarch, a character called the "Earl of Morton" delivered a somewhat censorious speech to the "Douglases" on the theme of treason. Elderton was a prolific ballad writer; his earlier publications included commentary on the Northern Rising, even referring to discussions between Moray and the English Privy Council regarding Northumberland's handover.⁸⁵ In early 1570 Elderton was therefore well informed about events in Scotland, and it is possible that the nameless regicidal ecclesiastic was loosely based on John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, whose half-brother, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault, was heir presumptive to James VI. As a result, in the aftermath of Moray's assassination by a distant, and more humble, relative, the archbishop was linked to both Moray's actual, and James VI's potential, murder.⁸⁶ In 1571 Hamilton was hanged in revenge for his alleged role in Moray's death the previous year; fittingly, this too was commemorated in verse.⁸⁷ While identifying Archbishop Hamilton with the murderous posset-wielding bishop is speculative, Elderton's "Earl of Morton" character was more clearly based on a real person, namely James Douglas, Earl of Morton and regent between 1572 and 1579. The appearance of the Morton character is curious, since Elderton's ballad was licensed on May 30, 1581, and Morton had been executed in January. Perhaps this usually well-informed author was subtly critiquing the execution of this noted Anglophile Scot, which had left James VI without his protection. More overt commentary would have proven unwise, since Morton's fall was a sensitive subject for the Elizabethan

82. *Stationers' Register*, 1:74b; *Stationers' Register*, 2:172.

83. *The Wonderfull Example of God Shewed upon Jasper Coningham, a Gentleman Borne in Scotland* (London, 1600).

84. William Elderton, *A New Ballad, Declaring the Great Treason Conspired against the Young King of Scots and How One Andrew Browne, an Englishman, Which Was the Kings Chamberlaine, Preuented the Same* (London, 1581).

85. Wilson-Lee, "The Bull and the Moon," 231–35, 238.

86. Robert Sempill, *The Regentis Tragedie Ending with ane Exhortatioun* (Edinburgh, 1570), lines 37–55; George Buchanan, *Ane Admonitioun Direct to the Trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Grace Authoritie* (Stirling, 1571), Ciii.

87. Robert Sempill, *The Bischoppis Lyfe and Testament* (Stirling, 1571).

regime.⁸⁸ As we shall see in the following section, Morton’s demise was not the only occasion when the English press eschewed the opportunity to either reprint or commission accounts of events in Edinburgh.



Thus far, this essay has focused on publications known to have received English attention, yet to understand their significance, it is necessary to contextualize them alongside the Scots news reports for which there is no evidence of a London edition. As noted above and shown in table A, although the English public had access to the religious materials published following the Reformation Rebellion, they apparently missed out on all the news published in Scotland between that event and 1570. This included the only known printed response to Mary’s marriage to Darnley in 1565.⁸⁹ Despite lavish celebrations for James’s baptism the following year, there is no known printed account of the wedding: even if such an item had been produced in England, given Elizabeth’s distaste for Patrick Adamson’s Latin verse celebration of James’s birth, only a foolhardy English printer would have taken on the publication of such a potentially inflammatory piece.⁹⁰ The contrast with the four publications on James’s nuptials twenty-five years later, and, in due course, with the publications on the baptism of his heir, is striking, and highly revealing regarding developments in both the print market and the state of Anglo–Scottish relations.

Mary’s deposition in 1567 led to an outburst of commentary in Scotland, in both print and other media, which excited the interest of English diplomats, who duly sent these items south; indeed, it was English diplomats’ interest in Scots print that we have to thank for the survival of many ephemeral Scottish texts.⁹¹ However, it was only with the 1571 publication of Buchanan’s *Ane Admonitioun Direct to the Trew Lordis* that

88. Blakeway, “James VI and James Douglas, Earl of Morton.”

89. Thomas Craig, *Henrici . . . et Mariae Scotorum reginae epithalamium* (Edinburgh, 1565).

90. Michael Lynch, “Queen Mary’s Triumph: The Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566,” *Scottish Historical Review* 69 (1990): 1–21 at 13. Patrick Adamson, *Genethliacum Serenissimi Scotiae, Angliae, et Hiberniae Principis, IACOBI VI, Mariae Regnae Filii* (1566) [A birth poem for the most serene prince of Scotland, England, and Ireland, James VI, son of Queen Mary], ed. and trans. David McOmish and Steven J. Reid; www.dps.gla.ac.uk/delitiae/display/?pid=d1_AdaP_001.

91. Tricia A. McElroy, “Imagining the ‘Scottis natioun’: Populism and Propaganda in Scottish Satirical Broad-sides,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 49 (2007): 319–39 at 327. Robert Sempill, *Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis Iust Quarrel* (Edinburgh, 1567); Robert Sempill, *Ane Exhortatioun . . . to my Lord Regent* (Edinburgh, 1567); Robert Sempill, *Heir Followis ane Ballat Declaring the Noble & Gude Inclinatioun of Our King* (Edinburgh, 1567); Robert Sempill, *Heir Followis ane Exhortatioun to the Lordis* (Edinburgh, 1567); Robert Sempill, *Heir Followis the Testament and Tragedie of Vmquhile King Henrie Stewart* (Edinburgh, 1567); Robert Sempill, *Kingis Complaint* (Edinburgh, 1567). The ballads by Sempill cited in this note and subsequently are available in *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. James Cranston, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1891–93). Tricia McElroy’s new scholarly edition of these works for the Scottish Text Society is eagerly anticipated; for the present, see McElroy, “A ‘Quarrell sett out in metre’: Towards a New Edition of Scottish Reformation Satirical Literature,” *Studies in Scottish Literature* 39 (2013): 22–30.

English presses produced a narrative—albeit a partial one, subsumed by Buchanan’s greater end of discrediting his political opponents—of the events between Darnley’s murder and the present. The appearance of this piece in the year after the two ballads on Moray’s assassination had reached the public hints at a broader willingness within the Elizabethan regime for events in Scotland to be publicized, which in turn reflects the greater acceptability of James VI’s supporters, the king’s party, as rulers of Scotland in the wake of the 1569 Northern Rising.⁹² Indeed, Buchanan did not neglect to draw parallels between Elizabeth’s rebels south of the border and troublesome individuals in Scotland.⁹³ Notably, John Daye produced two versions of the text, one that falsified a Scottish imprint and one that claimed to be produced “according to the Scottish copy.”⁹⁴ Two years earlier, the Englishman Thomas Norton’s *A Discourse Touching the Pretended Match betwene the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* alluded to Mary’s “horrible actes publikey knowen,” but refrained from mentioning specifics.⁹⁵ He referred to Darnley in passing, but the only accusation actually leveled against Mary was that she “could not like of” him.⁹⁶ Evidently, Norton could rely on the fact that some rumors about Mary were circulating among his readers, but he did not want to commit these to print.

While two ballads appeared commenting on Moray’s assassination in 1570, as discussed above, these were only the tip of the iceberg: a further thirteen pieces issued that year commenting directly on political events were also not picked up by London printers; neither was an uncontroversial last-dying-speech pamphlet.⁹⁷ Indeed, the English press apparently neglected all subsequent commentary on the ensuing civil war between the supporters of James VI and those who sought his mother’s return to power.⁹⁸ Copies of all these items certainly reached London. As with the items relating to Mary’s deposition, in many cases they survived because they were collected by English agents.⁹⁹ Before the 1580s, news published in England “tended to be official or

92. Blakeway, “Kinship and Diplomacy.”

93. George Buchanan, *Ane Admonitioun Direct to the Trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Grace Authoritie* (Stirling [London], 1571), sig. Ci.iii.

94. Daye’s false Lekpreuik imprint is ESTC S119532; Daye’s “copy” is ESTC S121982. Lekpreuik’s genuine editions: ESTC S125204; ESTC S91239. Both of these carry a capital *I* Lekpreuik used elsewhere, as in *Actis of the Parliament* (Edinburgh, 1568), xxij.

95. Thomas Norton, *A Discourse Touching the Pretended Match betwene the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* (London, 1569), sig. Aij.

96. *Ibid.*, sig. A.iii.

97. The items relating to Moray’s death are discussed in Blakeway, “Response to the Regent Moray’s Assassination,” 9–33. John Kello, *The Confessioun of Maister Iohn Kello Minister of Spot, togidder with his ernist repentance maid vpon the scaffald befor his sufferring, the fourt day of October. 1570* (Edinburgh, 1570).

98. For the civil war, see Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen’s Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart’s Scotland* (London, 1983).

99. For example, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 19, 1567, London, BL, Calig. C.I, fol. 30r; Bawcutt, “Crossing the Border,” 63–65.

semi-official”; it is therefore plausible that the lack of coverage of events in Scotland in this period was influenced by pressure from within the Elizabethan regime.¹⁰⁰

The lack of coverage of the Scottish civil war is particularly interesting in the broader context of print coverage of early modern wars. In general terms, reports of wars, especially those that entailed English soldiers serving abroad, were a major feature of news produced at home.¹⁰¹ Indeed, throughout sixteenth-century Europe, conflict, especially civil conflict, caused controversy that could invigorate printing in cities beyond the great printing centers.¹⁰² More specifically, English military activity in Scotland received substantial coverage in England earlier in the sixteenth century. One of the earliest extant state propaganda pieces produced in England dates from the Scots defeat at Flodden in 1513; likewise, the Rough Wooings of the 1540s prompted Englishmen, and Anglophile Scots, to take up their pens.¹⁰³ The last and bloodiest phase of the French wars of religion, fought from 1585 until 1598, saw numerous reports translated and published in London.¹⁰⁴ This flood of French tracts had been preceded by a persistent drip throughout the 1560s and 1570s.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, some French crises, such as the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre, preoccupied printers in both London and Edinburgh.¹⁰⁶ Even given the cessation in both fighting and publications between the edict

100. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 102.

101. Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xv.

102. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction,” *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands*, ed. Pollmann and Spicer (Leiden, 2007), 6; and in the same volume, Andrew Pettegree, “A Provincial News Community on Sixteenth-Century Europe,” 33–48 at 39–40, 46.

103. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 102; Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings* (East Linton, U.K., 2000), 62–64, 265–91; Marcus Merriman, “James Henrisoun and ‘Great Britain’: British Union and the Scottish Commonweal,” in *Scotland and England 1286–1815*, ed. Roger Mason (Edinburgh, 1987), 85–112; and in the same volume, Roger Mason, “Scotching the Brut: Politics, History, and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain,” 60–84.

104. Lisa F. Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, N.Y., 1996), 54–56; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 103–4.

105. French edicts or commentaries on French affairs published in London during the period 1567–73, during the Scottish civil war, included *An Edict or Ordonance of the French King, Containing a Prohibition and Interdiction of Al Preaching and Assembling, and exercise of any other Religion, then of the Catholique* (London, 1568); *The Kinges Edict or Decree vpon the Pacification of the Troubles of His Realme* (London, 1568); *A Discourse of Such Things as are Happened in the Armie of My Lordes the Princes of Nauarre, and of Condey, since the moneth of September last* (London, 1569); *An Edict Set Forth by the French King, for Appeasing of Troubles in His Kingdome. Proclaymed in the Court of Parliament at Rouuen* (London, 1570); and *The Edict of the French King, for the Appeasing of the Troubles of His Realme* (London, 1573).

106. Henri Estienne, *A Mervaylous Discourse vpon the Lyfe, Deedes, and Behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene Mother: vvherin are displayed the meanes vvchich she hath practised to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the kingdome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction* (London, 1575); Henri Estienne, *Ane Meruellous Discours vpon the Lyfe, Deides, and Behaiours of Katherine de Medicis, Quene Mother: wherein are displayed the meanes which scho hath practised to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the Kingdome of France, and to the bringing of the state of the same vnto vtter ruyne* (Edinburgh, 1576), issued under false imprints (Paris and “Crakow”); Robert Sempill, *Ane New Ballet Set Furth by a Fugiative Scottisman Lately Feld Furth of France at this Lait Murther* (St. Andrews, 1572).

of St.-Germain in August 1570 and the attempted assassination of Admiral Coligny in August 1572, the conflicts in Scotland and France overlapped sufficiently to bear comparison. The French topical publications reveal that the English did not suddenly and temporarily lose their interest in foreign wars in the early 1570s.

All this prompts the question: why were reports of the Scottish civil war not published in England? A large English army was present in Scotland from 1570 onward, and Elizabeth had even issued a proclamation to explain its deployment.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, not only were Scottish items not exported, but the war also apparently failed to rouse the muse of even one English soldier-poet. The first extant English-produced commentary on the fall of Edinburgh Castle, an event that took place in May 1573, was not published until 1575, and when it eventually did appear, the castle's fall was only one episode recalled in Churchyard's *Chippes*.¹⁰⁸ Yet, in the years before Churchyard's publication, there had been no shortage of opportunities to acquire material relating to Scottish events, from either printed sources or oral accounts of returning English soldiers. Like the wars in Ireland, conflict in Scotland over the Stewart, and so, ultimately, the Tudor, succession, may have been too close for comfort.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the point can be extended beyond war reportage to coverage of assassinations. In 1566, the Duke of Guise, uncle of Mary, Queen of Scots, was assassinated in Paris, and the subsequent edict of the French council on this subject was published in London.¹¹⁰ In 1567 Mary's husband, Henry, Lord Darnley, who had grown up in England and was accounted Elizabeth's subject, was assassinated in no less dramatic circumstances. Despite extensive commentary in Scotland, this apparently passed without remark in England: the first known English printed ballad on this event dates from 1579.¹¹¹ Comparing the English print response to the assassinations of Guise, Darnley, and Moray strongly suggests that the English market was highly responsive to the governmental mood toward Scotland.

It is useful to compare Churchyard's Johnny-come-lately account of the victory of the Anglo-Scottish force over Mary's supporters in Edinburgh Castle with Sempill's immediate response. Sempill's poem, published shortly after the castle had fallen, lavished praise upon his English comrades-in-arms, naming and lauding specific commanders, but Churchyard's account featured the Scots only as enemies and traitors holding Edinburgh Castle.¹¹² Despite a broad English interest in learning of the trials

107. *A Declaration of the Iust, Honourable, and Necessarie Causes.*

108. Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelue seuerall labours* (London, 1575), 93–99.

109. Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xv.

110. John de Hennot, trans., *The Copie of the French Kings Priuie Councells Sentence: geuen at Moulyns in Bourbonnois betwene the Lordes of Guyse, and the Lord Admirall of Fraunce the 29 of Ianuary. 1566* (London, 1566).

111. H. C., *A Dolefull Ditty, or Sorrowfull Sonet of the Lord Darly, Sometime king of Scots, newew to the noble and worthy King Henry the eyght* (London, 1579); Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads*, 866–79.

112. Robert Sempill, *The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1573); Churchyard, *Chippes*, 93–99.

of their foreign coreligionists, Sempill’s “brothers-in-Christ” stance is reflected neither by Churchyard nor in English writing more broadly, though of course these two authors cannot be taken to stand for their respective countries. Roger Mason has noted with reference to Holinshed’s *Chronicles* that the unionist propaganda of the 1540s left very little mark on the English, and this conclusion is amply borne out by Churchyard and other English writers considered here.¹¹³ Indeed, while many of Sempill’s ballads openly address an English audience or exhort his readers to pray for Elizabeth and her council, none of these pieces found their way to St. Paul’s Churchyard.¹¹⁴ In some senses, Sempill was the heir to the “Britannic Protestant” tradition of the 1540s, and his neglect by the English press only underscores the extent to which his words fell upon deaf ears.

After the fall of Edinburgh Castle, the English army withdrew from Scotland, and opportunities to acquire news, in either oral or written form, would have declined as contact decreased. Criticisms of the current government of Scotland, such as Sempill’s 1581 comment on Morton’s arrest, did not obtain an English reprint.¹¹⁵ This may be due to contemporary English anxiety about events in Scotland, but it also reflects a broader English reluctance to offend James VI publicly—including the censorship of the 1587 edition of Holinshed.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the undoubtedly godly tone of John Colville’s defense of the ultra-Protestant coup known as the Ruthven Raid, which took place on August 23, 1582, was not enough to secure it an English edition.¹¹⁷ News of Scottish coups—namely Mary’s deposition, Morton’s execution, and the Ruthven Raid—was thus uniformly absent in London print despite the existence of Scottish commentary. There is no indication that Latin news publications were reissued.¹¹⁸ In the case of Andrew Melville’s celebration of Prince Henry’s birth, the offense caused to Elizabeth by Henry’s “Britannic” significance probably precluded further publication, regardless of language.¹¹⁹ Given the role of English ambassadors in collecting and preserving ephemeral Scots news material, it is a sad irony that William Fowler’s epitaph for Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador to Scotland, reached London in an edition by Waldegrave but did not apparently catch the eye of the English press.¹²⁰

113. Roger Mason, “Scotland,” in *Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s “Chronicles,”* 647–62 at 647–48.

114. Sempill, *Ane New Ballet*; Sempill, *Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh*, sig. Biiiij.

115. Robert Sempill, *Ane Complaint vpon Fortoun* (Edinburgh, 1581).

116. For the English reaction to Morton’s fall, see Blakeway, “James VI and James Douglas, Earl of Morton.” For unwillingness to offend James VI, see Cyndia Susan Clegg, “Censorship,” in *Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s “Chronicles,”* 43–59 at 57–58.

117. John Colville, *Declaratioun of the Iust and Necessar Causis, moving vs of the nobillitie* (Edinburgh, 1582).

118. Andrew Melville, *Stephaniskion . . . In coronatione reginae* (Edinburgh, 1590); John Russell, *Verba . . . ad . . . Reginam Annam* (Edinburgh, 1590); Andrew Melville, *Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia* (Edinburgh, 1594).

119. Van Erde, “Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent,” 68.

120. George Nicholson to Robert Cecil, December 9, 1597, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), SP 52/61, fol. 59v; William Fowler, *An Epitaph upon the Death of the Right Honourable M. Bowes Esquire, Treasurer of Barwick* (Edinburgh, 1597); the copy enclosed with the foregoing can be found at TNA SP 52/61, fol. 57.



To summarize: the selection of Scottish news items for London reprints closely reflected the broader diplomatic picture of Anglo-Scots relations. During the period prior to 1570, when no Scots news was published, the Elizabethan regime displayed considerable unease toward Scotland. Prior to 1567, this was primarily related to Mary's claim to the English succession. Although Mary's deposition that year was welcomed by the forward Protestants among Elizabeth's councillors, the English queen herself was unwilling to accept this turn of events. News that first celebrated Mary's dynastic success and latterly justified her fall was unwelcome in this climate. The failure of the Northern Rebellion in 1569 and the Scottish capture of a leading rebel, Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, precipitated a change in the Elizabethan regime's attitude toward Scotland.¹²¹ Thereafter, James VI's rule in Scotland became increasingly palatable in Westminster, and accordingly, coverage of events in his realm gradually increased. The significance of James VI's attempts to use the printed word to introduce himself to his subjects has long been acknowledged, although the period from the mid-1580s onward and James's own works have drawn the most scholarly interest.¹²² Nevertheless, it should be recognized that James's anticipation of a southern readership for his work was not innovative, and although there was no coordinated effort by Scots to woo an English audience, occasional moves in this direction predated the publication of James's writings.

In considering English editions of Scottish news, this essay has offered a snapshot of textual relations between England and Scotland in the forty years prior to the Union of the Crowns. The publication of Scots materials largely reflected the acceptability of a given event in Scotland to the Elizabethan regime. This meant that some of the most explicitly unionist rhetoric of pan-Protestant British solidarity articulated by authors such as Robert Sempill never reached Sempill's hoped-for partners. Ironically, it was probably the proximity of Scottish affairs to English events, in both geographical and metaphorical senses, that limited the arrival of news from Scotland. Although there is no direct evidence for censorship, if the widely accepted view that news remained sensitive to government sensibilities until the 1580s is correct, then for the earlier part of this period, it seems apparent that Scots news was treated with the same circumspection as domestic events. The number of items that crossed Cecil's desk but failed to reach a printer may indicate not that the English public were indifferent to Scottish news, but precisely the opposite. Conversely, circumstantial evidence emerges from this study of printed texts affirming that a lack of printed commentary did not entail a dearth of information: indeed, hints of larger-scale circulation of news through

121. Blakeway, "Kinship and Diplomacy in Sixteenth-Century Scotland," 233.

122. Roderick J. Lyall, "The Marketing of James VI and I: Scotland, England and the Continental Book Trade," *Quaerendo* 32 (2002): 204–17; Sebastiaan Verweij, "'Booke, go thy wayes': The Publication, Reading, and Reception of James VI/I's Early Poetic Works," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77 (2014): 111–31.

personal contacts of all kinds are particularly tantalizing. Despite an English penchant for “translating” Scots, reprints in Scots and the import of Scots books suggest that in fact Scots was largely comprehensible. Perhaps, therefore, these printed news items were exceptional not simply because they reached an English market, but rather because their popularity was such that demand rose to a level that imported stock was unable to meet. Turning to Edinburgh, this study of Scots books abroad suggests that the Edinburgh news network was much larger than the paucity of extant printed works implies. This contention is particularly bolstered by the identification of “ghosts” of now-lost Scots publications in English editions or Stationers’ licenses. As the study of books, printers, and information networks in early modern Scotland progresses, the road south may prove a fruitful direction in the search for sources.

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tables overleaf

Table A. Scottish books published in England, 1559–1602

Author	Title	Scots edition	English edition
David Lindsay	<i>Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour</i>	J. Scott, 1559	W. Seres 1563 (1:101b); Thomas Purfott 1566, 1575, 1581
Theodore Beza	<i>Ane Oration Made by Master Theodore de Beze, Minister of the Word of God</i>	R. Lekpreuk, 1561	R. Jugges, 1562
Kirk of Scotland	<i>Confessione of the Fayht</i>	R. Lekpreuk and J. Scott, 1561	R. Hall, 1562
Kirk of Scotland	<i>The Ordour and Doctrine of the Generall Faste</i>	R. Lekpreuk, 1566	H. Middleton, 1580
Robert Sempill	<i>The Deploratioun of the Cruel Murthier of James Erle of Murray, Vmquhile Regent of Scotland</i>	R. Lekpreuk, 1570	J. Audley, 1570
Robert Sempill	<i>Regentis Tragedie</i>	R. Lekpreuk, 1570	J. Audley, 1570
Robert Henryson	<i>The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian, Compylit in Eloquent, and Ornate Scottis Meter</i>	T. Bassandyne, 1571	H. Bynneman, 1577
George Buchanan	<i>Ane Admonitioun Direct to the Trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Grace Authoritie</i>	R. Lekpreuk, 1571 —two editions	J. Daye, 1571—two editions, one issued under a false Lekpreuk imprint
George Buchanan	<i>De Iure Regni</i>	J. Ross, 1579	Dawson, 1581
James VI	<i>Proclamation anent the Adversaries of Christis Evangel</i>	J. Ross, April 9, 1580	C. Barker, November 19, 1580
Thomas Craig	<i>A Shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme</i>	Charteris, 1581	T. Mann, 1581; Subsequent editions 1583, 1583, 1587, 1597, 1598
Kirk of Scotland	<i>Forme . . . of Examination befor . . . ye Tabill of ye Lord</i>	H. Charteris, 1581	C. Marsh, 1581 (2:185)
William Fowler	<i>An Answer to the Calumnious Letter and Erroneous Propositions of an Apostat Named M. Io. Hammiltoun</i>	Lekpreuk, 1581	T. Marsh, October 1, 1581 (2:184); marked “not printed” in the Stationers’ Register.

James VI	<i>The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Diuine Art of Poesie</i>	Vautrollier, 1584	<i>Lepanto</i> , included in this licensed collection, to Richard Field, 1589
Patrick Adamson	<i>A Declaratioun of the Kingis Maiesties Intention and Meaning toward the Lait Actis of Parliament</i>	Vautrollier, 1585	R. Field (on Vautrollier's London press), 1585; T. Nelson 1585; G. Robinson, 1588
James VI	<i>Fruitfull Meditatioun Contening and Plane Ane Facill Expositioun of ye 7.8.9 and 10 Versis of the 20 Chap of the Revelatioun in Forme of ane Sermon</i>	Charteris, October 1588	April 4, 1589 (2:242)
George Ker	<i>Discoverie of the Conspiracy of Scottish Papists</i>	Waldegrave, 1593	1593, Richard Field for John Norton; 1603: 2 editions: W Barley and T. Snodham
William Fowler	<i>True Report of the Baptism of Prince Henrie</i>	Waldegrave, 1594	Joan Butter, 1594; Thomas Crane, 1603
James VI	<i>Daemonology</i>	Waldegrave, 1597	Legate, 1598; 1603
Robert Rollock	<i>Tractatus de Vocatione</i>	Waldegrave, 1597	Felix Kingston, 1602
Richard Greenham	<i>Propositions containing answers to certaine demaunds in divers spiritual matters, specially concerning the conscience oppressed with the grieffe of sinne. With an epistle against hardnes of heart, made by that woorthie preacher of the Gospell of Christ, M. R. Greenham pastor of Drayton</i>	Waldegrave, 1597	February 17, 1598, R. Jackson (3:30b)
Robert Rollock	<i>Analysis Logica</i>	Waldegrave, 1598	Felix Kingston, 1602
Anon.	<i>Gowreis Conspiracie a Discourse of the Vnnaturall and Vyle Conspiracie Attempted against the Kingis Majesties Person at Sanct-Iohnstoun vpon Twysday the 5. of August. 1600</i>	Charteris, 1600	Valentine Simms, 1600
William Alexander, Earl of Stirling	<i>A Short Discourse of the Good Ends of the Higher Prouidence, in the Late Attemptat against his Maiesties Person</i>	Waldegrave, 1600	Alleged "Waldegrave" edition exists (ESTC S1036), English printer unidentified
Robert Rollock	<i>Commentarius Epistolarum ad Colosenses</i>	Waldegrave, 1600	Felix Kingston, 1602

Note: The items in this table have been listed only once per Scots title. If no particular source edition can be identified for the English copy, the first known edition is given. If an English edition is no longer extant, volume and page of the Stationers' Register are given.

Table B. Possible “ghosts” of Scottish publications in the Stationers’ Register

Author	Title/Description	Stationers’ license	ESTC citation	Notes
Anon.	<i>A New Scottish Song</i>	February 19, 1579, Edward White (2:157)	Not extant	
Anon.	<i>A Dolefull Dittie, or Sorowfull Sonet of the Lord Darly, Sometime King of Scots, Neuew to the Noble and Worthy King Henry the Eycht</i>	August 15, 1586, Henry Carre (2.210b)	S3010	Related to the orally transmitted ballad “Earl Bodwell” (Livingston, <i>British Broadside Ballads</i> , 866–77)
Anon.	<i>Lord of Lorne and the False Steward</i>	September 1580, Master Walley (2:173)	Not extant	A later edition of an item with a comparable title, dated to ca. 1658–64, is extant: ESTC citation R182054.
James VI	<i>A Booke Intituled the Furious Translated by JAMES the SIXTE King of Scotland, with the Le Panto [i.e., Lepanto] of the Same Kinge</i>	August 7, 1589, Richard Field (2:247)	Not extant	Field was Vautrollier’s former apprentice and married his widow; he probably inherited stock and connections. A later edition of 1603 is extant: ESTC citation number S2147.
Anon.	<i>A New Scottish Sonnet Made between a King and His Love</i>	May 23, 1590, Thomas Nelson (2:257b)	Not extant	
Anon.	<i>An Excellent Dyttye Made upon the Arryvall of the Kinge of Scottes with His Ladye from Denmarke upon Maye Daie Last with Her Coronacion</i>	June 3, 1590, William Wright (2:258)	Not extant	

Anon.	<i>The Joyfull Receiuing of Iames the Sixt of That Name King of Scotland, and Queene Anne His Wife, into the Townes of Lyeth and Ederborough the First Daie of May Last Past. 1590. Together with the Triumphs Shewed before the Coronation of the Said Scottish Queene</i>	June 3, 1590, H. Carr (2:258)	S109126	Possibly printed by Woolfe
Anon.	<i>A Ballad "the Receauing of the Kinge of Scottes and Queene ANNE His Wife into Leith and Edinburgh"</i>	June 6, 1590, H. Carr (2:258)	Not extant	
Anon.	<i>The Tryumphant and Princelie Newe Ballad Declaringe the Royaltie and Magnificence Performed at the Baptisinge of the Prince of SCOTLAND</i>	October 25, 1594, Joan Butter, Widow (2:314)	Not extant	Joan Butter also bought the license for Fowler's (extant) prose account.
Anon.	<i>Woefull Ballad of a Knight's Daughter in Scotland</i>	April 30, 1596, Millington (3:10b)	Not extant	
Anon.; according to ESTC, historically this was wrongly attributed to Miguel Comalada	<i>Treasure of the Soul</i>	February 9, 1599, Wolfe (3:47b)	Not extant	Despite previous English editions (1590, 1596), Wolfe was specifically licensed to print this as it had been by Waldegrave in 1598.

Note: Volume and page numbers refer to the Stationers' Register.